THE JOURNAL OF
THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.

[*Frontispiece.*

SUSANNA WESLEY.

From Oil-painting in the Wesleyan Conference Office.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE REV.

JOHN WESLEY, A.M.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

ENLARGED FROM ORIGINAL MSS., WITH NOTES
FROM UNPUBLISHED DIARIES, ANNOTATIONS, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

EDITED BY

NEHEMIAH CURNOCK

ASSISTED BY EXPERTS

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CONTENTS

PART THE SECOND (*continued*)—

PAGE

THE VISIT TO THE MORAVIAN CHURCH . . . 3

PART THE THIRD—

THE PREFACE 67

WITH THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES 70
Diary from September 20, 1738, to March 27, 1739.

THE CALL TO BRISTOL 157
Diary from March 28, 1739, to March 31, 1739.

THE BRISTOL MINISTRY 170
Diary from April 1, 1739, to June 11, 1739.

LONDON AND THE WEST 219
Diary from June 12, 1739, to October 15, 1739.

WALES AND BRISTOL 293
Diary from October 16, 1739, to October 31, 1739.

PART THE FOURTH—

THE PREFACE 309

WESLEY AND MORAVIANISM 312
Diary from November 1, 1739, to November 10, 1739.
Diary from June 1, 1740, to August 8, 1741.

PART THE FIFTH—

THE WIDER PARISH 503

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

SUSANNA WESLEY . . . . *Frontispiece*
MAP OF LONDON, WESTMINSTER, AND SOUTHWARK IN WESLEY'S DAY . . . . *Facing p.* 65
PLAN OF THE 'NEW ROOM' IN THE HORSEFAIR, BRISTOL „ *p.* 253
PAGE
EASTER COMMEMORATION OF THE DEPARTED IN HERRNHUT CEMETERY 23
RECEPTION INTO THE MORAVIAN COMMUNITY 23
BERTHELSDORF CHURCH 24
COMMENCING HERRNHUT, 1722 24
VIEW OF HERRNHUT 24
ST. BOTOLPH, BISHOPSGATE; ST. MARY-LE-BOW; ST. ANTHOLIN, WATLING STREET; ST. CLEMENT DANES 73
ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT; ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY; ST. ANN, ALDERSGATE; ST. KATHERINE CREE 74
REDUCED FACSIMILE OF DIARY PAGES, OCTOBER 6–11, 1738 . 85
„ „ „ „ „ 11–15, 1738 . 86
THE MORAVIAN CEREMONY OF FEET-WASHING 123
PROSTRATION BEFORE THE LORD 123
REDUCED FACSIMILE SHOWING THE JOURNEY FROM NEWGATE TO TYBURN 124
REDUCED FACSIMILE SHOWING REFERENCE TO THE FIRST APPOINTMENT OF LEADERS 124
VIEW OF THE CHARTERHOUSE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY . 133
THE GREAT DINING-HALL, CHARTERHOUSE 133
OLD ST. MARY, ISLINGTON (1750); ST. MICHAEL BASSISHAW; ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST 134
SOUTHEY'S BIRTHPLACE, BRISTOL; OLD ST. JOHN'S GATE, BRISTOL; BRISTOL IN WESLEY'S DAY (SOUTH-EAST PROSPECT) . . 169
VIEW OF HANHAM MOUNT; OLD POORHOUSE 'WITHOUT LAWFORD'S GATE'; THE OLD DUTCH HOUSE 170
THE 'NEW ROOM,' BRISTOL: 1. ENTRANCE INTO WESLEY'S BEDROOM; 2. THE ROOM ABOVE THE CHAPEL; 3. STEPS LEADING TO STUDIES AND DORMITORIES; 4. WESLEY'S STUDY . . 195

PAGE
THE 'NEW ROOM,' BRISTOL: 1. INTERIOR OF THE PREACHING-ROOM; 2. THE ORIGINAL ENTRANCE FROM THE INNER COURT; 3. OLD HORSEFAIR ENTRANCE TO THE COURT 196
REDUCED FACSIMILE LETTER OF WHITEFIELD TO WESLEY, APRIL 3, 1739 209
BATH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (WITH PORTRAIT OF BEAU NASH) 210
DISTANT VIEW OF THE OLD CHAPEL, KINGSWOOD 235
INTERIOR OF THE OLD CHAPEL, KINGSWOOD 235
JONATHAN EDWARDS; ANTHONY HORNECK, D.D.; GEORGE WHITEFIELD; BISHOP BUTLER 236
SUSANNA WESLEY'S BIRTHPLACE, SPITAL YARD, BISHOPSGATE . 269
SAMUEL ANNESLEY, D.D. 269
ST. GILES, CRIPPLEGATE 269
FONMON CASTLE, AND PLAS WATFORD (NEAR CARDIFF) . . 270
THE FOUNDERY, UPPER MOORFIELDS 317
BLUNDELL'S SCHOOL, TIVERTON 318
SAMUEL WESLEY, JUN. 318
WESTMINSTER SCHOOL 318
FACSIMILE NOTES OF ONE OF WESLEY'S EARLY MORNING EXPOSITIONS 357
JOHN CENNICK; JOHN NELSON; SELINA, LADY HUNTINGDON; HOWELL HARRIS 358
TWO VIEWS OF FETTER LANE CHAPEL 367
ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, BRISTOL; ST. LUKE'S, OLD STREET, LONDON; CHARLES SQUARE, HOXTON 368
THE GRAVE OF WILLIAM SEWARD 397
SCENE OF SEWARD'S MARTYRDOM 397
FACSIMILE LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE BRISTOL SOCIETY . 398
REDUCED FACSIMILE FROM THE LIST OF THE LONDON SOCIETY ABOUT 1741 443
REDUCED FACSIMILE OF DISCOLOURED DISCIPLINARY PAGES . 444
LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD; ST. MARY'S, OXFORD 479
REDUCED FACSIMILE LIST OF LONDON BANDS 480

Many of the above illustrations have been reproduced from photographs taken by the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock.

PART THE SECOND

(*Continued*)

The opening Number of the present volume to some extent disregards the dividing lines of the first and subsequent editions. It includes the greater portion of the original Part II and a few pages of Part III. Wesley's evangelical conversion was the necessary sequel to vol. i. of the Standard Edition, and for obvious reasons it is now desirable to begin and complete in one Number the narrative of his visit to the Moravian Church.

No Diary fills the interspaces of the Journal during the five months occupied by this visit. One of the little notebooks has been destroyed or lost. A similar fate has befallen most of the letters Wesley wrote during his tour in Holland and Germany. To Dr. Tasker of Handsworth College, and more especially to Dr. Loofs of Halle, the story of Wesley's intercourse with the Moravian Brethren in Marienborn and Herrnhut is under obligation.

The spelling of names, both of persons and places, in the First Edition was determined to some extent by Wesley's habit of writing names as he heard them pronounced. In correcting errors absolute consistency has not always been possible. We have, however, striven to make both text and notes in this, as in other respects, helpful to students and travellers.

Wesley's quotations were from memory, and not always severely accurate. Some of the inaccuracies, however, appear to have been slight alterations not affecting the sense, but adapting it to the purpose in hand. Thomas Jackson, who edited the 'Third Edition,' had Wesley's copy of the text, with marginal corrections, to assist him. In some instances these authorized emendations can be traced, but not always. For the translation of classical quotations Mr. C. Lawrence Ford's 'Examinations of Quotations in Wesley's Journal' in the 'Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society' has been followed.

THE JOURNAL

From June 14, 1738, *to September* 16, 1738

1738. JUNE 14.—About four in the afternoon on *Wednesday* we lost sight of England. We reached the Meuse at eight on *Thursday* morning, and in an hour and a half landed at Rotterdam.[1] We were eight in all: five English and three Germans.[2]

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[1] Wesley's visit to Holland and Germany was a serious quest after truth at those fountain-heads of experimental religion concerning which he had heard so much in Georgia from Nitschmann, Töltschig, and Spangenberg, and in London and Oxford from Peter Böhler. He had long ago resolved, if ever the opportunity offered, to visit Herrnhut and Count Zinzendorf. The Pietists of Germany also attracted him, as did those Dutch religious societies which were more or less intimately associated with the Moravian Brethren and with those English societies that hovered between evangelical Anglicanism and Moravianism. Independently, his friend Benjamin Ingham was drawn in the same direction. Already an intimate friendship had sprung up between Ingham and John Töltschig. They had known one another in Georgia, and since their return to England had been drawn into closer association. They now resolved to visit Herrnhut in company.

[2] A letter dated Oct. 1743, by Wenzel Neisser, Spangenberg's chief assistant, referring to Viney, who held a religious society in London and acted as interpreter for Peter Böhler, elicits the following footnote: 'Richard Viney, by trade a tailor, as early as 1737 is named next after Hutton as a member of the Fetter Lane Society, when the Brethren and Methodists were in close connexion. The same year he visited Germany with Brother Holmes and others, and was at Heerendyk with Wesley in 1739; where, says Zinzendorf, through Wesley he was first prepossessed in my favour.' There is an error in the second date. Wesley was at Ysselstein twice: in June 1738 and again in the following September. This, doubtless, is the visit referred to by Zinzendorf. The probability is that Holmes and Viney travelled with Wesley and Ingham to Heerendyk. Holmes we identify as 'John Holmes,' who appears in the list of 'Single Men' in the 'Congregation of the Lamb.' He is there described as a 'Taylor.' He visited Germany in 1736 with Viney and others. It is recorded that on May 30, 1779, 'the old married Br. John Holmes, who had been in connexion with the Brethren 40 years ago, was readmitted to society, and that he departed happily August 11, 1780.' It is probable that Viney and Holmes in their travels, as on other occasions, combined business and religion. Viney's presence in the company of travellers would be the more welcome because he knew both German and English, and could interpret. The Moravians say that Wesley's knowledge of German was imperfect (this he confesses, p. 28)

Dr. Koker,[1] a physician of Rotterdam, was so kind, when we set forward in the afternoon, as to walk an hour with us on our way. I never before saw any such road as this. For many miles together it is raised for some yards above the level, and paved with a small sort of brick, as smooth and clean as the Mall in St. James's. The walnut-trees stand in even rows on either side; so that no walk in a gentleman's garden is pleasanter. About seven we came to Gouda,[2] where we were a little surprised at meeting with a treatment which is not heard of in England. Several inns utterly refused to entertain us; so that it was with difficulty we at last found one where they did us the favour to take our money for some meat and drink and the use of two or three bad beds. They pressed us much in the morning to see their church; but were displeased at our pulling off our hats when we went in, telling us we must not do so, it was not the custom there. It is a large old building of the Gothic kind, resembling some of our English cathedrals. There is much history-painting in the windows, which, they told us, is greatly admired. About eight we left Gouda, and in a little more than six hours reached Ysselstein.[3]

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and that this accounts in part for misunderstandings into which he was betrayed. Dutch he did not understand. His medium of communication with Dr. Koker in Rotterdam, and doubtless with other learned acquaintances in Holland, and even in Germany, was Latin (p. 488). It is quite probable that Wesley as well as Ingham availed himself of Viney's help as interpreter. Most of the names he spells as he heard them pronounced. The spelling in the text has been corrected by Professor Loofs, of Halle, who, where possible, has followed the best Moravian authorities. The route followed was the great road from Frankfort to the eastward.

[1] Dr. John de Koker became one of Wesley's correspondents. Two of his letters, both in Latin, are known. One is reproduced in the Journal (Nov. 1749). An earlier letter (1742) has been preserved in the Colman Collection. Koker became an enthusiastic admirer of Wesley and of the work Methodism was doing in England and Ireland. To his translation of Wesley's tracts Holland was indebted for a knowledge of the Evangelical Revival and the early Methodists.

[2] In the first and subsequent editions the name is spelt *Goudart*. In July 1783 he revisited the town, dining with the minister, Mr. Van Flooten.

[3] Ysselstein, on the Yssel, is famous in Moravian history for two reasons: it was the home of the Watteville family; and was selected by the Princess Dowager of Orange for the establishment, a mile from the town, of a Moravian settlement. At the time of Wesley's visit Heerendyk was in course of erection. On his return journey he found the house finished and occupied by the Brethren. Heerendyk was one of several Continental settlements owing allegiance to Herrnhut and Count Zinzendorf. The special purpose seems to have been the equipment of Brethren for missionary work, a branch of Christian service in which the Moravian Church has won its greatest triumphs.

Here we were at Baron Watteville's[1] as at home. We found with him a few German brethren and sisters, and seven or eight of our English acquaintance, who had settled here some time before. They lodged just without the town, in three or four little houses, till one should be built that would contain them all. *Saturday* the 17th was their Intercession-day.[2] In the morning some of our English brethren desired me to administer the Lord's Supper. The rest of the day we spent, with all the brethren and sisters, in hearing the wonderful work which God is beginning to work over all the earth; and in making our requests known unto Him, and giving Him thanks for the mightiness of His kingdom.

At six in the morning we took boat. The beautiful gardens lie on both sides the river for great part of the way to Amsterdam, whither we came about five in the evening. The exact neatness of all the buildings here, the nice cleanness of the streets (which, we were informed, were all washed twice a week), and the canals which run through all the main streets, with rows of trees on either side, make this the pleasantest city which I have ever seen. Here we were entertained, with truly Christian hospitality, by Mr. Decknatel, a minister of the Mennonists,[1] who suffered us to want nothing while we stayed here, which was till the *Thursday* following. Dr. Barkhausen (a physician, a Muscovite by nation), who had been with Mr. Decknatel for some time, showed us likewise all possible kindness. Remember them, O Lord, for good!

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[1] Two Barons Watteville, Frederick and John, are named in the Moravian records. The former was Zinzendorf's closest friend; the latter, Johannes Langgath, was adopted by Frederick V. Watteville in 1744, and married Benigna, Countess of Zinzendorf, in 1746. Count Zinzendorf, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1749, gives an elaborate, not to say pompous, catalogue of bishops and other officers of the Church of the Brethren. Among these he mentions Frederick, 'senior Baron of Watteville, consecrated in 1743, presiding over the Reformed tropus, and since 1745 holding the presidency of the political senate': also John, 'Lord Baron of Watteville, now director of the Evangelical or Lutheran tropus, A.C. Dean of the theological seminary, primary reader of the word of Christ the Lord at Hypomene, preacher in the church of the citadel of Marienborn, pastor of the church at Herrnhaag, ordinary visitor of the Churches of the Unity, and during seven years rural bishop of the single Brethren, that is, those not yet admitted to the service of the married; was consecrated at Herrnhaag in a general Synod in the month of June, 1747.' Baron Frederick was the man whom Wesley met at Ysselstein, and with whom Doddridge had a pleasant interview at St. Albans some years later. Socially he was the equal of Count Zinzendorf; religiously one of his most trusted friends. He is further described as 'President of the Congregation at Herrnhut, Heerendyk, and Zeyst' [now Zeist] (Moravian *Messenger*, 1874, pp. 56, 101, 139). Of him Doddridge, in his *Correspondence and Diary*, remarks: 'Baron Watteville seems a very benevolent man. He was ruined by the stocks; may God make the shipwreck of his immense fortune the means of saving his soul!' The Reformed tropus referred to included the Calvinistic section of the United Brethren.

[2] At Heerendyk and other Moravian settlements an order of Intercessors offered prayer and thanksgiving in turn during twenty-four hours. They met once a week to learn the needs of the Congregation. In some of the earlier editions the dates between Saturday the 17th and Monday the 19th were confused. For a full list of date corrections see Wesley Historical Society's *Proceedings*, vol. vi. p. vi.

Mon. 19.—I was at one of the societies, which lasted an hour and a half. About sixty persons were present. The singing was in Low Dutch (Mr. Decknatel having translated into Low Dutch part of the Herrnhut Hymn-book[2]); but the words were so very near the German that any who understood the original might understand the translation. The expounding was in High Dutch. I was at another of the societies on *Tuesday*,

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[1] Menno Simons, born at Witmarsum (Netherlands) 1492 or 1496, originally a Roman priest, joined the Anabaptists of his native country in 1536 soon after the excesses of Münster, and became the leader of the moderate Anabaptists in North Germany, who condemned what was done in Münster (the 'Obb ster'). His influence was so great that the name 'Mennonites' as early as the sixteenth century, and also in our own days, has often been used for these moderate Anabaptists.

[2] See vol. i. p. 299. Since the publication of the first volume of this work the source from which Wesley drew the German hymns he translated in Georgia has been identified beyond doubt. (See article by Rev. Henry Bett in *W.M. Mag.*, June 1910.) It was *Das Gesang-Buch der Gemeine in Herrnhuth.* In the first volume we drew attention to the fact that three of the translated hymns in the Second Georgia Diary had numbers attached by which the original source whence they were drawn before translation might be traced. Mr. Bett says: 'I find that all the numbers refer to the pages (not the hymn numbers) of the Herrnhuth *Gesang-Buch*, but 124 should be 724. "Hier legt mein Sinn sich vor dir nieder" is on p. 724. "Reiner Bräut'gam meiner Seele" is on p. 215. "Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund" is on page 306. Of the first hymn, as given here, Wesley translated all the verses except the 4th; of the second, he translated the 1st verse and verses 10, 11, 12, 16, and 17; of the third, the first six verses.'

The edition used by Wesley must have been the first, published in 1735, the year of Wesley's and Nitschmann's voyage to Georgia. The edition of 1737, in Mr. Bett's possession, is the second, and is practically identical. At Richmond College are two copies of the Freylinghausen *Gesang-Buch.* In both are the well-known initials 'J. W.' The earlier of the two editions was probably in Savannah during Wesley's Georgia days; the other volume he must have purchased later.

The fact that the Herrnhut Hymn-book referred to here in the text was the book published in 1735 accounts for the tone of familiarity in which Wesley writes of it, where were present about the same number. On *Wednesday* one of our company found a sheep that had been lost—his sister,[1] who had lived here for some time with one whom she loved too well, as he did her. But they were now both resolved, by the grace of God (which they accordingly executed without delay), 'to pluck out the right eye, and cast it from them.'

Thur. 22.—We took boat at eight in the evening, and, landing at four in the morning, walked on to Jutphaas,[2] which we left about two, having now another boy added to our number. A little before eight we came to Buren, a small ill-built city belonging to the Prince of Orange. Setting out early in the morning, we came to Nijmegen, the last town in Holland, about two in the afternoon ; and, leaving it at four, came before eight to an inn, two hours short of Cleve.

Sun. 25.—After spending an hour in singing and prayer, we walked till near noon before we could meet with any refreshment. The road would have appeared exceeding pleasant, being broad and straight, with tall trees on either side, had not weariness and rain prevented. We hoped to reach Rheinberg in the evening, but could not, being obliged to stop two hours short of it, at a little house where many good Lutherans were concluding the Lord's Day (as is usual among them) with fiddling and dancing!

Mon. 26.—We breakfasted at Rheinberg, left it at half an hour past ten, and at four came to Ürdingen.[3] Being much tired, we rested here, so that it was near ten at night before we came to Neuss. Having but a few hours' walk [4] from hence to Cologne (Köln), we went thither easily, and came at five the next evening into the ugliest, dirtiest city I ever yet saw with my eyes.

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[1] There is nothing to indicate who this 'sister' was, or in what sense her brother belonged to the 'company.' The constitution of the travelling party is quite vague. Originally consisting of eight persons, it may now have either dwindled or increased. The phrase 'another boy added to our number' leads to the inference that at least one boy was in the company when it left Ysselstein—a boy who may or may not have been included in the original eight. In relation to these details we miss the Diary, and are reminded that Wesley, in writing the present section of his Journal, as in taking this journey, was influenced mainly by the religious quest upon which he had set out. Scenery, personnel, and mere incidents of travel are named casually, and with no attempt at fullness or even absolute accuracy of narration.

[2] Wesley spells it Uutfass.

[3] Wesley spells it Urding.

[4] Seven at the very least.

Wed. 28.—We went to the cathedral,[1] which is mere heaps upon heaps: a huge, mis-shapen thing, which has no more of symmetry than of neatness belonging to it. I was a little surprised to observe that neither in this, nor in any other of the Romish churches where I have been, is there, properly speaking, any such thing as joint worship; but one prays at one shrine or altar, and another at another, without any regard to or communication with one another. As we came out of

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Wesley's letter to his mother (see *Wesley Studies*, p. 179) describes this part of the journey more fully. It is dated 'Utph[2] (apparently an abbreviation for Westphalia), July 6, 1738.'

DEAR MOTHER,

Soon after I had finished my last to you, we left Colen [Cologne] in the passage-boat, and travelled slowly four days upon the Rhine, through a double range of rocks and mountains, diversified with more variety than ever painter could imagine: some were smooth, as if polished by art; some rough, abrupt, and rugged, as if torn by a fresh earthquake; some again were quite bare, others clothed with grass, others with trees, corn, or vines. On Sunday, in the evening, we came to Mentz [Mayence]; and on Monday before noon to Frankfort, where the father of Peter Böhler (lately with me at London and Oxon) received us with all kindness. About one o'clock on Tuesday we came safe to Marienborn, a small village seven hours from Frankfort, where Count Zinzendorf has hired for three years (till one is built a few miles off on his own land, which is already begun) a large house and tolerably convenient, which lodges the greater part of the small congregation here.

The Count received us in a manner I was quite unacquainted with, and therefore know not how to express. I believe his behaviour was not unlike that of his Master (if we may compare human with divine) when He took the little children in His arms and blessed them. We should have been much amazed at him, but that we saw ourselves encompast with a cloud of those who were all followers of him, as he is of Christ. Eighty-eight of them praise God with one heart and one mouth at Marienborn; another little company at Runnerburg [Ronneburg], an hour off; another at Büdingen, an hour from thence; and yet another at Frankfort.

I now understand those words of poor Julian, 'See how these Christians love one another.' Yea, how they love all who have the faintest desire to love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. Oh may He sanctify to us their holy conversation, that we may be partakers of the spirit which is in them; of their faith unfeigned, and meekness, wisdom, and love which never faileth.

Dear Mother, forget not often to desire this for
Your dutiful and affectionate son,
JOHN WESLEY.

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[1] It has been said that Wesley's art criticisms run counter to received opinions; but seldom so much so as in relation to Cologne Cathedral—one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in the world. He probably admired Wren's churches more than those in the Gothic style, though he praised Lincoln, York, and Beverley Minsters. But the cathedral has since been restored, and in 1738 the aspect may not have been pleasing.

[2] This seems to be an error on Wesley's part: the country in which he wrote did not belong to Westphalia. The word Utph might possibly be the name of Count de Solms's residence.

the church a procession began on the other side of the churchyard. One of our company scrupling to pull off his hat, a zealous Catholic presently cried out, 'Knock down the Lutheran dog.' But we prevented any contest by retiring into the church.

Walking on the side of the Rhine in the afternoon, I saw, to my great surprise (for I always thought before no Romanist of any fashion believed anything of the story), a fresh painting, done last year at the public expense, on the outside of the city wall, 'in memory of the bringing in the heads of the three kings,'[1] says the Latin inscription, 'through the gate adjoining'; which, indeed—in reverence, it seems, to them—has been stopped up ever since.

At four we took boat, when I could not but observe the decency of the Papists above us who are called Reformed. As soon as ever we were seated (and so every morning after), they all pulled off their hats, and each used by himself a short prayer for our prosperous journey. And this justice I must do to the very boatmen (who upon the Rhine are generally wicked even to a proverb), I never heard one of them take the name of God in vain, or saw any one laugh when anything of religion was mentioned. So that I believe the glory of sporting with sacred things is peculiar to the English nation!

We were four nights on the water, by reason of the swiftness of the stream, up which the boat was drawn by horses. The high mountains on each side the river, rising almost perpendicular, and yet covered with vines to the very top, gave us many agreeable prospects; a religious house or old castle every now and then appearing on the brow of one of them. On *Sunday* evening, JULY 2, we came to Mayence; and *Monday* the 3rd, at half an hour past ten, to Frankfort.

Faint and weary as we were, we could have no admittance here, having brought no passes with us; which indeed we never imagined would have been required in a time of settled general peace. After waiting an hour at the gates we procured a messenger, whom we sent to Mr. Böhler (Peter Böhler's father)[2];

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[1] Their skulls are shown in the cathedral on rare occasions.

[2] The following entry is taken from the municipal archives of Frankfort: 'John Conrad Böhler, brewer, son of a burgher, took the oath, Dec. 22, 1705, and paid burgher-money, six florins.' In the protocol of the Town Council of 1736

who immediately came, procured us entrance into the city, and entertained us in the most friendly manner. We set out early in the morning on *Tuesday* the 4th, and about one came to Marienborn.[1] But I was so ill that, after talking a little with Count Zinzendorf, I was forced to lie down the rest of the day.

The family at Marienborn consists of about ninety persons, gathered out of many nations. They live for the present in a large house hired by the Count, which is capable of receiving a far greater number; but are building one about three English miles off, on the top of a fruitful hill.[2]

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the following entry occurs: 'John Conrad Böhler, burgher, Controller at the Corn-office.' (Lockwood's *Memorials of Peter Böhler.*)

[1] Marienborn is described variously: by Tyerman as about thirty-five miles from Frankfort; by others as 'a large house in the County of Jsenburg Büdingen, about twenty-five miles from Frankfort-on-the-Main'; or 'a small village seven hours from Frankfort' (Wesley's letter to his mother). When Count Zinzendorf was banished by the Governor of Saxony from his estates at Berthelsdorf (which included Herrnhut), he came to Marienborn, and took possession of Ronneburg, 'a tumble-down old castle comparable to the ruined Foundery' (J. E. Hutton, *Short History*, p. 170). He there established schools for poor children, feeding and clothing them at his own expense. Here also he formed a settlement, consisting at first of 'forty students from Jena, most of whom became ministers in Europe or in missions to the heathen.' The friends who accompanied him, 'when banished, in his pilgrimage' were known as the 'Pilgrim Congregation.'

[2] This building, when finished, was called Herrnhaag. Here Zinzendorf established a second 'Pilgrim Congregation.' The two settlements became the seat of the supreme government of the Church of the Moravian Brethren, with Zinzendorf at the head. Here bishops resided and synods were held. From Marienborn and Herrnhaag labourers and missionaries were sent forth. It was here that James Hutton was married to Louise Brandt, a native of French Switzerland. The marriage was proposed by the Congregation, and undertaken solely in the interests of 'the work of the Lord among the females' in London. Zinzendorf himself performed the ceremony. The names of houses occupied by the Brethren in or around Marienborn, and alluded to in contemporary letters and memoirs, are accounted for by the fact that in 1738 all the arrangements were more or less temporary. Ronneburg, Büdingen, Eckershausen, a mile from Marienborn, and other houses were rented as residences for the brethren and sisters who gathered around Zinzendorf. Marienborn, only a small village, could not itself provide accommodation for the sudden influx of Brethren. Herrnhaag, on the hill three miles distant, was not yet built. The word 'congregation,' so frequently used, must be understood in its technical sense, very much as the word 'society' came to be used in Methodism. The community in each house, or group of houses, was a 'congregation' living a common life under strict rule and discipline. When Wesley came to Marienborn, the life of the exiles was new, its freshness unmarred by extravagances that invited the assaults of watchful enemies. In his Journal, and in letters to his mother, to Samuel, Charles, and James Hutton, he writes under the influence of first impressions.

'Oh how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!'[1]

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[1] Two stories are told with reference to this visit to Marienborn. To neither of them does Wesley himself make any reference, and both may be wholly or in part apocryphal. Benham, in his *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 40, says:

> On the 13th of June John Wesley and Benjamin Ingham went to Germany, in company with Töltschig, and reached Marienborn on the 4th of July, where Ingham was admitted to partake of the Holy Communion. But when the congregation saw Wesley to be *homo perturbatus*, and that his head had gained an ascendency over his heart, and being desirous not to interfere with his plan of effecting good as a clergyman of the English Church when he should become settled—for he always claimed to be a zealous English Churchman—they deemed it not prudent to admit him to that sacred service.

The other story is told by Hampson in his *Life of Wesley*. Referring to Wesley's visit to Zinzendorf in Marienborn, he tells 'an anecdote we have heard of Mr. Wesley':

> One day the Count had ordered his pupil to go and dig in the garden. When Mr. Wesley had been there some time, working in his shirt and in a high perspiration, he called upon him to get into a carriage that was in waiting to pay a visit to a German count; nor would he suffer him to wash his hands or to put on his coat. 'You must be simple, my brother,' was a full answer to all his remonstrances; and away he went, like a crazed man, *in statu quo*. This count, we presume, was the Count de Solms. The occasion of this extraordinary visit, which seems to have been intended merely as a lecture on simplicity, he has not taken notice of; but of the authenticity of the anecdote we have no doubt.

This 'anecdote,' however sincerely believed by Hampson, bears upon its surface the stamp of improbability or gross exaggeration. That Wesley, who was himself an enthusiastic gardener, found pleasure in the garden of the half-ruined castle of Ronneburg, is probable enough. He may conceivably have sought relief, as he so often had done in Georgia, from the sickness that was upon him when he reached Marienborn, in a spell of garden work; but that Count Zinzendorf would treat his guest with discourtesy, or that Wesley, who was immaculate in the matter of personal attire and behaviour, would call upon Count de Solms and his daughters in the guise described by Hampson, is simply incredible.

The other story, with its inferences, is equally unsupported by evidence. It rests on the statement of Benham, and is obviously inserted in all good faith, because it seems to provide a reason for Wesley's prejudices (of a later date) against the Moravians. Neither in Journal nor letters does Wesley himself make the slightest allusion to such an incident. He invariably describes his visit to Marienborn as one of unalloyed enjoyment. If he did not join his friends at the Lord's Table, it would not be because they 'refused him the sacrament,' but more probably because he found their Table of the Lord fenced by a rigid rule, namely, that only those who were living in the enjoyment of full assurance could be permitted to partake of the holy mysteries. Wesley was still a stout believer in church law and order. For conscience' sake he had refused the sacrament to his saintly friend Boltzius (see vol. i. p. 370), because he did not possess the credentials which Wesley at that time regarded as essential. Was he likely now to expect Zinzendorf to break his Moravian rule by admitting to the sacrament a friend who, confessedly, did not at present enjoy 'full assurance'? He was there in Marienborn for the express purpose of learning the truth which would solve his doubts and give him settled peace. Besides, unlike Ingham, who was rapidly advancing towards Moravianism, Wesley had no wish or intention to become a Moravian; nor is there any evidence that Zinzendorf at this time wished either him or any other

Thur. 6.—The Count carried me with him to the Count of Solms, where I observed with pleasure the German frugality. Three of the young Countesses (though grown up) were dressed in linen; the Count and his son in plain cloth. At dinner the next day a glass of wine and a glass of water were set by every one; and if either were emptied, a second. They all conversed freely and unaffectedly. At ten at night we took coach again, and in the morning reached Marienborn.

I lodged with one of the brethren at Eckershausen, an

There can be little doubt that Wesley wrote a large number of letters during his visit to Germany. A few only have survived. The letter to his mother quoted above is evidently one of a series of journal-letters in which he more fully described his travels. A letter to his brother Samuel, dated 'Marienborn, near Frankfort, July 7 (O.S.), 1738,' adds little to our store of information. It repeats the expression of enthusiastic regard for his Moravian hosts, and moralizes, chiefly for the spiritual benefit of 'my sister' (Mrs. Ursula Wesley), on that 'universal love' in which recent uncharitable judgements showed that the Tiverton Wesleys were wanting. (*Works*, Letter XXI.) A brief letter, written the same day from Count de Solms's castle to Charles Wesley, was lent by Sir Charles Reed, M.P., to Tyerman, who published it in a footnote in vol. ii. of his *Life and Times of Wesley*:

WESTPHALIA, GERMANY,
July 7, 1738.

DEAR BROTHER,

I am now with the Count, at his uncle's the Count of Solms, five or six hours from Marienborn; and have stolen an hour to let you know that God has been very merciful to us in all things. The spirit of the Brethren is above our highest expectation. Young and old, they breathe nothing but faith and love, at all times and in all places. I do not therefore concern myself with the smaller points that touch not the essence of Christianity, but endeavour (God being my helper) to grow up in these after the glorious example set before me. Having already seen with my own eyes more than a hundred witnesses of the everlasting truth,—'Every one that believeth hath peace with God, and is freed from sin, and is in Christ a new creature,'—see, my dear brother, that none of you receive the grace of God in vain; but be ye also living witnesses of the exceeding great and precious promises, which are made to every one of us through the blood of Jesus. Adieu.

JOHN WESLEY.

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clergyman of the Church of England to do so. His hope was that both the English and the Lutheran Churches might recognize the validity of Moravian orders and consent to a working agreement, at least in relation to foreign mission work. It is therefore suggested that Wesley did not seek nor expect permission to receive Holy Communion at Marienborn. With this conclusion harmonizes the fact that at Ysselstein Wesley himself administered Holy Communion to members of his own Church whom he found there. It is unjust to both Wesley and Zinzendorf to attribute the quarrel of a later date to apocryphal stories of intolerance, discourtesy, and personal pique. The true causes were wholly different, and really much more serious.

English mile from Marienborn, where I usually spent the day, chiefly in conversing with those who could speak either Latin or English; not being able, for want of more practice, to speak German readily. And here I continually met with what I sought for, viz. living proofs of the power of faith: persons saved from inward as well as outward sin by 'the love of God shed abroad in their hearts,' and from all doubt and fear by the abiding witness of 'the Holy Ghost given unto them.'

Sun. 9.—The Count preached in the old castle at Ronneburg[1] (about three English miles from Marienborn), where is also a small company of those who seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

Wednesday the 12th was one of the conferences for strangers; where one of Frankfort proposing the question,[2] Can a man be justified, and not know it? the Count spoke largely and scripturally upon it, to this effect[3]:

1. Justification is the forgiveness of sins.
2. The moment a man flies to Christ he is justified;
3. And has peace with God; but not always joy.
4. Nor perhaps may he know he is justified, till long after;
5. For the assurance of it is distinct from justification itself.
6. But others may know he is justified by his power over sin, by his seriousness, his love of the brethren, and his 'hunger and thirst after righteousness,' which alone prove the spiritual life to be begun.
7. To be justified is the same thing as to be born of God. (Not so.)[4]
8. When a man is awakened, he is begotten of God, and his fear and sorrow, and sense of the wrath of God, are the pangs of the new birth.

I then recollected what Peter Böhler had often said upon this head, which was to this effect:

1. When a man has living faith in Christ, then is he justified:

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[1] Ronneburg, as he tells his mother, was 'an hour off from Marienborn.' He also went to Büdingen, an hour's walk from Ronneburg.

[2] How closely some of the early Conferences and their Minutes follow the precedent of this Moravian Conference! Compare, for example, the Minutes of 1746.

[3] We may usefully compare Wesley's sermon on Justification, No. V.: 'The one, justification, implies what God does for us through His Son; the other, sanctification, what He works in us by His Spirit.'

[4] These two words were not in the first edition. His views were not clear at that time.

2. This is always given in a moment;
3. And in that moment he has peace with God;
4. Which he cannot have without knowing that he has it:
5. And being born of God, he sinneth not[1]:
6. Which deliverance from sin he cannot have without knowing that he has it.

Saturday the 15th was the Intercession-day, when many strangers were present from different parts. On *Monday* the 17th, having stayed here ten days longer than I intended (my first design being only to rest one or two days), I proposed setting out for Herrnhut; but Mr. Ingham desiring me to stay a little longer, I stayed till *Wednesday* the 19th, when Mr. Hauptmann (a native of Dresden), Mr. Brown,[2] and I set out together.

We breakfasted at Gelnhausen,[3] an old, unhandsome town, dined at Anfenau[4] (where is a strange instance of moderation—a church used every Sunday both by the Papists and the Lutherans alternately), and, notwithstanding some sharp showers of rain, in the evening reached Steinau.

Thur. 20.—We dined at Brounzell, and, passing through Fulda in the afternoon (where the Duke has a pleasant palace), travelled through a delightful country of hills and vales; and in the evening came to Rickers.[5] The next night (after having had the most beautiful prospect which I think I ever saw, from the top of a high hill, commanding a vast extent of various lands on every side), we, with some difficulty and many words, procured a poor accommodation at an inn in Marksuhl.

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[1] See above: his letter to his brother Charles.

[2] It is suggested that this may have been a member of the Fetter Lane Society who accompanied Wesley on his visit to Holland and Germany. In the list of officers and servants of 'The Congregation of the Lamb,' No. 4 in the list of Married Men is '*John Browne*, Woollen Draper in St. Martin's-le-Grand: (born at Wood Planton, Lancashire, July 8, 1712. He went to Yorkshire, and afterwards to Ireland).' He is named again under Friday, Aug. 18, and later. He was the Moravian minister at Ballymenagh in Antrim in 1746. Probably these names account for two more of the company in which Wesley travelled from London. A Moravian named Brown was thought to be the Pretender in disguise.

[3] At Gelnhausen Zinzendorf preached a sermon on 'The Mystery of Religion,' which he published in 1740.

[4] Wesley spells the name Offenau. There is still a church here used by Roman Catholics and Protestants alternately.

[5] Rickers, a village between Fulda and Hunfeld. Wesley spells it Rickhersch.

Sat. 22.—Having passed through Eisenach in the morning, we came through a more level open country, to Saxe-Gotha in the afternoon, a neat and pleasant city, in which the Prince's palace is indeed a fine building. We stopped an hour here with a friendly man, and in the evening came to Tüttleben[1]; and thence in the morning to Erfurt, where we were kindly entertained by Mr. Reinhardt, to whom we were directed by some of the brethren at Marienborn. In the afternoon we came to Weimar, where we had more difficulty to get through the city than is usual, even in Germany: being not only detained a considerable time at the [Erfurter] gate, but also carried before I know not what great man (I believe the Duke[2]) in the Square; who, after many other questions, asked what we were going so far as Herrnhut for. I answered, 'To see the place where the Christians live.'[3] He looked hard, and let us go.

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[1] A village about six kilometres from Gotha.

[2] Duke of Weimar, William Ernst August, 1728–49. Moore says (vol. i. p. 392) that this was 'Frederick, afterwards King of Prussia, then Prince Royal, as Mr. Wesley was informed.' Frederick the Great (*accessit* 1740) meets John Wesley! But Thomas McCullagh wrote in his interleaved Journal: 'The information, if given, was wrong. Frederick, now called the "Great," left his residence at Reinsberg to accompany his father, Frederick William, to reviews in the Cleve region, and thence to visit the Prince of Orange at Loo Palace. All this occupied the remainder of July and beyond that. Besides, the Duchy of Saxe-Weimar was not under the Prussian monarchy in any way' (see Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*, bk. x. ch. 5).

[3] Mr. C. Lawrence Ford, in a note on this reply (W.H.S. *Proceedings*, vol. v. p. 111), truly says, 'There is more here than lies on the surface.' He then quotes a verse (5) from Hymn 16 in the 1876 Hymn-book:

Ye different sects, who all declare
Lo, here is Christ! or, Christ is there!
Your stronger proofs divinely give,
And show me where the *Christians* live.

This hymn appears in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1749, with Charles Wesley's name alone on the title-page. This was not the first publication of the hymn. It appeared first, without name or author, at the end of John Wesley's *Earnest Appeal*, second edition, 1743. The Georgia Diary shows that for many months previous to 1738 Wesley's mind had been much occupied with the subject of this hymn—*Primitive Christianity.* He had read, re-read many times, and carefully translated and condensed Fleury's *Manners of the Ancient Christians*; and had prepared a catechism on the subject for use in his children's classes. Mr. Ford says: 'Both this verse and the Journal entry are probably based on an incident in the childhood of the noted mystic, Antoinette Bourignon, author of Hymn 285 (now 526), "Come, Saviour, Jesus, from above." [See *Meth. Rec.* Jan. 20, and Feb. 3, 1910.]

"Having read the Gospels, and being told of the life of Jesus Christ, how poor, and mean, and despised, and self-denied He was, and seeing all people live very unlike to Him, in ease and abundance and pleasures and honours, she asked her parents, 'Where are the Christians? *Let us go to the country where the Christians live.*' And though her parents derided her for this, yet this impression ever remained with her; and it was

Mon. 24.—We came early to Jena,[1] which lies at the bottom of several high, steep, barren hills. The students here are distinguished from the townsmen by their swords. They do not live together in colleges (nor indeed in any of the German Universities), as we do in Oxford and Cambridge; but are scattered up and down the town, in lodging- or boarding-houses. Those of them to whom we were recommended behaved as brethren indeed. Oh may brotherly kindness, and every good word and work, abound in them more and more!

At Jena the stone pillars begin, set up by the Elector of Saxony, and marking out every quarter of a German mile, to the end of his Electorate. Every mile is a large pillar, with the names of the neighbouring towns, and their distances, inscribed. It were much to be wished that the same care were taken in England, and indeed in all countries.

We left Jena early on *Tuesday*, reached Weissenfels in the evening, and Merseburg on *Wednesday* morning. Having a desire to see Halle (two German miles off), we set out after breakfast, and came thither at two in the afternoon. But we could not be admitted into the town, when we came. The King of Prussia's tall men, who kept the gates, sent us backward and forward, from one gate to another, for near two hours. I then thought of sending in a note to Professor Francke, the son of that August Hermann Francke whose name is indeed as precious ointment. Oh may I follow him, as he did Christ, and 'by manifestation of the truth commend myself to every man's conscience in the sight of God'!

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her constant theme to let the world see what a true Christian is, and that none such are to be found" (*The Light of the World*, Introduction, p. xvi., English translation, 1696; reprint, 1863).'

Madame Bourignon is mentioned in Wesley's *Works*, iv. 8, and xiii. 127. Wesley read *The Light of the World* and *A Treatise of Solid Vertue* in Georgia (see vol. i. p. 191), and afterwards published the latter in his *Christian Library*. An interesting study of Antoinette Bourignon as a Quietist has recently been published by Dr. Macewen (Hodder & Stoughton). In it he says that her position in regard to 'illumination' and 'perfect union with God' discredited her work. 'John Wesley recognized the verve and force with which she assailed Predestinarianism, and, with his robust and almost reckless eclecticism, placed in the hands of his adherents portions of her writings which emphasize vividly the value of conduct and contend effectively against Antinomian conceptions of grace.'

[1] The University of Jena was Peter Böhler's and Spangenberg's *Alma Mater*. Among the students was an association having for its object the promotion of true godliness. Goethe here derived inspiration for all manner of good things.

He was not in town. However, we were at length admitted into the Orphan House, that amazing proof that 'all things are' still 'possible to him that believeth.'[1] There is now a large yearly revenue for its support, beside what is continually brought in by the printing-office, the books sold there, and the apothecary's shop, which is furnished with all sorts of medicines.[2] The building reaches backward from the front in two wings for, I believe, a hundred and fifty yards. The lodging-chambers for the children, their dining-room, their chapel, and all the adjoining apartments, are so conveniently contrived, and so exactly clean, as I have never seen any before. Six hundred and fifty children, we were informed, are wholly maintained there; and three thousand, if I mistake not, taught. Surely, such a thing neither we nor our fathers have known as this great thing which God has done here!

Thur. 27.—We returned to Merseburg, and at five in the evening came to the gates of Leipzig. After we had sent in our pass, and waited an hour and a half, we were suffered to go to a bad inn in the town.

Fri. 28.—We found out Mr. Marschall,[3] and the other gentlemen of the University, to whom we were directed. They were not wanting in any good office while we stayed, and in the afternoon went with us an hour forward in our journey.

After a pleasant walk on *Saturday*, on *Sunday* the 30th, about seven in the morning, we came to Meissen. In Meissen

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[1] Here is the origin of the Orphan Houses of Wesley and Whitefield. We may also trace to the same source most of the orphanage work of various Churches in Great Britain during the nineteenth century. At Francke's death 134 orphan children were maintained in the house and 2,207 children taught in the schools. When opponents urged that the house was too large, and, if built, could not be maintained, Francke replied, 'I know best how large a house I require in order to regulate the work in a proper manner. But know this, that when God has once built this house He will still be as rich and as able as He was before to provide for the poor that will reside in it.' He began with seven florins, i.e. with four thalers, sixteen groschen = 13½ marks or shillings.

[2] The laboratory in which medicines were prepared was particularly successful. The farm, too, was a source of income.

[3] In the first edition the name is spelt 'Marschall.' The same name, variously spelt 'Marshall' and 'Marschall,' appears frequently in the Hutton Memoirs. Apparently two, or even three, men of this name occupied prominent positions in the Fetter Lane Society. It is supposed that some or all of them were connected with two brothers of the same name in the University of Leipzig. They were both born in the Castle of Stolpen, near Dresden.

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Castle the German chinaware is made, which is full as dear as that imported from the Indies, and as finely shaped and beautifully coloured as any I have ever seen. After breakfast we went to church. I was greatly surprised at all I saw there—at the costliness of apparel in many, and the gaudiness of it in more; at the huge fur caps worn by the women, of the same shape with a Turkish turban; which generally had one or more ribands hanging down a great length behind. The minister's habit was adorned with gold and scarlet, and a vast cross both behind and before. Most of the congregation sat (the men generally with their hats on, at the prayers as well as sermon), and all of them stayed during the Holy Communion, though but very few received. Alas, alas! what a *Reformed* country is this!

At two in the afternoon we came to Dresden, the chief city of Saxony. Here also we were carried for above two hours from one magistrate or officer to another, with the usual impertinent[1] solemnity, before we were suffered to go to our inn. I greatly wonder that common sense and common humanity (for these doubtless subsist in Germany as well as England) do not put an end to this senseless, inhuman usage of strangers which we met with at almost every German city, though more particularly at Frankfort, Weimar, Halle, Leipzig, and Dresden. I know nothing that can reasonably be said in its defence in a time of full peace, being a breach of all the common, even heathen laws of hospitality. If it be a custom, so much the worse; the more is the pity and the shame.

In the evening we saw the palace the late Elector was building when God called him away. The stone-work he had very near finished, and some of the apartments within. It is a beautiful and magnificent design, but all is now swiftly running to ruin. The new church on the outside resembles a theatre. It is eight-square, built of fine freestone.[2] We were desired also to take notice of the great bridge which joins the new with the old town; of the large brass crucifix upon it, generally admired for the workmanship; and of the late King Augustus's statue on horseback, which is at a small distance from it. Alas! where will all these things appear when the earth and the works thereof shall be burned up?

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[1] That is to say, meaningless, gratuitous.

[2] We recall Wesley's strong preference for the octagon form in his 'houses' in later years.

Between five and six the next evening (having left Mr. Hauptmann with his relations in Dresden), we came to Neustadt; but could not procure any lodging in the city. After walking half an hour, we came to another little town,[1] and found a sort of an inn there. But they told us plainly we should have no lodging with them, for they did not like our looks.

About eight we were received at a little house in another village,[2] where God gave us sweet rest.

AUG. 1, *Tues.*—At three in the afternoon I came to Herrnhut,[3] about thirty English miles from Dresden. It lies in Upper Lusatia, on the border of Bohemia, and contains about a hundred houses, built on a rising ground, with evergreen woods on two sides, gardens and corn-fields on the others, and high hills at a small distance. It has one long street, through which the great road from Zittau to Löbau goes. Fronting the middle of this street is the Orphan House; in the lower part of which is the apothecary's shop, in the upper the chapel, capable of containing six or seven hundred people. Another row of houses runs at a small distance from either end of the Orphan House, which accordingly divides the rest of the town (beside the long street) into two squares. At the east end of it is the Count's house—a small, plain building like the rest; having a large garden behind it, well laid out, not for show, but for the use of the community.[4]

We had a convenient lodging assigned us in the house appointed for strangers; and I had now abundant opportunity of observing whether what I had heard was enlarged by the relators, or was neither more nor less than the naked truth.

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[1] This town has not been identified.

[2] Built by the roadside, for the instruction of travellers passing by. (Southey's *Wesley*, Cavendish ed., p. 105.)

[3] Many from various lands came to see this revival of primitive Christianity, and in one day fifty letters of inquiry were received. Deputations also were sent to Denmark by desire of the King, and to England, to give information. Töltschig and J. W. Neisser came to England on this errand.

[4] For the scenery, see *Meth. Mag.* 1814, p. 103. For the founding of the town see Holmes, *History of the Moravians*, vol. i. p. 169.

I rejoiced to find Mr. Hermsdorf[1] here, whom I had so often conversed with in Georgia. And there was nothing in his power which he did not do to make our stay here useful and agreeable.

About eight we went to the public service, at which they frequently use other instruments with their organ. They began (as usual) with singing. Then followed the expounding, closed by a second hymn. Prayer followed this; and then a few verses of a third hymn, which concluded the service.

Wed. 2.—At four in the afternoon was a lovefeast of the married men, taking their food with gladness and singleness of heart, and with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

Thur. 3 (and so every day at eleven), I was at the Bible Conference, wherein Mr. Müller[2] (late master of a great school in Zittau, till he left all to follow Christ) and several others read together, as usual, a portion of Scriptures in the original. At five was the conference for strangers, when several questions concerning justification were resolved. This evening Christian David[3] came hither. Oh may God make him a messenger of glad tidings!

On *Friday* and *Saturday*[4] (and so every day in the following week) I had much conversation with the most experienced of the brethren concerning the great work which God had wrought in their souls, purifying them by faith; and with Martin Dober[5] and the other teachers and elders of the Church, concerning the discipline used therein.

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[1] For Hermsdorf see Journal, Feb. 16, 1736. Captain Hermsdorf accompanied the Saltzburghers in the *London Merchant* to Georgia. He is frequently named in the first volume of the Journal, and Charles Wesley often referred to him. Probably Herr von Hermsdorf, who was received in the Society 1741, and died 1767.

[2] Polycarp Müller, afterwards ordained bishop; a very learned man. Zinzendorf opposed the bishop's desire to introduce scholastic learning into the theological school at Lindhelm.

[3] Under God, the first planter of 'the Church at Herrnhut' (Moore's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 393. See below, p. 28).

[4] On Aug. 4 Wesley wrote to his brother Charles (see Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. i. p. 160). In the Fetter Lane archives is a letter written by Wesley on Aug. 4 to James Hutton. It was reprinted in the Moravian *Messenger* for 1877, p. 49.

[5] Dober was born at Dettingen in 1702. He came to Herrnhut in 1724, and four years after was chosen elder. By trade he was a potter, but such was his application to study that he passed the examinations of several universities. He was sent on important missions by the Moravian Church. His talents as a preacher were highly esteemed. Zinzendorf's prayer for Dober, when he seemed to be at the point of death, is preserved by Spangenberg in his Life of the Count. 'The Count entreated the Lord to spare him, considering how useful he had been

Sun. 6.—We went to church at Berthelsdorf,[1] a Lutheran village about an English mile from Herrnhut. Two large candles stood lighted upon the altar. The Last Supper was painted behind it; the pulpit was placed over it; and over that a brass image of Christ on the cross.

The minister[2] had on a sort of pudding-sleeve gown, which covered him all round. At nine began a long voluntary on the organ, closed with a hymn, which was sung by all the people sitting; in which posture, as is the German custom, they sung all that followed. Then the minister walked up to the altar, bowed, sung these Latin words, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*; bowed again, and went away. This was followed by another hymn, sung, as before, to the organ, by all the people. Then the minister went to the altar again, bowed, sung a prayer, read the Epistle, and went away. After a third hymn was sung, he went a third time to the altar, sung a versicle (to which all the people sung a response), read the third chapter to the Romans, and went away. The people having then sung the Creed in rhyme,[3] he came and read the Gospel, all standing. Another hymn followed, which being ended, the minister in the pulpit used a long extemporary prayer, and afterwards preached an hour and a quarter on a verse of the Gospel. Then he read a long intercession and general thanksgiving, which before twelve concluded the service.

After the evening service at Herrnhut was ended, all the unmarried men (as is their custom) walked quite round the town, singing praise with instruments of music; and then on

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and how much more so he might still become, adding, that he wished he might himself be taken away from the earth and Martin Dober retained.' He miraculously recovered, and lived eighteen years, during which he ministered to the church at Herrnhut. (Spangenberg's *Life of Zinzendorf*, p. 123.)

[1] Herrnhut was planted within the parish of Berthelsdorf. See an article on 'Berthelsdorf and Hymn 362' by E. Pope in *W.M. Mag.*, Nov. 1906.

[2] The minister was Rothe, and the service was Lutheran, in which Church Rothe continued. Johann Andreas Rothe frequently appears in the Moravian annals of this time. He wrote the German original of the great hymn, 'Now I have found the ground wherein.' Wesley's translation was adopted not only by the Methodists, but also by the English Moravians. Portions of the hymn soothed the last hours of John Fletcher. (See also vol. i. p. 220.)

[3] 'Wir glauben all' an einen Gott,' &c. (cf. below, p. 44).

a small hill, at a little distance from it, casting themselves into a ring, joined in prayer. Thence they returned into the great Square, and, a little after eleven, commended each other to God.

Tues. 8.—A child was buried. The burying-ground (called by them 'Gottesacker,' that is, God's ground) lies a few hundred yards out of the town, under the side of a little wood.[1] There are distinct squares in it for married men and unmarried; for married and unmarried women; for male and female children, and for widows.[2] The corpse was carried from the chapel, the children walking first; next the orphan-father (so they call him who has the chief care of the Orphan House), with the minister of Berthelsdorf; then four children bearing the corpse; and after them, Martin Dober and the father of the child. Then followed the men; and last of all the women and girls. They all sung as they went. Being come into the square where the male children are buried, the men stood on two sides of it, the boys on the third, and the women and girls on the fourth. There they sung again; after which the minister used (I think read) a short prayer, and concluded with that blessing, 'Unto God's gracious mercy and protection I commit you.'

Seeing the father (a plain man, a tailor by trade) looking at the grave, I asked, 'How do you find yourself?' He said, 'Praised be the Lord, never better. He has taken the soul of my child to Himself. I have seen, according to my desire, his body committed to holy ground. And I know that when it is raised again, both he and I shall be ever with the Lord.'[3]

Several evenings this week I was with one or other of the private bands.[4] On *Wednesday* and *Thursday* I had an oppor-

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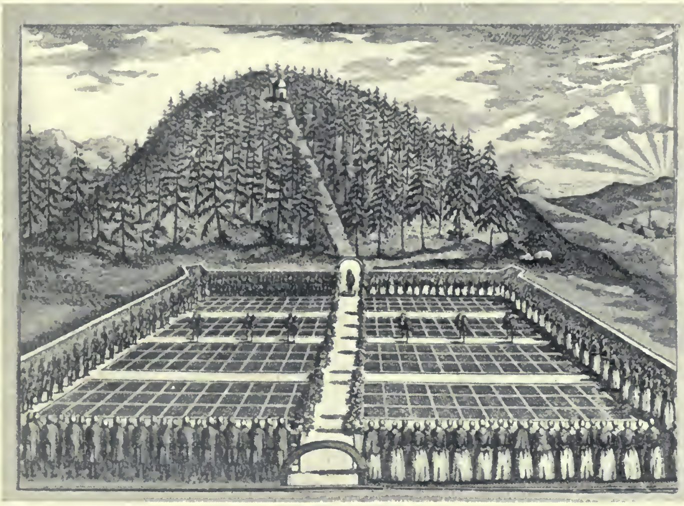
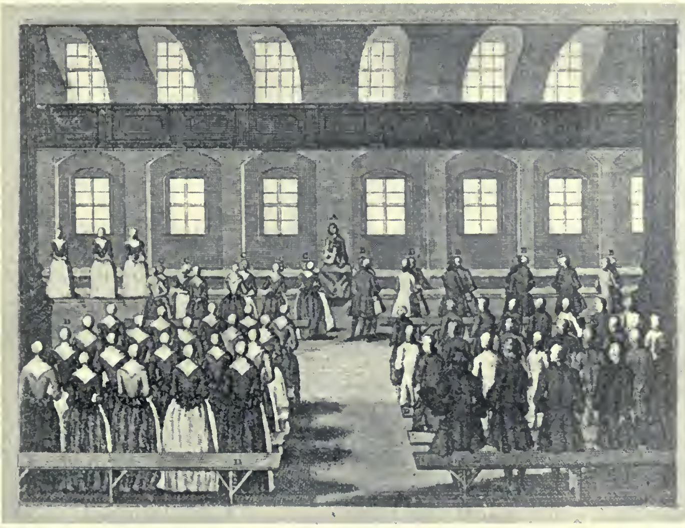
[1] 'If he [the Count] wished to afford any one a pleasure, he took him to the Hutberg, and spoke with him concerning those who were interred there.' Holmes (*History of the Moravians*, vol. i. p. 425 note) gives a full description of this beautiful cemetery. Southey asserts that this suggested the Burying-place of the Patriarchs in Montgomery's *World before the Flood.* See also, for this cemetery, *W.M. Mag.* 1856, p. 1027.

[2] The intersecting walks are planted with tall lime-trees, forming shady vistas.

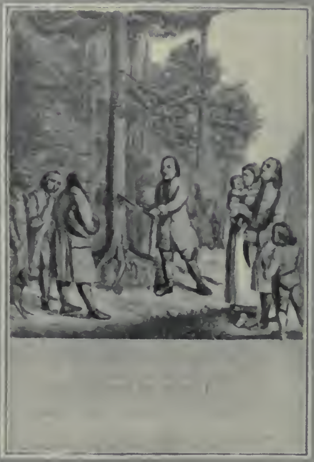
[3] Over the portal at the public entrance are the words, 'Christ is risen from the dead'; and on the other side, 'He is become the first-fruits of them that slept.'

[4] Cf. below, p. 50. There has recently been an article written on the 'bands' at Herrnhut in the 'Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte' III., 1909, pp. 145-207 (Gott. Schmidt)—'Die Banden- oder Gesellschaften im alten Herrnhut,' to which the Rev. J. E. Hutton refers in an interesting study (*W.M. Mag.*, March 1911).





1. EASTER COMMEMORATION OF THE DEPARTED IN HERRNHUT CEMETERY.
2. RECEPTION INTO THE MORAVIAN COMMUNITY.



BERTHELSDORF CHURCH.

COMMENCING HERRNHUT, 1722.
(Christian David felling the first tree.)

VIEW OF HERRNHUT.

tunity of talking with Michael Linner,[1] the Eldest of the church, and largely with Christian David, who, under God, was the first planter of it.

Four times also I enjoyed the blessing of hearing him preach during the few days I spent here; and every time he chose the very subject which I should have desired, had I spoken to him before.[2] Thrice he described the state of those who are 'weak in faith,' who are justified, but have not yet a new, clean heart; who have received forgiveness through the blood of Christ, but have not received the constant indwelling of the Holy Ghost. This state he explained once from, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'; when he showed at large, from various scriptures, that many are children of God and heirs of the promises long before their hearts are softened by holy 'mourning'; before they are comforted by the abiding witness of the Spirit, melting their souls into all gentleness and 'meekness'; and much more before they are renewed in all that 'righteousness' which they 'hungered and thirsted after'; before they are 'pure in heart' from all self-will and sin, and 'merciful' as their 'Father which is in heaven is merciful.'

A second time he pointed out this state from those words, 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God, [through] Jesus Christ our Lord. There is therefore [now] no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus.' Hence also he at large both proved the existence and showed the nature of that intermediate state which most experience between that bondage which is described in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and the full glorious liberty of the children of God described in the eighth, and in many other parts of Scripture.

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[1] His brother, Martin Linner, was chosen elder of the church, and, at the same time, the celebrated Anna Nitschmann female elder. 'Martin Linner was a young man, a baker by trade, who possessed no particular gift for public speaking, but enjoyed a confidential intercourse with the Saviour, and proved himself in all things a servant of Jesus.' No doubt Wesley learnt much at Herrnhut with reference to the employment of women in the church. We may trace to his friendship with the Moravians much of the early Methodist appreciation of women's gift for service amongst their sisters, and especially amongst the children. 'Anna Nitschmann had been brought from Moravia when a child, and, when the great awakening took place amongst the children, was also one of those whose hearts the Lord touched; so that afterwards she was employed amongst the girls, and rendered useful to them. She made rapid progress in the divine life, maintained herself outwardly by spinning wool, and continued day and night in prayer.' (See Spangenberg's *Life of Count Zinzendorf*, p. 120, where will be found a charming description of the organization which Wesley had an opportunity of studying.) Anna Nitschmann became Zinzendorf's second wife in 1757.

[2] The humble 'Bush preacher' once preached before the court of the King of Denmark.

This he yet again explained from the scriptures which describe the state the apostles were in from our Lord's death (and indeed for some time before) till the descent of the Holy Ghost at the day of Pentecost. They were then 'clean,' as Christ Himself had borne them witness, 'by the word which He had spoken unto them.' They then had faith, otherwise He could not have prayed for them that their 'faith' might not 'fail.' Yet they had not, in the full sense, 'new hearts'; neither had they received 'the gift of the Holy Ghost.'

The fourth sermon which he preached, concerning the ground of faith, made such an impression upon me that when I went home I could not but write down the substance of it, which was as follows:

The word of reconciliation which the apostles preached as the foundation of all they taught was that we are reconciled to God, not by our own works, nor by our own righteousness, but wholly and solely by the blood of Christ.

But you will say, Must I not grieve and mourn for my sins? Must I not humble myself before God? Is not this just and right? And must I not first do this, before I can expect God to be reconciled to me? I answer, It is just and right. You must be humbled before God. You must have a broken and contrite heart. But then observe, this is not your own work. Do you grieve that you are a sinner? This is the work of the Holy Ghost. Are you contrite? Are you humbled before God? Do you indeed mourn, and is your heart broken within you? All this worketh the self-same Spirit.

Observe again, this is not the foundation. It is not this by which you are justified. This is not the righteousness, this is no part of the righteousness, by which you are reconciled unto God. You grieve for your sins. You are deeply humble. Your heart is broken. Well; but all this is nothing to your justification. The remission of your sins is not owing to this cause, either in whole or in part. Your humiliation and contrition have no influence on that. Nay, observe further, that it may hinder your justification; that is, if you build anything upon it; if you think, I must be *so or so* contrite. I must grieve *more*, before I can be justified. Understand this well. To think you must be *more* contrite, *more* humble, *more* grieved, *more* sensible of the weight of sin, before you can be justified, is to lay your contrition, your grief, your humiliation, for the foundation of your being justified; at least, for a part of the foundation. Therefore it hinders your justification; and a hindrance it is which must be removed before you can lay the right foundation. The right foundation is, not *your* contrition (though that is not your *own*), not *your* righteousness, nothing of *your own*, nothing that is wrought *in you* by the Holy Ghost; but it is something *without you*, viz. the righteousness and the blood of Christ.

For this is the word, 'To him that believeth on God that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.' See ye not that the foundation is nothing in us? There is no connexion between God and the ungodly. There is no tie to unite them. They are altogether separate from each other. They have nothing in common. There is nothing less or more in the ungodly to join them to God. Works, righteousness, contrition? No; ungodliness only. This then do, if you will lay a right foundation. Go straight to Christ with all your ungodliness. Tell Him, Thou, whose eyes are as a flame of fire searching my heart, seest that I am ungodly. I plead nothing else. I do not say I am humble or contrite; but I am ungodly. Therefore bring me to Him that justifieth the ungodly. Let Thy blood be the propitiation for me. For there is nothing in me but ungodliness.

Here is a mystery. Here the wise men of the world are lost, are taken in their own craftiness. This the learned of the world cannot comprehend. It is foolishness unto them: sin is the only thing which divides men from God. Sin (let him that heareth understand) is the only thing which unites them to God; that is, the only thing which moves the Lamb of God to have compassion upon, and, by His blood, to give them access to the Father.

This is the 'word of reconciliation' which we preach. This is the foundation which never can be moved. By faith we are built upon this foundation; and this faith also is the gift of God. It is His free gift, which He now and ever giveth to every one that is willing to receive it. And when they have received this gift of God, then their hearts will melt for sorrow that they have offended Him. But this gift of God lives in the heart, not in the head. The faith of the head, learned from men or books, is nothing worth. It brings neither remission of sins nor peace with God. Labour then to believe with your whole heart. So shall you have redemption through the blood of Christ. So shall you be cleansed from all sin. So shall ye go on from strength to strength, being renewed day by day in righteousness and all true holiness.

Saturday the 12th was the Intercession-day, when many strangers were present, some of whom came twenty or thirty miles. I would gladly have spent my life here; but my Master calling me to labour in another part of His vineyard, on *Monday* the 14th I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place; Martin Dober and a few others of the brethren walking with us about an hour. Oh when shall THIS Christianity cover the earth, as the 'waters cover the sea'?

To hear in what manner God 'out of darkness commanded this light to shine' must be agreeable to all those in every nation who can testify from their own experience, 'The gracious Lord has so done His marvellous acts, that they ought to be had in remembrance.' I shall therefore here subjoin the substance of several conversations which I had at Herrnhut, chiefly on this subject. And may many be incited hereby to give praise 'unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever'!

It was on August 10 (old style) that I had an opportunity of spending some hours with CHRISTIAN DAVID.[1] He is a carpenter by trade, more than middle-aged, though I believe not fifty yet. Most of his words I understood well; if at any time I did not, one of the brethren who went with me explained them in Latin. The substance of what he spoke I immediately after wrote down; which was as follows:

When I was young,[2] I was much troubled at hearing some affirm that the Pope was Antichrist. I read the Lutheran books writ against the Papists, and the Popish books writ against the Lutherans. I easily saw that the Papists were in the wrong; but not that the Lutherans were in the right.[3] I could not understand what they meant by being justified by faith, by faith alone, by faith without works. Neither did I like their talking so much of Christ. Then I began to think, How can Christ be the Son of God? But the more I reasoned with myself upon it, the more confused I was, till at last I loathed the very name of Christ. I could not bear to mention it. I hated the sound of it; and would never willingly have either read or heard it. In this temper I left Moravia,[1] and wandered through many countries, seeking rest, but finding none.

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[1] Born at Senftleben, a village of Moravia, on Dec. 31, 1690.

[2] His first religious impressions were made when eight years old. He was educated in Popery, and manifested great zeal for the practices of the Church of Rome; but he found neither rest for his conscience nor strength to contend against sin.

[3] He fell in with a company of Lutherans at Hileschau whilst serving his apprenticeship. The secret meetings of the company were discovered, and imprisonment followed. In the cellar where they were confined they prayed and sang, night and day.

In these wanderings I fell among some Jews.[2] Their objections against the New Testament threw me into fresh doubts. At last I set myself to read over the Old Testament,[3] and see if the prophecies therein contained were fulfilled. I was soon convinced they were. And thus much I gained—a fixed belief that Jesus was the Christ.

But soon after this a new doubt arose, Are the New Testament prophecies fulfilled? This I next set myself to examine. I read them carefully over, and could not but see every event answered the prediction; so that the more I compared the one with the other, the more fully I was convinced that 'all Scripture was given by inspiration of God.'

Yet still my soul was not in peace; nor indeed did I expect it, till I should have openly renounced the errors of Popery; which accordingly I did at Berlin.[4] I now also led a very strict life. I read much, and prayed much. I did all I could to conquer sin; yet it profited not: I was still conquered by it. Neither found I any more rest among the Lutherans than I did before among the Papists.[5]

At length, not knowing what to do, I listed myself a soldier.[6] Now, I thought, I should have more time to pray and read, having with me a New Testament and a Hymn-book. But in one day both my books were stole. This almost broke my heart. Finding also in this way of life all the inconveniences which I thought to avoid by it, after six months I returned to my trade, and followed it two years.[7] Removing then to Görlitz,[8] in Saxony, I fell into a dangerous illness. I could not stir hand or foot for twenty weeks. Pastor Schwedler[9] came to me every day. And from him it was that the gospel of Christ came first with power to my soul.

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[1] Like all German apprentices when they have served their time, he set out on his travels.

[2] These Jews he also met at Hileschau, where they had a synagogue, and their zeal for the law of their fathers impressed him greatly.

[3] Before this time, his twentieth year, he had never seen a Bible.

[4] After travelling in Hungary and Saxony, and vainly trying to join the Protestants in these countries.

[5] The Rev. Mr. Schmidt, after instruction, admitted him to the Lord's Supper in the Lutheran Church; but the lives of the generality of the Lutherans shocked him.

[6] He was present at the siege of Stralsund, 1715.

[7] Residing at Breslau and Schweidnitz.

[8] The persecutions of the Jesuits induced him to remove to Görlitz in Upper Lusatia.

[9] Schwedler, pastor at Niederwiesa, near Laubau, some miles from Görlitz, whose sermons, as well as those of Pastor Schaefer, were made a blessing to him.

Here I found the peace I had long sought in vain; for I was assured *my* sins were forgiven. Not indeed all at once, but by degrees; not in one moment, nor in one hour. For I could not immediately believe that I *was* forgiven, because of the mistake I was then in concerning forgiveness. I saw not then that the first promise to the children of God is, 'Sin shall no more reign over you'; but thought I was to feel it in me no more from the time it was forgiven. Therefore, although I had the mastery over it, yet I often feared it was not forgiven, because it still stirred in me, and at some times thrust sore at me that I might fall: because, though it did not reign, it did remain in me; and I was continually tempted, though not overcome. This at that time threw me into many doubts; not understanding that the devil tempts, properly speaking, only those whom he perceives to be escaping from him. He need not tempt his own; for they 'lie in the wicked one' (as St. John observes), and do his will with greediness. But those whom Christ is setting free he tempts day and night, to see if he can recover them to his kingdom. Neither saw I then that the being justified is widely different from the having the full assurance of faith. I remembered not that our Lord told His apostles before His death, 'Ye are clean'; whereas it was not till many days after it that they were fully assured, by the Holy Ghost then received, of their reconciliation to God through His blood. The difference between these fruits of the Spirit was as yet hid from me; so that I was hardly and slowly convinced I had the one, because I had not the other.

When I was recovered from my illness, I resolved to return into Moravia and preach Christ to my relations there.[1] Thence I came back to Görlitz, where I continued five years; and there was a great awakening both in the town and country round about. In this space I made two more journeys into Moravia, where more and more came to hear me, many of whom promised to come to me, wherever I was, when a door should be opened for them.

After my return from my third journey Count Zinzendorf sent to Görlitz, the minister of Berthelsdorf[2] being dead, for Mr. Rothe, who

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He married a pious young woman of Schwedler's congregation. Melchior Schaefer was minister of Holy Trinity Church, Görlitz, from 1712. He died July 9, 1738. Wesley (1st ed.) spells Schwedler 'Sleder.'

[1] This was in 1717. At Senftleben he became acquainted with the Neissers (see pp. 40–44). His preaching deeply moved his fellow townsmen, and led many to desire to emigrate to a Protestant district. See his conversation, p. 34.

[2] The living of Berthelsdorf became vacant soon after the Count had purchased the estate. Johann Andreas Rothe, having finished his studies at Leipzig, became a schoolmaster, having

was in a gentleman's family there, to be minister of that place. Mr. Rothe told him of me; and he writ to me to come to him; and when I came said, 'Let as many as will of your friends come hither; I will give them land to build on, and Christ will give them the rest.' I went immediately into Moravia, and told them God had now found out a place for us. Ten of them followed me then[1]; ten more the next year; one more in my following journey. The Papists were now alarmed, set a price upon my head, and levelled the house I had lodged in even with the ground. I made, however, eleven journeys thither in all, and conducted as many as desired it to this place[2]; the way to which was now so well known, that many more came of themselves.

Eighteen years ago we built the first house.[3] We chose to be near the great road rather than at Berthelsdorf (for the Count[4] gave us our choice), hoping we might thereby find opportunities of instructing some that travelled by us. In two years we were increased to a hundred and fifty; when I contracted an intimate acquaintance with a Calvinist, who after some time brought me over to his opinion touching election and reprobation; and by me were most of our brethren likewise brought over to the same opinions. About this time we were in great straits, wherewith many were much dejected. I endeavoured to comfort them with the sense of God's love towards them. But they answered, 'Nay, it may be He hath no love towards us. It may be we are not of the election; but God hated us from eternity, and therefore He has suffered all these things to come upon us.'

The Count observing this, desired me to go to a neighbouring minister, Pastor Steinmetz,[5] and talk with him fully on that head, 'Whether Christ died for all?' I did so, and by him God fully con-

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some scruples as to the clerical office. At Görlitz, however, he often preached in the church with great power and success. This coming to the ears of the Count, he offered him the living at Berthelsdorf. 'He exhibited in his person the talents of Luther, Spener, Francke, and Schwedler!'

[1] Two Neissers and their families were the first; their three brothers and a cousin followed.

[2] David led them by unfrequented paths over the mountains to escape the Papists. Once he was arrested and imprisoned.

[3] David built it. The first tree was felled in June 1732.

[4] The Count's steward, Heitz, a Swiss, afforded much help. He gave the name to the settlement, Herrnhut, 'Watched of the Lord.' 'God grant,' he wrote to the Count, 'that your excellency may found at the feet of the Hutberg (hill of watch) a city which shall not only be watched of the Lord, but whose inhabitants shall keep watch before Him day and night.' At the dedication of the house Heitz gave an address on Isa. lxii. 6, 7, and he read the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in Rev. xxi.

[5] John Adam Steinmetz, of Teschen, an eminent divine. Zinzendorf corresponded with him and held him in high regard. He was the means of banishing the sectarian spirit from the first Moravian emigrants.

vinced me of that important truth. And not long after, the Count desired we might all meet together, and consider these things thoroughly. We met, accordingly, at his house and parted not for three days. We opened the Scriptures, and considered the account which is given therein of the whole economy of God with man, from the creation to the consummation of all things; and by the blessing of God we came all to one mind, particularly in that fundamental point that 'He willeth all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.'[1]

Some time after, the Jesuits told the Emperor that the Count was gathering together all the Moravians and Bohemians, forming them into one body, and making a new religion. Commissioners were immediately sent to Herrnhut to examine the truth of this. The substance of the final answer returned through them to the Emperor was as follows :

AN EXTRACT OF THE PUBLIC INSTRUMENT SIGNED AT HERRNHUT ON AUGUST 12, 1729[2]

1. WE believe the Church of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, from whom we are descended, to have been a holy and undefiled Church, as is owned by Luther and all other Protestant divines ; who own also that our doctrine agrees with theirs. But our discipline they have not.

2. But we do not rest upon the holiness of our ancestors ; it being our continual care to show that we are passed from death unto life, by worshipping God in spirit and in truth. Nor do we account any man a brother, unless he has either preserved inviolate the covenant he made with God in baptism, or, if he has broken it, been born again of God.

3. On the other side, whosoever they are who, being sprinkled by the blood of Christ, are sanctified through faith, we receive them as brethren, although in some points they may differ from us. Not that we can renounce or give up any doctrine of God contained in Holy Writ, the least part of which is dearer unto us than thousands of gold and silver.

4. Discipline we judge to be necessary in the highest degree, for all those who have any knowledge of divine truth ; and we can, therefore, in no wise forsake that which we have received from our forefathers. Yet if it should ever be (which God forbid) that any of us should speak or act

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[1] Cf. J. E. Hutton's *Short History*, p. 143.

[2] Cf. J. E. Hutton as above, and 'Our Ecclesiastical Position' in the Moravian *Messenger*, 1875, p. 51, and 1876, p. 151 ; copy of correspondence in *Church Times*, Feb. 4, 1876, also in *The Guardian*, 1909. For a very full account of the discussions and negotiations which in England led up to an Act of May 12, 1747, which had the effect, indirectly, of securing the Parliamentary recognition of the Brethren as an ancient, regular Episcopal Protestant Church, see Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp. 204-21. This 'Notariats' = 'Instrument,' is given in full in *Budingische Pammengemiger in die Kirchenhissone emochlagenner Sondirlich neuern Schriften*, band i. p. 3, 1740.

perverse things, we could only say, with St. John, 'They went forth from us, but were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us.'

5. The public worship of God at Berthelsdorf, which we have hitherto frequented, we are the less able now to forsake, because we have there an assembly of true believers, a doctrine free from error, and a pastor who, 'having laboured much in the word, is worthy of double honour.' Therefore we have no cause to form any congregation separate from this; especially seeing we both use that liberty which Christ hath purchased for us, and so often experience the power of the doctrine which is taught there, and agree with the Evangelical Protestants (that is, Lutherans) in all truths of importance. As for the controverted points, which require a subtle wit, we either are ignorant of them or despise them.

6. The name of brethren and sisters we do not reject, as being agreeable both to Scripture and to Christian simplicity. But we do not approve of being called by the name of any man[1]; as knowing 'we have one Father, even Him which is in heaven.'

In 1732 we were again required to give an account of ourselves. This was then done in the manner following:

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER WROTE BY THE CHURCH OF HERRNHUT TO THE PRESIDENT OF UPPER LUSATIA, JAN. 24, 1732

1. NONE can be ignorant of the religion of our ancestors who have read the history of John Huss. Some of his followers endeavoured to repel force by force. The rest, having better learned Christ, obtained leave of George Podiebrad,[2] King of Bohemia, to retire and live apart. Retiring, accordingly, in the year 1453, to a place on the borders of Silesia and Moravia, they lived in peace, till the time of Luther and Calvin, with both of whom, as with their followers, they maintained a friendly intercourse; especially when, by the providence of God, they were placed among those of either opinion.

2. In the year 1699 Daniel Ernest Jablonsky,[3] grandson to Amos

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[1] This was eminently the opinion and practice of Wesley. But as early as 1749 the term 'Wesleyan' was given to the members of the Methodist societies by Bishop Lavington in his work, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared* (London 1749). On p. 46 he observes:

> In the dispute whether or no corruptions are taken away, experiences are produced on both sides of the question. We have experiences against experiences: those of the Moravians against those of the Wesleyans.

On p. 47:

> The Moravians have no regard to outward works, prayer, sacrament, &c.; but yet are zealous for some remainders of corruption necessarily sticking to us. The Wesleyans contend strongly for outward works, &c.

In Part II. p. 147:

> The Moravian Methodists stand confessedly guilty, beyond all measure and modesty, of trampling down morality; teaching justification by faith alone, not only to the exclusion but condemnation of good works; and multitudes of the Wesleyans have been infected with the plague.

[2] Died March 22, 1771. He both patronized and persecuted the Brethren. (See Holmes, *History of the Moravians*, vol. i. pp. 24, 46, and 55.)

[3] Jablonsky was chief chaplain to the Court in Berlin, and was a student at

Comenius, the last bishop of the Moravians, was consecrated bishop of the United Brethren in Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland, in a Synod regularly assembled. To him Count Zinzendorf signified that several of the Moravian brethren, having escaped from the tyranny of the Papists, were so joined to the Lutherans, whose doctrine they approved, as nevertheless to retain their ancient discipline. His entire approbation of this Bishop Jablonsky testified to the Count in several letters.

3. It must be acknowledged that many of our ancestors, about the beginning of the Reformation, from fear of man, did not openly confess the truth. And hence it was that the Romish pastors bore with them, being little concerned what their private opinions were. But hence it also was that, continually using dissimulation, and not walking in simplicity, they were no longer fervent in spirit, as of old time, neither could they find any peace to their souls.

4. It was in the year 1715 that a soldier of the Emperor's,[1] lately discharged, came to Schleu, a village[2] of which the Jesuits are lords, and began to talk with Augustin Neisser and his brother. He sharply reproved their hypocrisy, in pretending to be Romanists, and dissembling the true faith. Yet they 'conferred with flesh and blood' till the year 1722, when at length they forsook all and retired into Upper Lusatia. They left three brothers behind them, who were soon after cast into prison, and grievously persecuted by the Papists; so that, as soon as ever a door was opened, they also left all and followed their brothers into Lusatia. The same did many others soon after, as finding no safety either for body or soul in their own country; whence, about the same time, Michael and Martin Linner,[3] and the Haberlands, were driven out, with their families, after having suffered the loss of all things, for not conforming to the Romish worship and for receiving those they called heretics into their houses.

5. But the brethren at Kühnewald were treated with still greater

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Oxford from 1680 to 1683. John Amos Comenius was born at Niwnitz in Moravia, 1592, and became famous as a reformer of Paedagogy. He wrote the *Ecclesiastical Discipline and Regulations of the United Brethren.* He was a great scholar, and visited foreign countries (England among them) in the interests of learning. He died in 1670. In a period of apparently hopeless ruin he cherished throughout his life of wanderings an inextinguishable faith in the future revival of his community. Jablonsky corresponded with Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, in reference to the Moravian Church. He was made a bishop of the Moravians in 1699 at Lissa, in Poland. He was delighted in his old age to see the Moravian Church renewing her youth. He ordained, as bishops, David Nitschmann and Count Zinzendorf.

[1] The soldier was Christian David. See pp. 29 and 30.

[2] From this village of Schleu came George Jaschke, cousin of the Neissers and an early settler at Herrnhut.

[3] Michael Linner, afterwards 'Eldest' of the church (see p. 36), arrived at Herrnhut in 1728. Martin, though young, was chosen elder a year after his arrival. He was most abstemious, and always slept on bare boards, as did Wesley in Georgia; and this, together with his great mental application, brought him to his grave in his twenty-ninth year. He once suffered imprisonment for the faith.

severity.[1] All their books were taken away; they were compelled, by the most exquisite torments, to conform to the Popish superstitions and idolatries; and, in the end, cast into and kept in the most loathsome prisons; whereby David Schneider, the Nitschmanns, and many others[2] were constrained also to leave their country and all that they had. These are the plain reasons of our leaving Moravia, of which your Excellency desired an account from us.

In the meantime we found a great remissness of behaviour had crept in among us. And indeed the same was to be found in most of those round about us, whether Lutherans or Calvinists; so insisting on faith as to forget, at least in practice, both holiness and good works.

Observing this terrible abuse of preaching Christ *given for us*, we began to insist more than ever on Christ *living in us*. All our exhortations and preaching turned on this; we spoke, we writ, of nothing else. Our constant inquiries were, 'Is Christ formed *in you*? Have you a new heart? Is your soul renewed in the image of God? Is the whole body of sin destroyed in you? Are you fully assured, beyond all doubt or fear, that you are a child of God? In what manner, and at what moment, did you receive that full assurance?' If a man could not answer all these questions, we judged he had no true faith. Nor would we permit any to receive the Lord's Supper among us till he could.

In this persuasion we were when I went to Greenland[3] five years ago. There I had a correspondence by letter with a Danish minister on the head of justification. And it pleased God to show me by him (though he was by no means a holy man, but openly guilty of gross sins), that we had now leaned too much to this hand, and were run into another extreme: that Christ *in us*, and Christ *for us*, ought, indeed, to be both insisted on; but first and principally Christ *for us*, as being the ground of all. I now clearly saw we ought not to insist on anything we *feel* any more than anything we *do*, as if it were necessary previous to justification or the remission of sins. I saw that least of all ought we so to insist on the full assurance of faith, or the destruction of the body of sin, and the extinction of all its motions, as to exclude those who had not attained this from the Lord's Table,[4] or to deny that they had any faith at all. I plainly perceived this full assurance was a distinct gift from justifying faith, and often not given till long after it; and that justification does not imply that sin should not *stir* in us, but only that it should not *conquer.*[1]

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[1] See the touching scene at Kühnewald in Holmes's *History*, vol. i. p. 184. The place referred to is probably Künwald, in Bohemia.

[2] Among the 'many others,' Christian David, John Töltschig (whom Wesley met in Georgia), and Melchior Leisberger, father of the eminent missionary. For their escape from prison see p. 37.

[3] He went three times to Greenland.

[4] But some, e.g. Mölther, taught this. And at Marienborn Wesley was excluded from the Lord's Table because he had not attained the full assurance of faith.

And now first it was that I had that full assurance of my own reconciliation to God through Christ. For many years I had had the forgiveness of my sins and a measure of the peace of God; but I had not till now that witness of His Spirit which shuts out all doubt and fear. In all my trials I had always a confidence in Christ, who had done so great things for me. But it was a confidence mixed with fear: I was afraid I had not done enough. There was always something dark in my soul till now. But now the clear light shined; and I saw that what I had hitherto so constantly insisted on—the *doing* so much and *feeling* so much, the long repentance and preparation for believing, the bitter sorrow for sin, and that deep contrition of heart which is found in some—were by no means essential to justification. Yea, that wherever the free grace of God is rightly preached, a sinner in the full career of his sins will probably receive it, and be justified by it, before one who insists on such previous preparation.

At my return to Herrnhut I found it difficult at first to make my brethren sensible of this, or to persuade them not to insist on the assurance of faith as a necessary qualification for receiving the Lord's supper. But from the time they were convinced, which is now three years since, we have all chiefly insisted on *Christ given for us*[2]: this we urge as the principal thing, which if we rightly believe, Christ will surely be *formed in us.* And this preaching we have always found to be accompanied with power, and to have the blessing of God following it. By this believers receive a steady purpose of heart, and a more unshaken resolution to endure with a free and cheerful spirit whatsoever our Lord is pleased to lay upon them.

The same day I was with MICHAEL LINNER,[3] the Eldest of the Church; the sum of whose conversation was this:

The Church of Moravia was once a glorious Church; but it is now covered with thick darkness. It is about sixteen years ago that I began to seek for light. I had a New Testament, which I constantly read; upon which I often said to myself, 'This says, I ought to be humble, and meek, and pure in heart. How comes it that I am not so?' I went to the best men I knew and asked, 'Is not this the word of God? And if so, ought I not to be such as this requires, both in heart and life?' They answered, 'The first Christians were such; but it was impossible for *us* to be so perfect.' This answer gave me no satisfaction. I knew God could not mock His creatures by requiring of them what He saw it was impossible for them to perform. I asked others, but had still the same answer, which troubled me more and more.

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[1] Most of the Moravian teachers held that there is usually an interval between forgiveness of sins and the witness of the Spirit. So Wesley at this time believed, hence the uncertainty with which he speaks of his own condition; but in his sermons he teaches otherwise.

[2] 'I dare not say this is right' (Wesley).

[3] For the two Linners see p. 34.

About fourteen years ago I was more than ever convinced that I was wholly different from what God required me to be. I consulted His Word again and again; but it spoke nothing but condemnation: till at last I could not read, nor indeed do anything else, having no hope and no spirit left in me. I had been in this state for several days, when, being musing by myself, these words came strongly into my mind, 'God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, to the end that all who believe in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' I thought, '*All?* Then I am one. Then He is given for *me*. But I am a sinner. And He came to save sinners.' Immediately my burden dropped off, and my heart was at rest.

But the full assurance of faith I had not yet; nor for the two years I continued in Moravia. When I was driven out thence by the Jesuits I retired hither, and was soon after received into the Church. And here after some time it pleased our Lord to manifest Himself more clearly to my soul, and give me that full sense of acceptance in Him which excludes all doubt and fear.

Indeed, the leading of the Spirit is different in different souls. His more usual method, I believe, is to give, in one and the same moment, the forgiveness of sins and a full assurance of that forgiveness. Yet in many He works as He did in me—giving first the remission of sins, and, after some weeks or months or years, the full assurance of it.

This great truth was further confirmed to me the next day by the conversation I had with DAVID NITSCHMANN,[1] one of the teachers or pastors of the Church, who expressed himself to this effect:

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[1] David Nitschmann wrote his own Life, and gives a detailed account of his imprisonment, and of 'the miraculous escape which the Lord had vouchsafed unto him' while suffering persecution at the hands of the Jesuits in Bohemia. He writes:

> When the investigation was over, they shut us up again altogether, chained two and two: I, however, was ironed apart. On Thursday evening I told my brethren that I had thoughts of leaving them that night. And I too,' instantly added David Schneider. 'I mean to go with you.' We had to wait till eleven. Not knowing how I should be able to get rid of my irons, I laid my hand upon the padlock which fastened them, to try to open it with a knife, and behold it was opened! I began to weep for joy, and I said to Schneider, 'Now I see it is the will of God that we should go.' We removed the irons from our feet, we took leave of the other brethren in profound silence, and crossed the court to see if we could find a ladder. I went as far as the principal passage, which was secured by two doors, and I found the first opened, and the second also. This was a second sign to us that we were to go. Being once out of the castle, we hung our irons on the wall and we crossed the garden to reach my dwelling, where we waited awhile that I might tell my wife how she should proceed, when I sent some one to fetch her. (Boys' *Proof of the Miraculous Faith of the Church*, p. 269.)

> In my childhood I was very serious; but, as I grew up, was so careless that at eighteen years old I had even forgot to read. When I found this, I was startled. I soon learned again, and then spent much time in reading and prayer. But I knew nothing of my heart till, about the age of twenty-six, I bought a Bible, and began to read the New Testament.[1] The farther I read, the more I was condemned. I found a law which I did not, could not keep; I had a will to avoid all sin, but the power I had not. I continually strove, but was continually conquered. The thing which I would, I did not; but what I would not have done, that I did. In this bondage I was when I fell into a fit of sickness, during my recovery from which I felt a stronger desire than ever to avoid all sin. At the same time I felt the power. And sin no longer reigned over me.
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> But soon after I fell into grievous temptations, which made me very uneasy. For though I yielded not to them, yet they returned again and again, as fast as they were conquered. Then it came into my mind, 'I take all this pains to serve God. What if there be no God? How do I know there is?' And on this I mused more and more, till I said in my heart, 'There is no God!'
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> In this state I was when I came to Herrnhut, about fourteen years ago. And every day for a full year, from morning to night, I groaned under this unbelief. Yet I prayed continually, unbelieving as I was; particularly one Sunday, when, being in the church of Berthelsdorf, and quite weary of hearing so much of Him whose very being I did not believe, I vehemently said, 'O God, if Thou be a God, Thou must manifest Thyself, or I cannot believe it.' In walking home I thought of an expression of Pastor Rothe's, 'Only *suppose* these things are so: *suppose* there be a God.' I said to myself, 'Well, I will, I *do* suppose it.' Immediately I felt a strange sweetness in my soul, which increased every moment till the next morning. And from that time, if all the men upon earth, and all the devils in hell, had joined in denying it, I could not have doubted the being of God, no, not for one moment. This first sweetness lasted for six weeks, without any intermission.
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> I then fell into doubts of another kind. I believed in God; but not in Christ. I opened my heart to Martin Dober, who used many arguments with me, but in vain. For above four years I found no rest by reason of this unbelief; till one day, as I was sitting in my house, despairing of any relief, those words shot into me, 'God

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[1] Nothing is here said as to the treatment he received from the Jesuits (see Holmes's *History of the Moravians*).

was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself.' I thought, 'Then God and Christ are one.' Immediately my heart was filled with joy; and much more at the remembrance of these words which I now felt I *did believe*: 'The Word was with God, and the Word was God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.'

Yet in a few days I was troubled again. I believed Christ was the Saviour of the world; but I could not call Him *my* Saviour, neither did I believe He would save *me*. And one day, as I was walking across the Square, that text came strongly into my mind, 'The unbelieving shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.' I returned home, terrified beyond expression; and instantly began crying out to our Saviour, telling Him I deserved no less than hell; and gave myself up, if it were His will, to suffer what I had deserved. In a moment I found a gleam of hope that He would have mercy even on me.

But this in a short time vanished away, and my uneasiness returned again. Many endeavoured to persuade me that I had, but I knew I had not, a right faith in Christ. For I had no confidence in Him; nor could I lay hold upon Him as *my* Saviour. Indeed, reading one day in Arndt's *True Christianity* that 'if all the sins of all the men upon earth were joined in one man, the blood of Christ was sufficient to cleanse that man from all sin,' I felt for a time comfort and peace. But it was but for a time, and then I was overwhelmed, as before, with sadness and unbelief. And I was oppressed almost beyond my strength, when a year ago[1] I went into this little wood. At first I was tempted to break out into impatience; but then I thought, Our Saviour knows best; nor would He suffer this trouble to continue so long if He did not see it was good for me. I delivered myself wholly into His hands, to dispose of me according to His good pleasure. In that hour I saw that all who believe in Him are reconciled to God through His blood; and was assured that I was thereby reconciled, and numbered among the children of God. And from that hour I have had no doubt or fear, but all peace and joy in believing.

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[1] 'N.B.—That is, in the year 1737, several years before which he was elected one of the four public teachers of the Church, which office he retains to this day. Now which of the two consequences will you choose (for one or the other is unavoidable), either that a man may preach the gospel (yea, and with the demonstration of the Spirit) who has no faith, or that a man who has a degree of true faith may yet have doubts and fears?' (Wesley).

In the first edition of the Journal an extension of the above footnote is found, which we now restore:

'The account given of him when in the midst of these doubts and fears in a treatise, wrote by one of the brethren, and published in 1735, runs in the following words:

'The third of our teachers is a shoemaker, a Moravian, an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile, who has a good testimony of all the brethren. This man endeavours in the most pathetic manner to inculcate true sincerity and uprightness of heart; and acknowledges his own misery and corruption first, before he applies himself to others. He then endeavours to beat down all the false rests and deceitful supports in the Christian warfare. He declares how one ought to come to Christ—viz. with a humble spirit, without self-flattery, not being ashamed to confess our sins, nor yet standing still or dwelling too long upon complaining of our depravity and misery; but taking courage to venture on the grace of God in Christ Jesus; and calling upon Him, in tears and prayers, till He avenge us of our adversaries.'

Some of the circumstances of this uncommon relation were made more clear to me by the account I received in the afternoon from a student at Herrnhut, ALBINUS THEODORUS FEDER:

I [said he] for three years fought against sin with all my might, by fasting and prayer, and all the other means of grace. But notwithstanding all my endeavours, I gained no ground: sin still prevailed over me; till at last, not knowing what to do further, I was on the very brink of despair. Then it was that, having no other refuge left, I fled to my Saviour as one lost and undone, and that had no hope but in His power and free mercy. In that moment I found my heart at rest, in good hope that my sins were forgiven; of which I had a stronger assurance six weeks after, when I received the Lord's Supper here. But I dare not affirm I am a child of God; neither have I the seal of the Spirit. Yet I go on quietly doing my Saviour's will, taking shelter in His wounds from all trouble and sin, and knowing He will perfect His work in His own time.

Martin Dober, when I described my state to him, said he had known very many believers who, if he asked the question, would not have dared to affirm that they were the children of God. And he added, 'It is very common for persons to receive remission of sins, or justification through faith in the blood of Christ, before they receive the full assurance of faith; which God many times withholds till He has tried whether they will work together with Him in the use of the first gift. Nor is there any need (continued he, Dober) to incite any one to seek that assurance by telling him the faith he has is nothing. This will be more likely to drive him to despair than to encourage him to press forward. His single business, who has received the first gift, is *credendo credere, et in credendo perseverare* (to believe on, and to hold fast that whereunto he hath attained): to go on, doing his Lord's will, according to the ability God hath already given; cheerfully and faithfully to use what he has received, without solicitude for the rest.

In the conversation I afterwards had with AUGUSTIN NEISSER,[1] a knife-smith (another of the pastors or teachers of the Church, about sixty years of age), as also with his brothers, Wenzel and Hans Neisser, the nature of true faith and salvation was yet further explained to me. Augustin Neisser spoke to this effect:

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[1] For the Neissers see Holmes, vol. i. p. 165.

By experience I know that we cannot be justified through the blood of Christ till we feel that all our righteousness and good works avail nothing towards our justification. Therefore what men call *a good life* is frequently the greatest of all hindrances to their coming to Christ. For it will not let them see that they are lost, undone sinners; and if they see not this, they cannot come unto Him.

Thus it was with me. I led a good life from a child; and this was the great hindrance to my coming to Christ. For, abounding in good works, and diligently using all the means of grace, I persuaded myself for thirteen or fourteen years that all was well, and I could not fail of salvation. And yet I cannot say my soul was at rest, even till the time when God showed me clearly that my heart was as corrupt, notwithstanding all my good works, as that of an adulterer or murderer. Then my self-dependence withered away. I wanted a Saviour, and fled naked to Him. And in Him I found true rest to my soul, being fully assured that all my sins were forgiven. Yet I cannot tell the hour or day when I first received that full assurance. For it was not given me at first, neither at once; but grew up in me by degrees. But from the time it was confirmed in me, I never lost it; having never since doubted, no, not for a moment.

What WENZEL NEISSER [1] said was as follows:

From a child I had many fits of seriousness, and was often uneasy at my sins. This uneasiness was much increased about fifteen years since by the preaching of Christian David. I thought the way to get ease was to go and live among the Lutherans, whom I supposed to be all good Christians. But I soon found they, as well as the Papists, were carnal, worldly-minded men. About thirteen years ago I came from among them to Herrnhut; but was still as uneasy as before. Which I do not wonder at now (though I did then); for all this time, though I saw clearly I could not be saved but by the death of Christ, yet I did not trust in that *only* for salvation, but depended on my own righteousness *also*, as the joint condition of my acceptance.

After I was settled here, seeing the great diversity of sects wherewith we were surrounded, I began to doubt whether any religion was true. For half a year these doubts perplexed me greatly; and I was often just on the point of casting off all religion and returning to the world. The fear of doing this threw me into a deeper concern than ever I had been in before. Nor could I find how to escape; for the more I struggled the more I was entangled. I often reflected on my former course of life, as more desirable than this; and one day, in the bitterness of my soul, besought our blessed Saviour at least to restore me to that state which I was in before I left Moravia. In that moment He manifested Himself to me, so that I could lay hold on Him as *my* Saviour, and showed me it is *only* the blood of Christ which cleanseth us from all sin. This was ten years since; and from that hour I have not had one doubt of my acceptance. Yet I have not any transports of joy, nor had I when He thus revealed Himself unto me; only I well remember that manifestation of Himself was like a cool, refreshing wind to one that is fainting away with sultry heat. And ever since my soul has been sweetly at rest, desiring no other portion in earth or heaven.

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[1] Wenzel Neisser was one of the four Moravians whose acquaintance Wesley first made at the house of the Dutch merchant shortly after his return from Georgia. (See vol. i. p. 436.) The others were Böhler, Schulius, and Richter.

I was awakened [said HANS NEISSER] by my grandfather, when a child, and by him carefully instructed in the New Testament. I married young; and being from that time weak and sickly, was the more earnest to work out my salvation; and nineteen or twenty years ago I had a strong confidence in our Saviour, and was continually warning others against trusting in themselves, in their own righteousness or good works. Yet I was not free from it myself. I did not trust in Him *only* for acceptance with God. And hence it was that, not building on the right foundation, the blood and righteousness of Christ alone, I could not gain a full victory over my sins, but sometimes conquered them, and sometimes was conquered by them. And therefore I had not a full and constant peace, though I was commonly easy and hoping for mercy. Sixteen years ago (on Saturday next) I came to my brother Augustin at Herrnhut. There was then only one little house here. Here I continued eight years in much the same state, thinking I trusted in Christ alone; but indeed trusting partly in His and partly in my own righteousness. I was walking one day in this little wood, when God discovered my heart to me. I saw I had till that hour trusted in my own righteousness, and, at the same time, that I had no righteousness at all; being altogether corrupt and abominable, and fit only for the fire of hell. At this sight I fell into bitter grief, and a horrible dread overwhelmed me; expecting nothing (as I saw I deserved nothing else) but to be swallowed up in a moment. In that moment I beheld the Lamb of God taking away my sins. And from that time I have had redemption through His blood and full assurance of it. I have that peace in Him which never fails, and which admits of no doubt or fear. Indeed, I am but a little one in Christ; therefore I can receive as yet but little of Him. But from His fullness I have enough; and I praise Him, and am satisfied.

In the three or four following days I had an opportunity of talking with Zacharias Neisser (cousin to Hans), David Schneider, Christopher Demuth, Arvid Gradin (now at Constantinople),[1] and several others of the most experienced brethren. I believe no preface is needful to the account they gave of God's dealings with their souls; which, I doubt not, will stir up many, through His grace, to 'glorify their Father which is in heaven.'

I was born [said ZACHARIAS NEISSER] on the borders of Moravia; and was first awakened by my cousin Wenzel, who soon after carried me to hear Mr. Steinmetz, a Lutheran minister, about thirty English miles off. I was utterly astonished. The next week I went again. After which, going to him in private, I opened my heart, and told him all my doubts—those especially concerning Popery. He offered to receive me into communion with him, which I gladly accepted of; and in a short time after I received the Lord's Supper from his hands. While I was receiving I felt Christ had died for me. I knew I was reconciled to God. And all the day I was overwhelmed with joy, having those words continually on my mind, 'This day is salvation come to my house: I also am a son of Abraham.' This joy I had continually for a year and a half, and my heart was full of love to Christ.

After this I had thoughts of leaving Moravia. I was convinced it would be better for my soul. Yet I would not do it, because I got more money here than I could elsewhere. When I reflected on this I said to myself, 'This is mere covetousness. But if I am covetous, I am not a child of God.' Hence I fell into deep perplexity, nor could I find any way to escape out of it. In this slavery and misery I was for five years, at the end of which I fell sick. In my sickness my heart was set at liberty, and peace returned to my soul. I now prayed earnestly to God to restore my health, that

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[1] Gradin arrived at Constantinople, March 24, 1740, and was lodged with the Swedish Ambassador, whose chaplain he became. He gives an account of his interview with Neophytus, patriarch of Constantinople. (See Holmes, vol. i. p. 395.) Gradin wrote *A Short History of the United Brethren*, which was translated into English in 1743, and sold by James Hutton.

I might leave Moravia. He did restore it, and I immediately removed to Herrnhut. After I had been here a quarter of a year, the Count preached one day upon the nature of sanctification. I found I had not experienced what he described, and was greatly terrified. I went to my cousin Wenzel, who advised me to read over the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. I did so. I had read them a hundred times before, yet now they appeared quite new, and gave me such a sight of God's justifying the ungodly as I never had before. On Sunday I went to church[1] at Berthelsdorf, and, while we were singing those words, *Wir glauben auch in Jesum Christ*,[2]—'We believe also in Jesus Christ,'—I clearly saw Him as my Saviour. I wanted immediately to be alone, and to pour out my heart before Him. My soul was filled with thankfulness; and with a still, soft, quiet joy, such as it is impossible to express. I had full assurance that 'my Beloved' was 'mine, and I' was 'His'; which has never ceased to this day. I see by a clear light what is pleasing to Him, and I do it continually in love. I receive daily from Him peace and joy; and I have nothing to do but to praise Him.

The most material part of DAVID SCHNEIDER'S[3] account was this:

Both my father and mother feared God, and carefully instructed me in the Holy Scriptures. I was, from a child, earnestly desirous to follow their instructions, and more so after my father's death. Yet, as I grew up, many sins got the dominion over me; of which God began to give me a sense, by the preaching of Pastor Steinmetz; who, speaking one day of drunkenness, to which I was then addicted, I was so grieved and ashamed that for several days I could not bear to look any one in the face. It pleased God afterwards to give me, though not all at once, a sense of my other both outward and inward sins. And before the time of my coming out of Moravia I knew that my sins were forgiven. Yet I cannot fix on any particular time when I knew this first. For I did not clearly know it at once, God having always done everything in my soul by degrees.

When I was about twenty-six I was pressed in spirit to exhort and instruct my brethren. Accordingly, many of them met at my house, to read, pray, and sing psalms. They usually came about ten or eleven, and stayed till about one or two in the morning. When Christian David[1] came to us, we were much quickened and comforted, and our number greatly increased. We were undisturbed for two years. But then the Papists were informed of our meeting. Immediately search was made. All our books were seized, and we were ordered to appear before the Consistory. I was examined many times; was imprisoned, released, and imprisoned again, five times in one year. At last I was adjudged to pay fifty rix-dollars and suffer a year's imprisonment. But, upon a rehearing, the sentence was changed, and I was ordered to be sent to the galleys. Before this sentence was executed I escaped out of prison,[2] and came to Sorau, in Silesia. Many of our brethren followed me; and here for near ten years I taught the children in the Orphan House. I soon sent for my wife and children. But the magistrates had just then ordered that the wives and children of all those who had fled should be taken into safe custody. The night before this order was executed she escaped, and came to Sorau.

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[1] Rothe's church.

[2] The hymn and tune are by Luther, and were intended to be sung as the Creed in the morning service. (See above, p. 21.) The words in the text are the beginning of the second verse.

[3] Schneider accompanied David Nitschmann to Herrnhut after sharing his imprisonment at Künwald. (See p. 37.)

Soon after, some of my brethren who had been there pressed me much to remove to Herrnhut—Christian David in particular, by whose continued importunity I was at length brought to resolve upon it. But all my brethren at Sorau were still as strongly against it as I myself had formerly been. For a whole year I was struggling to break from them, or to persuade them to go too. And it cost me more pains to get from Sorau than it had done to leave Moravia.

At length I broke loose and came to Herrnhut, which was about three years ago.[3] Finding I could scarce subsist my family here by hard labour, whereas at Sorau all things were provided for me, I grew very uneasy. The more uneasy I was the more my brethren refrained from my company[4]; so that in a short time I was left quite alone. Then I was in deep distress indeed. Sin revived, and almost got the mastery over me. I tried all ways, but found no help. In this miserable state I was about a year ago, when the brethren cast lots concerning me, and were thereby directed to admit me to the Lord's Table. And from that hour my soul received comfort, and I was more and more assured that I had an Advocate with the Father, and that I was fully reconciled to God by His blood.

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[1] Much of the experience of the United Brethren lies in presentiments, impressions on the mind, and inward impulses which they noted. Hence the following:

> As soon as the two brethren, the Neissers, were settled in their new residence, Christian David, fully persuaded that the inclination which urged him again and again to repair to Moravia and Bohemia was an impulse from God, went in search of new brethren in those countries. 'He was employed,' as an historian of that period relates in familiar terms, 'at the beginning of 1723 in boarding the hall of the Count's house at Berthelsdorf, and had only half finished it when suddenly he left on the spot his adze and rule, and returned bareheaded, a distance of seventy leagues, to the three other brethren, the Neissers, that he had left at Schleu.' (Boys' *Proof of Miraculous Faith in the Church*, p. 285.)

[2] Schneider escaped from prison along with David Nitschmann. (See p. 37.)

[3] Set out for Herrnhut on January 25, 1735.

[4] 'This was cruel and unchristian ; (Wesley).

CHRISTOPHER DEMUTH spoke to this effect:

My father was a pious man from his youth. He carefully instructed all his children. I was about fifteen when he died. A little before he died, having been all his life-time under the law, he received at once remission of sins and the full witness of the Spirit. He called us to him, and said, 'My dear children, let your whole trust be in the blood of Christ. Seek salvation in this, and in this alone, and He will show you the same mercy He has to me. Yea, and He will show it to many of your relations and acquaintance, when His time is come.'

From this time till I was twenty-seven years old, I was more and more zealous in seeking Christ. I then removed into Silesia, and married. A year after, I was much pressed in spirit to return and visit my brethren in Moravia. I did so. We had the New Testament, our Moravian Hymns, and two or three Lutheran books. We read, and sung, and prayed together, and were much strengthened. One day, as we were together at my house, one knocked at the door. I opened it, and it was a Jesuit. He said, 'My dear Demuth, I know you are a good man, and one that instructs and exhorts your friends. I must see what books you have.' And, going into the inner room, he found the Testament, and the rest together. He took them all away; nor did we dare to hinder him. The next day we were summoned before the Consistory, and, after a long examination, ordered to appear in the church before the congregation on the following Sunday. There they read a long Confession of Faith, and afterwards bid us say, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' We did so, though not knowing what they meant. They then told us we had abjured the Lutheran errors, and called the blessed Trinity to witness that we assented to that Confession of Faith. My heart sunk within me when I heard it. I went home, but could find no rest. I thought I had now denied my Saviour, and could expect no more mercy from Him. I could not bear to stay in Moravia any longer, but immediately returned into Silesia. There I continued six years; but there too I was perpetually terrified with the thoughts of what I had done. I often inquired after my brethren whom I had left in Moravia. Some of them, I heard, were thrown into prison, and others escaped to a little village in Lusatia called Herrnhut. I wished I could go to that place myself; and at last, meeting with one who had the same desire, we agreed to go together; but, our design being discovered, he was apprehended and thrown into prison. Expecting the same treatment, I earnestly prayed that God would show me a token for good. Immediately my soul was filled with joy, and I was ready to go to prison or to death.

Two days passed, and no man asked me any question; when, doubting what I ought to do, I went into a neighbouring wood, and, going into a little cave, fell on my face and prayed, 'Lord, Thou seest I am ready to do what Thou wilt. If it be Thy will I should be cast into prison, Thy will be done. If it be Thy will that I should leave my wife and children, I am ready. Only show me Thy will.' Immediately I heard a loud voice saying, *Fort*, *fort*, *fort*—'Go on, go on.' I rose joyful and satisfied; went home and told my wife it was God's will I should now leave her; but that I hoped to return in a short time, and take her and my children with me. I went out of the door; and in that moment was filled with peace, and joy, and comfort.

We had above two hundred miles to go (thirty-five German), and neither I nor my friend who went with me had one kreutzer.[1] But God provided things convenient for us, so that in all the way we wanted nothing.

In this journey God gave me the full assurance that my sins were forgiven. This was twelve years ago; and ever since it has been confirmed more and more by my receiving from Him every day fresh supplies of strength and comfort.

By comparing my experience with that of others, you may perceive how different ways God leads different souls. But though a man should be led in a way different from that of all other men: yet, if his eye be at all times fixed on his Saviour; if his constant aim be to do His will; if all his desires tend to Him; if in all trials he can draw strength from Him; if he fly to Him in all troubles, and in all temptations find salvation in His blood,—in this there can be no delusion. And whosoever is thus minded, however or whenever it began, is surely reconciled to God through His Son.

ARVID GRADIN,[2] a Swede, born in Dalecarlia, spoke to this purpose:

Before I was ten years old I had a serious sense of religion and great fervour in prayer. This was increased by my reading much in the New Testament; but the more I read, the more earnestly I cried out, 'Either these things are not true, or we are not Christians.' About sixteen my sense of religion began to decline, by my too great fondness for learning, especially the Oriental tongues, wherein I was instructed by a private preceptor, who likewise did all that in him lay to instruct me in true divinity.[1]

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[1] 'A small coin of about a half-penny value' (Wesley).

[2] He was a clergyman's son, born at Wiks in 1704. He first had a private tutor, and afterwards entered the school at Westeras.

At seventeen I went to the University of Upsal,[2] and a year or two after was licensed to preach. But at twenty-two, meeting with Arndt's *True Christianity*, I found I myself was not a Christian. Immediately I left off preaching, and betook myself wholly to philosophy. This stifled all my convictions for some years; but when I was about twenty-seven they revived, and continued the year after, when I was desired to be domestic tutor to the children of the Secretary of State.[3] I now felt I was 'carnal, sold under sin,' and continually struggled to burst the bonds, till (being about thirty-one years old) I was unawares entangled in much worldly business. This cooled me in my pursuit of holiness; yet for a year and a half my heart was never at peace. Being then in a bookseller's shop, I saw the account of the Church at Herrnhut. I did not think there could be any such place, and asked the bookseller if that was a real account. His answer, 'that it was no more than the plain truth,' threw me into deep thought and fervent prayer that God would bring me to that place. I went to the Secretary, and told him I did not design to stay at Upsal, having a desire to travel. He said he had a desire his son should travel, and was glad of an opportunity to send him with me. I was grieved, but knew not how to refuse anything to my patron and benefactor. Accordingly we left Upsal together; and, after a year spent in several parts of Germany, went through Holland into France, and so to Paris, where we spent another year. But I was more and more uneasy, till I could be disengaged from my charge, that I might retire to Herrnhut. In our return from France, my pupil's elder brother,[4] returning from Italy, met us at Leipzig. I immediately writ to his father, and, having obtained his consent, delivered him into his hands.[5]

April 23, 1738 (N.S.), I came hither.[6] Here I was in another world. I desired nothing but to be cleansed inwardly and outwardly from sin by the blood of Jesus Christ. I found all here laying the same foundation. Therefore, though I did not think with them in all points of doctrine, I waived these, and singly pursued reconciliation with God through Christ.

On the 22nd of May last, I could think of nothing but 'He that believeth hath everlasting life.' But I was afraid of deceiving myself, and continually prayed I might not build without a foundation. Yet I had a sweet, settled peace, and for five days this scripture was always in my thoughts.[1] On the 28th those words of our Lord were as strongly impressed upon me, 'If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Ghost to them that ask Him?' At the same time I was incessantly carried out to ask that He would give me the witness of His Spirit. On the 29th I had what I asked of Him, namely, the *πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως*,[2] which is:

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[1] He had occasionally officiated as 'probationer.'

[2] In the hope of obtaining a professorship.

[3] In 1731 he was engaged as private tutor in the family of Baron von Cederström at Stockholm, then Secretary of State, and remained in that situation five years.

[4] The Baron's second son.

[5] They parted at Marburg.

[6] The offer of a professor's chair at Upsal reached him some time after he arrived at Herrnhut; but this he declined.

Requies in sanguine Christi. Firma fiducia in Deum, et persuasio de gratia divina; tranquillitas mentis summa, atque serenitas et pax, cum absentia omnis desiderii carnalis, et cessatione peccatorum etiam internorum.[3] *Verbo, cor quod antea instar maris turbulenti agitabatur, in summa fuit requie, instar maris sereni et tranquilli.*

'Repose in the blood of Christ. A firm confidence in God, and persuasion of His favour; serene peace and steadfast tranquillity of mind, with a deliverance from every fleshly desire, and from every outward and inward sin. In a word, my heart, which before was tossed like a troubled sea, was still and quiet, and in a sweet calm.'[4]

In the present discipline of the Church of Herrnhut, all which is alterable at the discretion of the superiors, may be observed,

I. The officers of it.

II. The division of the people.

III. The conferences, lectures, and government of the children.

IV. The order of divine service.

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[1] In after years Gradin visited his native country and Russia in the interests of pure religion. In the latter country he was imprisoned five years. 'He closed his active and useful life in 1757 at Neuwied, where he had some years held the office of minister.' See Spangenberg's *Life of Zinzendorf*, p. 267.

[2] Heb. x. 22.

[3] But the following, surely, describes sanctification rather than the full assurance of faith. Moore gives this, as far as *internorum*, as a definition which Wesley had requested Arvid Gradin to give him and which he had written out for him. The remaining sentences, Moore says Gradin added as a testimony of his experience. (See Moore's *Life of Wesley*, p. 397.)

[4] See letter (Latin in its original form) which Hutton wrote to Zinzendorf in Oct. 1739. (Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 44.) In this he speaks of the quiet repose to be found in the blood of Christ, of which he says Spangenberg had been speaking in a lovefeast in London. Hutton had just returned from Marienborn.

I. The officers are: 1. The Eldest of the whole Church; beside whom there is an Eldest of every particular branch of it. There is also a distinct Eldest over the young men, and another over the boys; a female Eldest over the women in general, and another over the unmarried, and another over the girls. 2. The Teachers, who are four. 3. The Helpers (or Deacons). 4. The Overseers (or Censors), eleven in number at Herrnhut. 5. The Monitors, who are eleven likewise. 6. The Almoners, eleven also. 7. The Attenders on the sick, seven in number. Lastly, the Servants, or Deacons of the lowest order.

II. The people of Herrnhut are divided: 1. Into five male classes,[1] viz.: the little children, the middle children, the big children, the young men, and the married. The females are divided in the same manner. 2. Into eleven classes, according to the houses where they live. And in each class is an Helper, an Overseer, a Monitor, an Almoner, and a Servant. 3. Into about ninety bands, each of which meets twice at least, but most of them three times a week, to 'confess their faults one to another, and pray for one another, that they may be healed.'

III. The Rulers of the Church, that is, the Elders, Teachers, Helpers, have a conference every week, purely concerning the state of souls, and another concerning the institution of youth. Beside which they have one every day concerning outward things relating to the Church.

The Overseers, the Monitors, the Almoners, the Attenders on the sick, the Servants, the Schoolmasters, the young men, and the children, have likewise each a conference once a week, relating to their several offices and duties.

Once a week also is a conference for strangers,[2] at which any person may be present, and propose any question or doubt which he desires to have resolved.

In Herrnhut is taught reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, English, History, and Geography.

There is a Latin, French, and an English lecture every day, as well as an historical and geographical one. On Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday is the Hebrew lecture; the Greek on Tuesday and Thursday.

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[1] Some have thought this is the *fons et origo* of the word as used afterwards in Methodism. But the 'classes' of Herrnhut and those of Methodism differed.

[2] Cf. above, p. 13.

In the Orphan House the larger children rise at five. (The smaller, between five and six.) After a little private prayer they work till seven. Then they are at school till eight, the hour of prayer; at nine, those who are capable of it learn Latin; at ten, French; at eleven, they all walk; at twelve, they dine all together, and walk till one; at one, they work or learn writing; at three, arithmetic; at four, history; at five, they work; at six, sup and work; at seven, after a time spent in prayer, walk[1]; at eight the smaller children go to bed, the larger to the public service. When this is ended, they work again till at ten they go to bed.

IV. Every morning, at eight, is singing and exposition of Scripture; and commonly short prayer.

At eight in the evening there is commonly only mental prayer,[2] joined with the singing and expounding.

The faithful afterwards spend a quarter of an hour in prayer, and conclude with the kiss of peace.

On Sunday morning the service begins at six; at nine the public service at Berthelsdorf; at one the Eldest gives separate exhortations to all the members of the Church, divided into fourteen little classes for that purpose, spending about a quarter of an hour with each class; at four begins the evening service at Berthelsdorf, closed by a conference in the church; at eight is the usual service; after which the young men, singing praises round the town, conclude the day.

On the first Saturday in the month the Lord's Supper is administered. From ten in the morning till two the Eldest speaks with each communicant in private concerning the state of his soul; at two they dine, then wash one another's feet; after which they sing and pray; about ten they receive in silence without any ceremony, and continue in silence till they part at twelve.

On the second Saturday is the solemn prayer-day for the children. The third is the day of general intercession and thanksgiving; and on the fourth is the great monthly conferences of all the superiors of the Church.

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[1] No holiday, except the time employed in walking. In his school at Kingswood Wesley followed the Brethren.

[2] 'This is unscriptural' (Wesley).

For the satisfaction of those who desire a more full account,[1] I have added—

AN EXTRACT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN AT HERRNHUT, LAID BEFORE THE THEOLOGICAL ORDER AT WIRTEMBERG IN THE YEAR 1733

1. They have a Senior, or Eldest, who is to assist the Church by his counsel and prayers, and to determine what shall be done in matters of importance. Of him is required that he be well experienced in the things of God, and witnessed to by all for holiness of conversation.

2. They have Deacons, or Helpers, who are, in the private assemblies, to instruct; to take care that outward things be done decently and in order; and to see that every member of the Church grows in grace and walks suitable to his holy calling.

3. The Pastor, or Teacher, is to be an Overseer of the whole flock and every person therein; to baptize the children; diligently to form their minds, and bring them up 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord'; when he finds in them a sincere love of the Cross, then to receive them into the Church; to administer the Supper of the Lord; to join in marriage those who are already married to Christ; to reprove, admonish, quicken, comfort, as need requires; to declare the whole counsel of God—taking heed, at all times, to speak as the oracles of God and agreeably to the analogy of faith; to bury those who have died in the Lord, and to keep that safe which is committed to his charge, even the pure doctrine and apostolical discipline which we have received from our forefathers.

4. We have also another sort of Deacons, who take care that nothing be wanting to the Orphan House, the poor, the sick, and the strangers. Others, again, there are who are peculiarly to take care of the sick; and others, of the poor. And two of these are entrusted with the public stock, and keep accounts of all that is received or expended.

5. There are women who perform each of the above-mentioned offices among those of their own sex; for none of the men converse with them, beside the Eldest, the Teacher, and one, or sometimes two, of the Deacons.

6. Towards magistrates, whether of a superior or inferior rank, we bear the greatest reverence. We cheerfully submit to their laws; and

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[1] See Holmes, vol. i. p. 67, &c., and vol. ii. p. 328, &c.

even when many of us have been spoiled of their goods, driven out of their houses, and every way oppressed by them, yet they resisted them not, neither opening their mouths nor lifting up their hands against them. In all things which do not immediately concern the inward, spiritual kingdom of Christ, we simply, and without contradicting, obey the higher powers. But with regard to conscience, the liberty of this we cannot suffer to be any way limited or infringed. And to this head we refer whatever directly or in itself tends to hinder the salvation of souls, or whatsoever things Christ and His holy apostles (who, we know, meddled not with outward worldly things) took charge of and performed as necessary for the constituting and well-ordering of His Church. In these things we acknowledge no head but Christ; and are determined, God being our helper, to give up, not only our goods (as we did before), but life itself, rather than this liberty which God hath given us.

7. As it behoves all Christians not to be slothful in business, but diligently to attend the works of their calling, there are persons chosen by the Church to superintend all those who are employed in outward business. And by this means also many things are prevented which might otherwise be an occasion of offence.

8. We have also Censors and Monitors. In those experience and perspicacity, in these wisdom and modesty, are chiefly required. The Censors signify what they observe (and they observe the smallest things) either to the Deacons or Monitors. Some Monitors there are whom all know to be such; others who are secretly appointed; and who, if need require, may freely admonish, in the love of Christ, even the rulers of the Church.

9. The Church is so divided[1] that first the husbands, then the wives, then the widows, then the maids, then the young men, then the boys, then the girls, and lastly the little children, are in so many distinct classes; each of which is daily visited, the married men by a married man, the wives by a wife, and so of the rest.[2] These larger are also (now) divided into near ninety smaller classes or bands,[3] over each of which one presides who is of the greatest experience. All these Leaders meet the Senior every week, and lay open to him and to the Lord whatsoever hinders or furthers the work of God in the souls committed to their charge.

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[1] Southey is very severe on these divisions: 'Sorting human beings, like cabbage-plants, according to their growth.'

[2] 'This work all the married brethren and sisters, as well as all the unmarried, perform in their turns' (Wesley).

[3] The 'bands' Wesley adopted, tentatively in Georgia, more fully in England. Many lists of bands in Wesley's handwriting are preserved in the Colman Collection. Invariably this Moravian plan is followed.

10. In the year 1727 four-and-twenty men, and as many women agreed that each of them would spend an hour in every day in praying to God for His blessing on His people. And for this purpose both the men and women chose a place where any of their own sex who were in distress might be present with them. The same number of unmarried women, of unmarried men, of boys, and of girls, were afterwards, at their desire, added to them; who pour out their souls before God, not only for their own brethren, but also for other churches and persons that have desired to be mentioned in their prayers. And this perpetual intercession has never ceased day or night, since its first beginning.

11. And as the members of the Church are divided according to their respective states and sexes, so they are also with regard to thei proficiency in the knowledge of God. Some are dead, some quickened by the Spirit of God. Of these, some again are untractable, some diligent, some zealous, burning with their first love; some babes, and some young men. Those who are still dead are visited every day And of the babes in Christ especial care is taken also, that they may be daily inspected, and assisted to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus.

12. In the Orphan House about seventy children are brought up separate, according to their sex; beside which, several experienced persons are appointed to consult with the parents touching the education of the other children. In teaching them Christianity, we mak use of Luther's Catechism, and study the amending their wills as wel as their understanding; finding by experience that when their will i moved, they often learn more in a few hours than otherwise in man months. Our little children we instruct chiefly by hymns; whereby w find the most important truths most successfully insinuated into thei minds.

13. We highly reverence marriage, as greatly conducive to th kingdom of Christ. But neither our young men nor women enter int it till they assuredly know they are married to Christ.[1] When an know it is the will of God that they should change their state, both th man and woman are placed, for a time, with some married persons who instruct them how to behave, so that their married life may b pleasing to God. Then their design is laid before the whole Church and after about fourteen days they are solemnly joined, though nc otherwise habited than they are at other times. If they make an entertainment (which is not always), they invite only a few intimat friends, by whose faithful admonitions they may be the better prepare to bear their cross and fight the good fight of faith. If any woma

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[1] See vol. i. p. 315.

is with child, not only especial mention is made of her in the public prayers, but she is also exhorted in private wholly to give herself up into the hands of her faithful Creator. As soon as a child is born, prayer is made for it; and if it may be, it is baptized in the presence of the whole Church. Before it is weaned, it is brought into the assembly on the Lord's days.

14. [1] Whoever, either of the male or female children, seek God with their whole heart, need not be much incited to come to the Lord's Supper. Before they receive they are examined both in private by the Pastor, and also in public; and then, after an exhortation by the Senior, are by him, through laying on of hands, added to the Church and confirmed. The same method is used with those who renounce the Papal superstitions, or who are turned from the service of Satan to God; and that, if they desire it, although they are not young; yea, though they are well stricken in years.

15. Once or twice a month, either at Berthelsdorf, or, if it may be, at Herrnhut, all the Church receives the Lord's Supper. It cannot be expressed how great the power of God is then present among us. A general confession of sins is made by one of the brethren in the name of all. Then a few solid questions are asked, which when they have answered, the Absolution, or Remission of Sins, is either pronounced to all in general, or confirmed to every particular person, by the laying on of hands. The Seniors first receive; then the rest in order, without any regard had to worldly dignity in this any more than in any other of the solemn offices of religion. After receiving, all the men (and so the women) meet together to renew their covenant with God, to seek His face, and exhort one another to the patience of hope and the labour of love.[2]

16. They have a peculiar esteem for lots; and accordingly use

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[1] In the first edition a sentence occurs which in later editions has been omitted. In that edition the whole paragraph reads thus: 'Whoever, either of the male or female children, seek God with their whole heart, know[1] their sins are forgiven, and obey the truth, are not used to be much incited to come to the Lord's Supper, neither are they forbidden so to do if they desire it. We think it enough to teach our children just conceptions of it, and the difference between this food of the soul and that milk which they every day receive of Christ. They then publicly declare the sentiments of their hearts concerning it. They are afterwards examined both in private by the Pastor, and also in public: and then, after an exhortation by the Senior, are by him, through laying on of hands, added to the Church and confirmed. The same method is used with those who renounce the Papal superstitions, or who are turned from the service of Satan to God; and that, if they desire it, although they are not young; yea, though they are well stricken in years.'

[2] Cf. the covenant prayer after the distribution of the elements in the Order of the Lord's Supper.

[1] **This was the order of the Church till Christian David's return from Greenland' (Wesley).**

them both in public and private, to decide points of importance, when the reasons brought on each side appear to be of equal weight. And they believe this to be then the only way of wholly setting aside their own will, of acquitting themselves of all blame, and clearly knowing what is the will of God.

17. At eight in the morning, and in the evening, we meet to pray to and praise God, and to read and hear the Holy Scriptures. The time we usually spend in sleep is from eleven at night till four in the morning. So that, allowing three hours a day for taking the food both of our bodies and souls, there remain sixteen for work. And this space those who are in health spend therein, with all diligence and faithfulness.

18. Two men keep watch every night in the street; as do two women, in the women's apartment; that they may pour out their souls for those that sleep, and by their hymns raise the hearts of any who are awake to God.

19. For the further stirring up the gift which is in us, sometimes we have public, sometimes private, lovefeasts; at which we take moderate refreshment, with gladness and singleness of heart and the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

20. If any man among us, having been often admonished, and long forborne, persists in walking unworthy of his holy calling, he is no longer admitted to the Lord's Supper. If he still continues in his fault, hating to be reformed, the last step is, publicly, and often in the midst of many prayers and tears, to cast him out of our congregation. But great is our joy if he then see the error of his ways, so that we may receive him among us again.

21. Most of our brethren and sisters have, in some part of their life, experienced holy mourning and sorrow of heart; and have afterwards been assured that there was no more 'condemnation for them, being passed from death unto life.' They are, therefore, far from fearing to die, or desiring to live on earth; knowing that to them 'to die is gain,' and being confident that they are the care of Him whose are the 'issues of life and death.' Wherefore they depart as out of one chamber into another. And after the soul has left its habitation, their remains are deposited in the earth appointed for that purpose. And the survivors are greatly comforted, and rejoice over them with a 'joy the world knoweth not of.'

AUG. 12, *Sat.*—About seven in the evening we came[1] to

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[1] The company of travellers seems by this time to have been reduced from eight to Wesley and John Brown (see note, p. 14). They were, on their return journey to England, travelling frequently on foot and with many of the disabilities that at that time attached to strangers and foreigners. On leaving Herrnhut Martin Dober and others accompanied them for about four miles.

Neukirch, a town [village] about twenty-four miles from Herrnhut. Mr. Schneider[1] (the minister of it, who had desired us to take his house in our way) was not at home. But we found one Mr. Manoetius there, the minister of a neighbouring town, who walked with us in the morning ten miles to Hauswalde, where he lived. He told us that the Lutherans, as well as the Papists, were irreconcilable enemies to the Brethren of Herrnhut; that the generality of the Lutheran clergy were as bitter against them as the Jesuits themselves; that none of his neighbours durst go thither (unless by stealth), being sure of suffering for it, if discovered; that to prevent any of Herrnhut from coming to them, the Elector had forbid, under a severe penalty, any number of persons, exceeding three, to meet together on a religious account; and that he himself, for having a little society in his own parish, had been summoned to appear before the Consistory at Dresden.[2] Yea, let the 'kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against His Anointed! He that sitteth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn; the Lord shall have them in derision.'

We left Hauswalde in the afternoon, and in the evening came to Dresden. But the officer at the gate would not suffer us to come in; so that we were obliged to go on to the next village; which leaving early in the morning, on *Thursday* in the afternoon we came to Leipzig.[3]

We were now kept only an hour at the gate, and then conducted to Mr. Arnold's, who had invited us when we were in the town before to make his house our home. A few we found here, too, who desire to 'know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.' And from them we had letters to Halle, whither we came on *Friday* the 18th. But the King of Prussia's tall men[4] (who kept the gates) would not suffer Mr. Brown to come in. Me they admitted (in honour of my profession) after I had waited about two hours; and one of them went with me to the Prince of Hesse, who, after a few questions, gave me leave to lodge in the city. Thence he showed me to Mr. Gottschalck's[1] lodgings, to whom I had letters from Leipzig. He read them, and said, 'My brother, what you find here you will use as your own. And if you want anything else, tell us, and you shall have it.'

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[1] See above, p. 44.

[2] Several Moravian leaders had been imprisoned for helping exiles and pilgrims who were making their way to Herrnhut.

[3] For previous visit to Leipzig see p. 17.

[4] Frederick William, King of Prussia, father of Frederick the Great, had a mania for soldiers of great stature. For his regiment of Potsdam Guards he sought gigantic recruits in all countries. Their height ranged from about seven to nine feet.

I told them my companion was without the gate. They soon procured admittance for him. And we were indeed as at home; for I have hardly seen such little children as these, even at Herrnhut.

Sat. 19.—I waited on Professor Francke,[2] who behaved with the utmost humanity; and afterwards on Professor Knappe,[3] to whom also I am indebted for his open, friendly behaviour. Between ten and eleven, seven of the brethren set out with us, one of whom went with us two days' journey. It was the dusk of the evening on *Sunday* the 20th when, wet and weary, we reached Jena.

Mon. 21.—We visited the schools there, the rise of which (as we were informed) was occasioned thus:

About the year 1704 Mr. Stolte,[4] a student at Jena, began to speak of faith in Christ, which he continued to do till he took his Master's degree and read public lectures. About twelve or fifteen students were awakened, and joined with him in prayer and building up one another. At this (after various calumnies spread abroad, and divers persecutions occasioned thereby) the Consistory was offended, and issued out a commission to examine him. In consequence of the report made to the Consistory by these Commissioners, he was forbid to read any public lectures or to hold any meetings with his friends. Not long after an order was given by which he was excluded from the Holy Communion. He was also to have been expelled the University; but this he prevented by a voluntary retirement.

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[1] Is this the 'Gottschalk' who was resident in London Feb. 1744, and was a member of the German Society 'settled' there at that date? (*Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 130.) Dr. Loofs is unable to identify the family, but Gottschalk is a well-known name in the city, and in the sixteenth century a Hans Gottschalk, as one of the 'firsts,' became a Lutheran.

[2] The second son of Augustus Herman Francke, who was not at Halle when Wesley called there on July 26. Francke's eldest son died in infancy. Wesley's friend was Professor of Divinity at Halle, archdeacon of St. Mary's, and director of his father's institutions. The Moravians and Hutton believed that Professor Francke prejudiced Wesley against the Moravians, and especially against Zinzendorf. This is very probable, as the relations between Zinzendorf and the Pietists of the School of Halle were not good. (Cf. Joseph T. Müller on Zinzendorf in Hauck's *Real Encyklopädie*, vol. xxi. p. 688 f.)

[3] Johann Georg Knappe, Professor of Divinity.

[4] Bengel spent six weeks in Jena in 1712, and met with this Stolte while visiting Buddaeus and others of the devout professors of the University. He writes to his cousin: 'I was introduced to a man of approved piety and of no common learning, who received me under his roof and treated me as one of his family; his name is Stolte. He has a great talent for awakening and stirring up others, by which he has been useful to many of the young, and his usefulness is daily increasing. Many suspect or envy him, and consequently hate him; but others are affectionately attached to him, are glad of his guidance in their studies, and are in closest communion with him by mutual prayer. Every Lord's Day he holds a prayer-meeting in his house, and another for exposition

Yet one of the Commissioners, who had been sent by the Duke of Weimar (one of the lords of Jena), informed the Duke that, according to his judgement, Stolte was an innocent and holy man. On this the Duke sent for him to Weimar, and fixed him in a living there. There likewise he awakened many, and met with them to pray and read the Scriptures together. But it was not long that the city could bear him. For he boldly rebuked all vice, and that in all persons, neither sparing the courtiers nor the Duke himself. Consequently his enemies everywhere increased, and many persecutions followed. In fine, he was forbid to have any private meetings, and was to have been deposed from the ministry; when God calling him to Himself, took him away from the evil to come.

Before Stolte left Jena, Buddaeus[1] also began to preach the real gospel, as did Christius soon after; whereby some awakening continued till the year 1724. A few of the townsmen then agreed to maintain a student to be a schoolmaster for some poor children. They afterwards kept several schoolmasters; but about 1728, all of them going away, the school was broke up, and the children quite neglected. Professor Buddaeus being informed of this, earnestly recommended the consideration of it to the students in his house; and about ten of them, among whom was Mr. Spangenberg,[2] took upon themselves the care of

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daily after dinner' (Burk's *Memoir of J. A. Bengel*, p. 25). Bengel's *Gnomon* supplied the foundation of Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament* (see Wesley's *Notes*, &c., Pref. p. 3, where he acknowledges his indebtedness). Stolte was one of the leaders of the Pietistic movement at Jena, and afterwards became pastor of the church of St. Jacob at Weimar, as Wesley notes below.

[1] Dr. Johann Franz Buddaeus, born Jan. 25, 1667, united rare literary talents with a high veneration for the Holy Scriptures. He was the tutor of Spangenberg, whom he welcomed to his house and table. Buddaeus died in 1729.

[2] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, born July 1704 (see also vol. i. pp. 150–55), was a lecturer at Jena, and afterwards assistant of the faculty of divinity at Halle. At these centres of the Pietistic revival he received those evangelical views of revealed truth and that inward, vital, personal religion which he subsequently took with him to the Moravian Church, in which he shone as

those children. Their number soon increased, which gave great offence to the other schoolmasters in the town; and not long after to the magistrates of the town and to the Senate of the University. The offence soon spread to the pastors, the professors, the Consistory, and the Princes who are lords of Jena. But it pleased God to move one of them, the Prince of Eisenach, who had the chief power there, to stop the open persecution by forbidding either the Senate or Consistory to molest them. He likewise wholly exempted them from the jurisdiction of both, ordering that all complaints against them for the time to come should be cognizable only by himself. But during the persecution the number of schools was increased from one to three (one in each suburb of the city), the number of teachers to above thirty, and of children to above three hundred.

There are now thirty constant teachers, ten in each school, and three or four supernumerary, to supply accidental defects. Four of the masters are appointed to punish, who are affixed to no one school. Each of the schools being divided into two classes, and taught five hours a day, every one of the thirty masters has one hour in a day to teach.[1] All the masters have a conference about the schools every Monday. They have a second meeting on Thursday, chiefly for prayer; and a third every Saturday.

Once in half a year they meet to fill up the places of those masters who are gone away. And the number has never decreased, fresh ones still offering themselves as the former leave the University.

The present method wherein they teach is this:

There are always two classes in each school. In the lower, children from six to ten or twelve years old are taught to read. They are then removed to the other class, in which are taught the Holy Scriptures, arithmetic, and whatever else it may be useful for children to learn.

In the morning, from eight to nine, they are all catechized, and instructed in the first principles of Christianity, either from Luther's *Smaller Catechism* or from some texts of Holy Scripture.

From nine to ten the smaller children are taught their letters and syllables, and the larger read the Bible. From ten to eleven those

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an able and influential minister. It was during his residence at Jena that Peter Böhler entered that University, a careless youth; and it was while Spangenberg lectured on a tract, written by Spener, the founder of the Pietists, that Böhler decided to give himself to God. Popularly Wesley's indebtedness to Böhler is regarded as supremely important; but it is open to question whether, in reality, he did not owe more, both directly and indirectly, to Spangenberg (see *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 143). It is interesting to remember that Jena is the university of Schiller, Humboldt, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Schelling, Haeckel, &c.

[1] Cf. the Kingswood Rules (*Arm. Mag.* May 1781, p. 435).

in the lower class learn and repeat some select verses of Holy Scripture, chiefly relating to the foundation of the faith. Meanwhile those in the upper learn arithmetic.

In the afternoon, from one to two, all the children are employed as from nine to ten in the morning. From two to three the smaller children learn and repeat Luther's *Smaller Catechism*, while the larger are taught to write.

Every Sunday there is a public catechizing on some text of Scripture, at which all persons who desire it may be present.

In the afternoon we left Jena, several of the brethren accompanying us out of town. At five, having just passed through Weimar, we met Mr. Ingham going for Herrnhut. We all turned aside to a neighbouring village, where, having spent a comfortable evening together, in the morning we commended each other to the grace of God, and went on our several ways.

We breakfasted at Erfurt with Mr. Reinhardt, spent the evening with some brethren at Saxe-Gotha, and by long journeys came to Marienborn on *Friday*, August 25.

Mon. 28.—I took my leave of the Countess[1] (the Count being gone to Jena), and, setting out early the next morning, came about three in the afternoon to Frankfort. From Mr. Böhler's we went to the society, where one of the brethren from Marienborn offered free redemption, through the blood of Christ, to sixty or seventy persons.

Wed. 30.—In the afternoon we came to Mayence, and agreed for our passage to Cologne by water, for a florin per head; which was but half of what we gave before, though, it seems, twice as much as we ought to have given.

Thur. 31.—We spent half an hour in the great church—a huge heap of irregular building; full of altars, adorned (or loaded rather) with abundance of gold and silver. In going out we observed a paper on the door, which was of so extraordinary a nature, that I thought it would not be labour lost to transcribe it. The words were as follows :

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[1] This was Count Zinzendorf's first wife, the Countess Erdmuth Dorothea, sister of his friend Count Reuss. For a charming account of this remarkable woman, see Müller's funeral sermon for her quoted in Spangenberg's *Life of Zinzendorf*, p. 459. One year after her death (June 19, 1756), the Count, 'acting on the advice of his immediate friends,' married Anna Nitschmann, so prominent in the early history of the Moravian Church in England.

VOLLKOMMENER ABLASS FÜR DIE ARMEN SEELEN IM FEG-FEUR

Seine Päbliche Heiligkeit, Clemens der XIIte, haben in diesem jahr 1738, *den* 7 *Augusti, die pfarr-kirche des Sancti Christophori in Mentz gnädigsten privilegirt, dass ein jeder Priester, sowohl secular als regularischen stands, der am aller-seelen-tag, wie auch an einem jedem tag in derselben octav, sodann am zweiein vom ordinario tägen einer jeden woch das jahr hindurch, für die seel einer Christglaubigen verstorbenen an zum altar Mess lesen wird, jedesmal eine seel aus dem fegfeur erlösen könne.*

'A FULL RELEASE FOR THE POOR SOULS IN PURGATORY

'His Papal Holiness, Clement the XIIth, hath this year, 1738, on the 7th of August, most graciously privileged the cathedral church of St. Christopher, in Mayence; so that every priest, as well secular as regular, who will read Mass at an altar for the soul of a Christian departed, on any holiday, or on any day within the octave thereof, or on two extraordinary days, to be appointed by the Ordinary, of any week in the year, may each time deliver a soul out of the fire of Purgatory.'

Now I desire to know whether any Romanist of common sense can either defend or approve of this.

At eight we took boat; and on *Saturday*, SEPT. 2, about eleven, came to Cologne, which we left at one, and between seven and eight reached a village, an hour short of Neus. Here we overtook a large number of Switzers—men, women, and children, singing, dancing, and making merry, being all going *to make their fortunes in Georgia.* Looking upon them as delivered into my hands by God, I plainly told them what manner of place it was. If they now leap into the fire with open eyes, their blood is on their own head.[1]

Mon. 4.—Before noon we came to Cleve, and to Nijmegen in the evening. The next night we lay at a little village near Tiel; which leaving early in the morning, we walked by the side of many pleasant orchards, and in the afternoon came to Ysselstein. We stayed only one night with the Brethren (in the new house, called Heerendyk,[1] an English mile from the town), and, hastening forward, came the next afternoon to Dr. Koker's [2] at Rotterdam.

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[1] Cf. note on p. 371, vol. i., in reference to the emigration of the poor parishioners of Wroot.

I cannot but acknowledge the civility of this friendly man all the time we stayed in his house. In the morning, *Friday* the 8th, we went to the English Episcopal church, which is a large, handsome, convenient building. The minister [3] read prayers seriously and distinctly to a small, well-behaved congregation. Being informed our ship was to sail the next day (Saturday), we took leave of our generous friend and went to an inn close to the quay, that we might be ready when called to go aboard. Having waited till past four in the afternoon, we stepped into the Jews' Synagogue, which lies near the waterside. I do not wonder that so many Jews (especially those who have any reflection) utterly abjure all religion. My spirit was moved within me at that horrid, senseless pageantry, that mockery of God which they called public worship. Lord, do not Thou yet 'cast off Thy people'! But in Abraham's 'Seed' let them also 'be blessed'!

The ship lingering still, I had time to exhort several English whom we met with at our inn to pursue inward religion, the renewal of their souls in righteousness and true holiness. In the morning a daughter of affliction came to see me, who teaches a school at Rotterdam. She had been for some time under deep convictions; but could find none to instruct or comfort her. After much conversation, we joined in prayer, and her spirit a little revived. Between nine and ten we went on board. In the afternoon I read prayers, and preached in the great cabin. The wind being contrary, we did not get out of the river till *Wednesday*; nor to London till *Saturday* night, Sept. 16.

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[1] Heerendyk (Hirrndyk is also possible), which was in building when the travellers passed that way in July, was the name of the first Moravian settlement in Holland. It was chiefly intended for the accommodation of the missionaries of the church. It was evacuated at a later period (1745) and the community removed to Zeist, or Zeyst. (See *W.H.S.* vol. vi., Notes on Place-names, Itinerary, p. xiii.).

[2] For Dr. Koker see p. 4.

[3] Williams was the minister. He and the church are described in Journal, June 1783 and Aug. 1786.

[illegible]

CAL

PART THE THIRD

THE JOURNAL

FROM SEPTEMBER 17, 1738, TO NOVEMBER 1, 1739

If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.

—ACTS v. 38, 39.

The Preface to the Third Extract shows how mechanical were the printer's arrangements for the First Edition. He has little regard for the subject-matter of the book he is publishing. The first six pages of No. III. are obviously the sequel to No. II. Probably the intention was that a small book of a strictly limited number of pages should be published, and that each number, as it appeared, should be sold at a fixed price—'8d. stitched.' When this unliterary mechanic came to the end of his page allotment, he found himself in possession of a larger number of pages than he required. His book-making problem could only be solved, as he thought, in one of two ways—either by attaching the surplus pages to the next number, or, more disastrously, by casting them into his waste-paper basket. In this earlier period of the Journal publication he adopted the first expedient. Later we shall find at least one example of the latter. A similar subterfuge of a perplexed printer may be discovered also in the 1774 edition of the 'Works,' in which volumes begin and end even more absurdly than do some of these Extracts.

At the risk of somewhat obscuring the identity of No. III., we have removed its Preface forward to the place in the Journal which Wesley evidently intended it to occupy, and to which alone it legitimately belongs. The Journal to which it introduces us is Wesley's first Apologia for himself and his friends as 'The People called Methodists.'

PREFACE

1. When at first men began to lay to my charge things which I knew not, I often thought, 'Had I but two or three intimate friends who knew what my life and conversation were, they might easily speak what they had seen and heard, and all such aspersions would fall to the ground.' But I perceived my mistake as soon as I had two or three who were my friends indeed, not in name only. For a way was easily found to prevent their being of any such use as I once imagined they would be. This was done at a stroke, and that once for all, by giving them and me a new name: a name which, however insignificant in itself, yet had this peculiar effect, utterly to disable me from removing whatever accusation might, for the time to come, be cast upon me, by invalidating all which those who knew me best were able to say in my behalf—nay, which any others could say. For how notorious is it that, if a man dare to open his mouth in my favour, it needs only be replied, 'I suppose you are a Methodist too,' and all he has said is to pass for nothing!

2. Hence, on the one hand, many who knew what my conversation was were afraid to declare the truth, lest the same reproach should fall upon them; and those few who broke through this fear were soon disabled from declaring it with effect by being immediately ranked with him they defended. What impartial man then could refuse to say, 'It is permitted to thee to answer for thyself'? Only do not add, 'But thou shalt *not* persuade me, though thou *dost* persuade me: I am resolved to think as I did before.' Not so, if you are a candid man. You have heard one side already; hear the other, weigh both, allow for human weakness, and then judge as you desire to be judged.

3. What I design in the following Extract is, openly to declare to all mankind what it is that the Methodists (so called) have done, and are doing now—or, rather, what it is that God hath done, and is still doing, in our land. For it is not the work of man which hath lately appeared. All who calmly observe it must say, 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'

4. Such a work this hath been, in many respects, as neither we nor our fathers had known. Not a few whose sins were of the most flagrant

kind—drunkards, swearers, thieves, whoremongers, adulterers—have been brought 'from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Many of these were rooted in their wickedness, having long gloried in their shame, perhaps for a course of many years—yea, even to hoary hairs. Many had not so much as a notional faith, being Jews, Arians, Deists, or Atheists. Nor has God only made bare His arm in these last days in behalf of open publicans and sinners; but many 'of the Pharisees' also 'have believed on Him,' of the 'righteous that needed no repentance'; and, having received 'the sentence of death in themselves,' have then heard the voice that raiseth the dead: have been made partakers of an inward, vital religion, even 'righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'

5. The manner wherein God hath wrought this work in many souls is as strange as the work itself. It has generally, if not always, been wrought in one moment. 'As the lightning shining from heaven,' so was 'the coming of the Son of Man,' either to bring peace or a sword; either to wound or to heal; either to convince of sin or to give remission of sins in His blood. And the other circumstances attending it have been equally remote from what human wisdom would have expected. So true is that word, 'My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways.'

6. These extraordinary circumstances seem to have been designed by God for the further manifestation of His work, to cause His power to be known, and to awaken the attention of a drowsy world. And yet even from these some have drawn their grand objection against the whole work. '"We never saw it," say they, "on this fashion"; *therefore* the work is not of God.' To prove which further, they have not only greatly misrepresented many circumstances that really were, but have added many that were not, often without any regard either to truth or probability. A bare recital of those facts, which were 'not done in a corner,' is the best answer to this sort of objections. To those which have been judged to be of more weight, I have occasionally given a more particular answer.

7. Yet I know even this will by no means satisfy the far greater part of those who are now offended. And for a plain reason—because they *will never read it*; they are resolved to hear one side, and one only. I know also, that many who *do* read it will be just of the same mind they were before; because they have fixed their judgement already, and *do not regard anything which such a fellow can say*. Let them see to that. I have done my part. I have delivered mine own soul. Nay, I know that many will be greatly offended at this very account. It must be so from the very nature of the things which are therein related. And the best appellation I expect from them is that of a fool, a madman, an enthusiast. All that in me lies is to relate

simple truth in as inoffensive a manner as I can. Let God give it the effect which pleaseth Him, and which is most for His glory!

8. May 'He who hath the key of the house of David, who openeth and no man shutteth,' open 'a great and effectual door,' by whom it pleaseth Him, for His everlasting gospel! May He 'send by whom He will send,' so it may 'run and be glorified' more and more! May He 'ride on conquering and to conquer,' until 'the fullness of the Gentiles' be come in; and 'the earth be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea'!

THE JOURNAL

From September 17, 1738, *to November* 1, 1739[1]

1738. SEPTEMBER 17, *Sun.*—I began again to declare in my own country[2] the glad tidings of salvation, preaching three times, and afterwards expounding the Holy Scripture to a large company in the Minories. On *Monday* I rejoiced to meet with our little society,[3] which now consisted of thirty-two persons. The next day I went to the condemned felons in Newgate, and offered them free salvation. In the evening I went to a society[1] in Bear

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[1] In this Section the Diary recommences. It was written in Byrom's shorthand; but in nearly every case Wesley writes the names of persons and places in longhand, either fully or with contractions. The spelling of names greatly varies. The transliteration respects Wesley's spelling, even in its inconsistencies.

[2] Wesley was three months absent from England. Immediately on his return he sought his brother Charles, who writes in his Journal: 'SEPT. *Sat.* 16.—James Hutton came [probably to Bray's in Little Britain, which seems to have been at this time the usual London lodging of the two brothers], and carried me perforce to Newgate, where we preached Christ to four condemned prisoners. At night my brother returned from Herrnhut. We took sweet counsel together, comparing our experiences.' The Diary for these days is lost, therefore we do not know in what churches or societies John preached on this first Sunday after his return. Charles's note on the day's proceedings is a fitting prelude to the remarkable work on this day inaugurated: 'SEPT. *Sun.* 17.—At the early sacrament my brother read prayers; I preached "All under sin" in Gracechurch Street, in the morning; at Queen Street [the proprietary Anglican chapel which nearly a century later gave place to 'Great Queen Street Chapel'], in the afternoon. In the evening I preached faith, from Rom. iii., at the Savoy society. My brother entertained us at night with the Moravian experiences.' In the Minories—at the house of, or in a building belonging to, the Sims family—one of the most important of the Religious Societies met. On Sept. 3, in the same year, Charles preached 'at Sims's to above two hundred people.'

[3] The one he himself had formed on May 1, at James Hutton's house in Little Wild Street, afterwards removed to Fetter Lane (see vol. i. p. 458). It was a Church of England Religious Society.

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[1] The part played by the 'Religious Societies' in the earliest period of the Evangelical Revival has always been understood as considerable. Its importance is now still further emphasized by the evidence of Wesley's Diary. The authority for the history of this remarkable movement is Dr. Woodward's *Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies.* A succinct *résumé* will be found in John S. Simon's Fernley Lecture, *The Revival of Religion in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 124-31. Dr. Simon says:

> About the year 1678, in the dreary days of Charles II, Dr. Andrew Horneck, a German by birth, was the preacher at the Savoy. He attracted large audiences by his 'awakening sermons.' At St. Michael's, Cornhill, Mr. Smithies was the morning lecturer. He was of a kindred spirit, and his sermons brought many under conviction of sin. Amongst the hearers of Horneck and Smithies were several young men who belonged to 'the middle station of life.'

Members of the Church of England in London and Westminster, they consulted ministers, who advised them to meet together once a week for mutual edification, under rule and discipline. Attached to these weekly meetings were various philanthropic agencies, very similar to those of the Holy Club at Oxford.

> For the better management of their 'common stock,' these young men chose two stewards, who managed the charities of the society. Woodward possessed a list of these stewards. . . . The first were chosen in 1678.

Early in the reign of James II the Religious Societies were weakened by the falling away of members. But the remnant, seeing the Mass celebrated daily in the Chapel Royal and elsewhere, resolved to set up at their own expense daily prayers at eight in the evening at St. Clement Danes, in the Strand. As monthly lecturers they secured the services of the most eminent divines in London. Early in the reign of William and Mary the Religious Societies increased in number. 'The members went to the monthly Communion, they constantly used portions of the Book of Common Prayer in their assemblies; they set up public prayers in many churches in the City.' Dr. Simon shows clearly that all these societies were in strict communion with the Church of England. How many survived until September 1738 cannot now be ascertained; nor can we always be quite sure that the societies referred to in the Diary, in the Wesley and Whitefield Journals, and in the correspondence of the times, were of the strictly Horneck descent. Happily for London, for the Church of England, and for the Dissenting Churches, the movement had many imitators; and John Wesley, though still a strict Churchman, had wide sympathies. The Religious Societies proper, when Dr. Woodward's book was published in 1701, numbered forty 'in the compass of the Bills of Mortality,' or, as we should say, in the Metropolitan area. Similar societies were formed in Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, Windsor, and other towns and cities.

On his return from Herrnhut Wesley attached himself closely to these societies, and they, as a rule, welcomed his ministrations. He read prayers for them, preached, expounded, read his 'Account of Herrnhut,' visited their sick, went for them to Newgate, preaching to condemned felons, singing in the cells, and even in the Tyburn cart, the psalms and hymns he had taught Savannah and Frederica to sing. He went with the society families to their parish churches for early morning prayers and Communion. Whether in churches or private rooms and cottages, he preached salvation by grace through faith in Christ, and brought hope to souls in despair. The two quaint copies of the Freyling-

Yard,[1] and preached repentance and remission of sins. The next evening I spoke the truth in love at a society in Aldersgate Street.[2] Some contradicted at first, but not long; so that nothing but love appeared at our parting.

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hausen *Gesang-Buch* in the College Library at Richmond, each with John Wesley's initials, belong to this period. Coincidently with the publication of the first volume of this Standard Edition of the *Journal*, a London Methodist layman purchased, at a great price, the only copy in existence of the Charlestown Hymn-book. For the previous history of this bibliographical rarity see *W.H.S.* vol. i. p. 50, and vol. ii. p. 222. As far as we know it is the only copy ever seen in London, and the extreme probability is that, like the Freylinghausen tune-books, it was at this time in John Wesley's possession, and was used by him in those meetings of the London and Westminster and Oxford Religious Societies of which we are about to read in the Diary of 1738-9. It is scarcely a speculation to imagine John Wesley, in the evening meetings, teaching the people to sing the beautiful German hymns translated by himself into noble English verse—singing them to the magnificent German psalm-tunes which he heard in the Moravian quarters of the *Simmonds* amidst the thunders of the storm, and, more recently, at Marienborn and Herrnhut. We shall find that the first word in the new Diary is 'Singing.' With the exception of 'prayer' and 'conversation,' no word occurs more frequently than 'singing.' It is one of the most prominent facts in the story told by Journal and Diary. Wesley began his mission 'singing.' An article in the *W.M. Mag.* by the Rev. Henry Bett on the origin of the earliest Methodist tunes appeared in June 1910.

We cannot greatly wonder that the societies should have received him with open arms. His brother Charles and his intimate friends James Hutton, the Delamottes, the Thorolds, the Kinchins, Stonehouse, Venn, the Claggetts, and others, were more or less in fellowship with them. Before his visit to Germany Wesley had been a frequent visitor in several of the societies. It is more than probable that extracts from his Georgia Journal and letters he wrote in Germany had been read in James Hutton's society and elsewhere. He was no stranger; and certainly he was not the least popular of the many preachers who gathered immense congregations in city and suburban churches.

To what extent the Moravian Brethren were in fellowship with the societies we cannot precisely determine. English Moravianism had not yet ceased to be German. The leaders of the near future —Hutton, Gambold, Kinchin, and others —were still in the Church of England, as indeed were both the Religious Societies themselves and the Methodism of the Holy Club. The whole circle of intense devotionalism, of practical philanthropy, of religious education, of evangelical evangelism, might, at that moment, have been definitely incorporated into the Church of England.

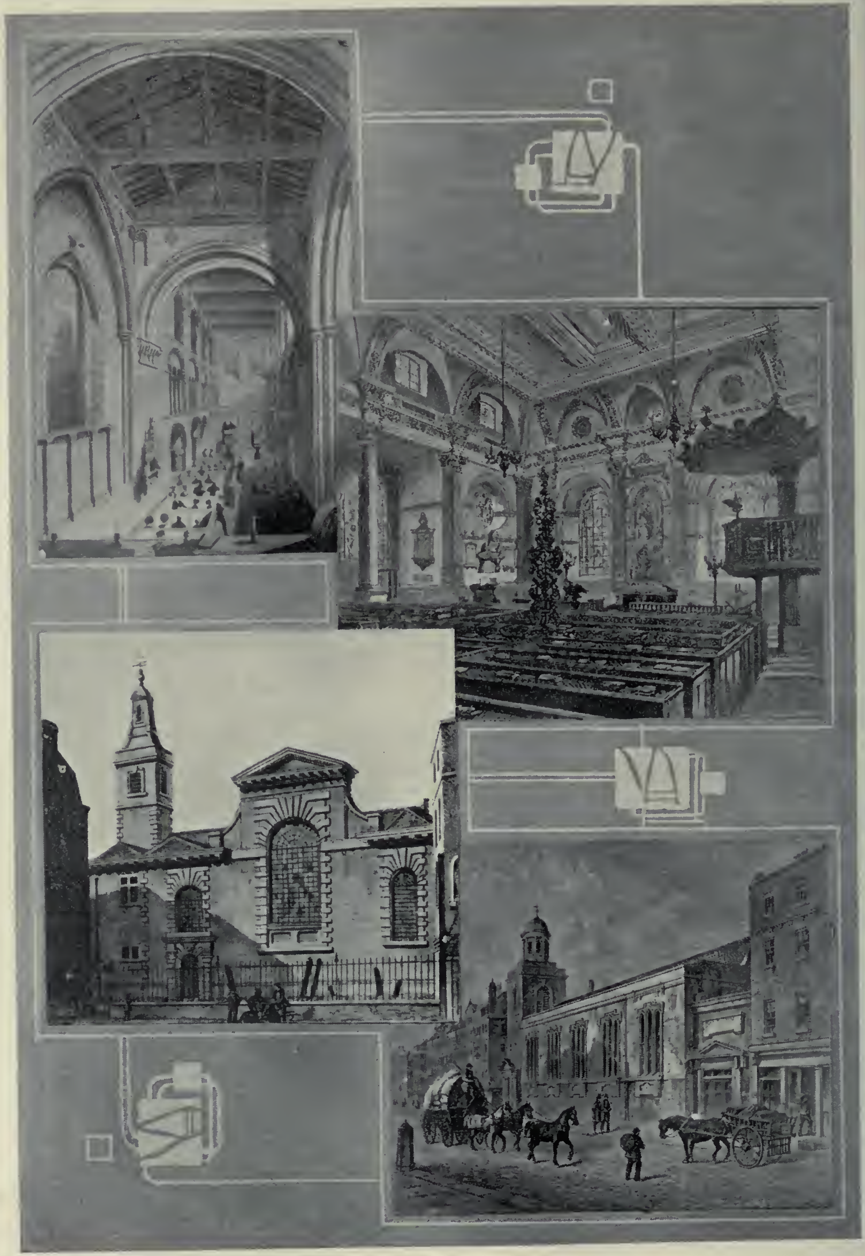
[1] On the west side of Sheffield Street, by Clare Market, not far from West Street and Great Queen Street.

[2] Walter Wilson, *History of the Dissenting Churches in London and Westminster*, vol. iii. pp. 350-64, identifies this with the society and room of May 24, 1738, and apparently confuses it with a society named in Benham's *Hutton* (p. 542), 'The society in Aldersgate Street, which was chiefly composed of clergymen (1783).' (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 246; vol. v. pp. 246-7.) See a discussion on the identification of this room in vol. i. p. 475. The society in the text may have been a Horneck or a newer Moravian society.

1. ST. BOTOLPH, BISHOPSGATE. 2. ST. MARY-LE-BOW.

3. ST. ANTHOLIN. 4. ST. CLEMENT DANES.

[*Thanks are due to Mr. C. W. F. Goss, the librarian of Bishopsgate Institute, for the loan of Clark's 'Architectura Ecclesiastica Londini,'* 1820, *from which these and other illustrations of London churches are taken.*]



1. ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.
2. ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY.
3. ST. ANN, ALDERSGATE.
4. ST. KATHERINE CREE.

Thur. 21.—I went to a society in Gutter Lane; but I could not declare the mighty works of God there[1]; as I did afterwards at the Savoy[2] in all simplicity. And the word did not return empty.

Finding abundance of people greatly exasperated by gross misrepresentations of the words I had spoken, I went to as many of them in private as my time would permit. God gave me much love towards them all. Some were convinced they had been mistaken. And who knoweth but God will soon return to the rest, and leave a blessing behind Him?

Wesley began his work in London on Sunday, September 17, 1738. On *Wednesday*, SEPTEMBER 20, the Diary is resumed. The Diary kept in Germany has not yet been discovered. The resumed Diary, like its predecessor, is written in Byrom's shorthand. Occasionally cipher signs are used, and frequent abbreviations; lists of the latter are found in the notebooks of the Colman Collection. The following entry (September 20) shows the exact form of the Diary. In later instances, to save space, the arrangement in lines with the repetition of hours will be abandoned:

SEPT. 20. *Wed.*

6 Singing, writ Account of Herrnhut. 8 tea, conversed. 9 writ Account. 11 at
Newgate, prayers, spoke. 12.30 writ Account. 1 dinner.
2 Account. 3.15 prayers. 4.15 at James Hutton's, shaved. 5 tea.
6 5.15 at Mrs. Thornbury's, Miss Claggett's tar[ried], communion. 6 at
7 James Hutton's, Mrs. Claggett, etc., singing, conversed, prayer. 8 at Mr.
8 Harris', prayer, singing, etc. 9.30 at home, supper, conversed, prayer 11.15.

SEPT. 21. *Thur.*

6 Singing, writ account; 7.15 prayers, communion; 9 James Hutton's, prayer; 10 at home, and tea, Account; 11 Mrs. D. and Miss H[utton], singing, conversed, read Account [of visit to Herrnhut], singing; 1 Account; 1.30 dinner, Account; 3.15 prayers; 4 Account; 5.15 conversed; 6 Mrs. Smith's, Mr. Wogan [his first tutor was a Mr. Wogan] Morgan [Oxford University friends], etc., tea, a good time in prayer, etc.; 7.45 at the Savoy, prayer, etc.; 10 at home, eat, conversed, prayer 11.30.

At the end of the last line but one he has written the sign which usually means 'convinced.'

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[1] The Diary suggests that Wogan and Morgan were present. If, as is probable, they were affected by the controversial influence of men like Thomas Broughton and Arthur Bedford, this may account for the comparative failure of Wesley's efforts. Gutter Lane still survives between Cheapside on the south and Maiden Lane on the north.

[2] The Chapel Royal, Savoy, on the south-east side of the Strand, over against Exeter Exchange (hence 'Exeter Hall'). First built in 1245 by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond; rebuilt by Henry VII for a Hospital of St. John the Baptist; again 'new built' by Queen Mary, taking the name of 'St. Mary in the Savoy.' The Wesleys frequently preached there. It was one of the two original homes of the Religious Societies. The Diary and Charles Wesley's Journal show that near this chapel one of the societies met. Charles Wesley writes of the 'Savoy society.'

On *Saturday* the 23rd I was enabled to speak strong words both at Newgate and at Mr. E[xtell]'s society; and the next day at St. Ann's,[1] and twice at St. John's, Clerkenwell; so that I fear they will bear me there no longer.

On *Friday* the 22nd he rose at 6.30, and, after singing, called at James Hutton's, where he met friends, and, after prayer, conversed with them. The same morning he read 'My sermon and Mr. Bedford's.' Later in the afternoon we find him at Mr. Burton's, Mr. Hollis's, where he drank tea; Mr. Sims's in the Minories[2]; Mrs. Hind's, and Mrs. Capel's. At all these houses he conversed, evidently, with persons who had been 'exasperated by gross misrepresentations.' It was nearly midnight before he retired to rest.

On *Saturday* the 23rd he resumed the Account of Herrnhut, at Newgate visited a prisoner named Bryan, read prayers and preached, and at 12.30 called on Mr. Charles Rivington. This possibly in part was a business interview; he may have thought that Rivington would publish the Account of Herrnhut. He dined at home, and in the afternoon read letters with his brother Charles. It has been surmised that the Mr. E., at whose society he spoke strong words, was a Mr. Edmonds; but the only persons who appear in the Diary under this date, in addition to those already given, are Mr. Fish, Henry Delamotte, and Mr. Extell. His interview with Henry Delamotte was at home—that is to say, at Bray's, where he was lodging. In the evening 'Charles read his sermon.' At Mr. Extell's house there seems to have been a considerable society-meeting; in addition to the usual singing and prayer, a sermon was preached. The following is the entry for *Sunday* the 24th:

5.45 Singing, drest, S. Ann's, prayers, sermon, communion; 8.30 at home, singing, prayer; 9 tea, conversed; 10 St. John's Chappel, prayers, preached; 1.15 Mrs. Metcalf's, singing, conversed; dinner 3; S. John's, prayers, preached; 5.30 Mr. Sims', tea, conversed; 6 in the Minories, singing, prayer, preached; 7.30 At home, singing, Bible, conversed; 9 supper, conversed, 11.

It is always assumed that the Minories society met in Mr. Sims's house; but the above entry indicates that, whilst Wesley drank tea at Mr. Sims's, the meeting in the Minories, at which he preached the sermon, was held elsewhere. It may have been in a workshop or other building adjoining Mr. Sims's house.

The question arises as to the building which Wesley calls 'St. John's, Clerkenwell,' but which in the Diary is more precisely named as 'St. John's Chappel.' Does he mean the Church of St. John, or the chapel that once belonged to the Knights Hospitallers, or the crypt of St. John's? It is

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[1] Probably St. Ann's within Aldersgate, on the north side of St. Ann's Lane. This would be the parish church of Bray and his lodgers. See map, vol. i. p. 473; also above, p. 74. The incumbent in 1738 was the Rev. Fifield Allen, B.D.

[2] Peter Sims, butcher, in Paved Alley, Leadenhall Market. Born at Peckham Rye, April 30, 1716: married Anna Howarth and went to North of Ireland. (Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 95.)

Tues. 26.—I declared the gospel of peace to a small company at Windsor. The next evening Mr. H.[1] preached to the

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possible that he preached in both buildings—in St. John's Chapel and in St. John's Church.

On *Monday* the 25th he wrote to Mr. Bedford (Rev. Arthur, who on August 13 had preached on the doctrine of Assurance ; see below, p. 82), and in the early morning called on Mrs. Claggett, with whom he conversed, drank tea, and sang. At 9.30 he returned home, and heard Charles read his Journal, the last entry in which referred to a visit paid to Mrs. Claggett the day before. Her husband, 'Wyseman Claggett, Esq., of Broadoaks,' was threatening her ; other signs of persecution were apparent. 'Mrs. Hankinson,' Charles writes, 'has lost several boarders, yet is in nothing terrified by her adversaries.' He continues, 'I read prayers in Islington Church, and preached with great boldness. There was a vast audience, and better disposed than usual. None went out, as they had threatened, and frequently done heretofore ; especially the well-dressed hearers, "Whene'er I mentioned hell to ears polite," and urged that rude question, "Do you deserve to be damned ?"' It is significant of the difference between the two brothers that, whilst Charles emphasizes the persecutions which Methodists and Moravians were suffering, John in the Diary says nothing, and in the Journal makes only a distant allusion to the subject.

He again went to Newgate, spent some time with Bryan, and at one o'clock read prayers and preached. At 1.30 Charles resumed the reading of his Journal. The two brothers were evidently lodging together at Bray's house. In the afternoon they called at Mr. Claggett's, where, after singing, they dined. At 3.30 John went to the Charterhouse, his old school, where he conversed with Mr. Agutter.[2] A 'Mr. Lyn' is also named, at whose house he drank tea and sang. At six he was at James Hutton's, where, later in the evening, the bands met. In the devotional exercises that evening special prayer was offered for Mrs. Claggett.

Apparently the 'bands' on this occasion met in James Hutton's house, and not in the room in Fetter Lane.

On *Tuesday* the 26th he took a journey into the country ; the Diary

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[1] The church was St. Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside ; so called, it is said, because the original church in Saxon times was built on arches ('hence,' says Stow, 'the Court of Arches took its name, being sometimes here kept'). The 'societies' were not the Religious Societies, but, more probably, the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., &c. It is known that twice a year sermons were preached in this church for the S.P.G. From the Diary it appears that on this occasion John Wesley, who himself belonged to both these societies, read prayers. The Mr. H. who preached may have been 'Mr. Harris' (cf. Diary and Charles Wesley's Journal, Aug. 16, 1738), to whose house Wesley adjourned after supper to discuss the sermon, the false doctrine of which may be inferred from the Old Version Psalm which neutralized it. Hopkins wrote the metrical psalm referred to (xxxvi.).

[2] The name is variously spelt. At a later date it is always Agutter. 'Lyn' apparently reappears later as 'Mr. Lyne.'

LIBRARY ST. MARY'S COLLEGE

societies at Bow; but not 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' I was afraid lest 'the lame' should 'be turned out of the way'; but God answered the thoughts of my heart, and took away my

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points to the fact that he slept the previous night at James Hutton's house. They rose at the unusual hour of 3.30, and, after singing and dressing, at 4.15 a little company, consisting of John Wesley, James Hutton, and others, set out on foot, singing and conversing as they walked. At 7.15 they reached Hounslow, sang, drank tea, conversed, rested awhile, and at 8.45 resumed their walk to Windsor, beguiling the journey, as usual, with conversation and song. By one o'clock they were with Mr. Thorold (? Sir John Thorold) at Windsor, where they prayed, conversed, at 2.30 dined, at three read the Account of Herrnhut, and at 5.15 were at Mr. Michener's, where they drank tea, sang, prayed, and preached. Wesley seems to have supped at Mr. Thorold's, but slept at Mr. Michener's.

On *Wednesday* the 27th he again rose at 3.30, and at four set out on his return journey, walking, singing, and conversing. At six he was at Longsden, where he drank tea. At seven the travellers resumed their journey, still on foot, conversing and singing. At ten they were at Turnham Green, where again they drank tea. At eleven they walked and sang and conversed, until at one they reached Mr. Wolfe's (probably Shepherd Wolfe, whose name appears in the Moravian records), where Wesley was prosaic enough to 'shave.' At two they reached James Hutton's house, where dinner awaited them. At 3.15 Wesley was at home (that is to say, at Mr. Bray's), where he wrote his Diary and a letter. In the early evening he went to Bow, and read prayers.

Mr. H. preached! 7 at home, conversed, supper. 8 Mr. Harris's, prayer, etc., all agreed! 10 conversed; 11 tempted.

On *Thursday* morning the 28th he rested longer than usual, rising at seven o'clock. A letter occupied the morning, until, at eleven, he read prayers and preached at Newgate. He dined at Mr. Lyne's, returned home, and resumed the letter, at four o'clock writing up his Diary. Calling on Mrs. D., Miss Claggett came; they sang and conversed. Thence he went to Mr. Brockmer's,[1] where also he sang, prayed, read, &c. At half-past eight he was at the Savoy, apparently for a society-meeting. He supped at home, and was engaged in conversation and prayer until nearly midnight.

Fri. 29.—Rising at half-past six, he dressed for prayers and Communion at St. Dunstan's. This would be St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, where his uncle, Dr. Matthew Wesley, was buried in 1737. At nine o'clock he was at James Hutton's, where they sang and prayed and drank tea, and a letter was fear in a manner I did not expect, even by the words of Thomas Sternhold.[1] They were these (sung immediately after the sermon):

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[1] Probably John Paul Brockmer, gold-watch chaser, in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, who afterwards became a Moravian, and held meetings in his house in 1743. (Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 90.) The Wesleys both spelt the name with an 'a'; the Moravians with an 'e.' For a lively account of Swedenborg's visit to Brockmer, see *Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 46; 1783, p. 438. See also *W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 89.

Thy mercy is above all things,
  O God; it doth excel;
In trust whereof, as in Thy wings,
  The sons of men shall dwell.

Within Thy house they shall be fed
  With plenty at their will:
Of all delights they shall be sped,
  And take thereof their fill.

Because the well of life most pure
  Doth ever flow from Thee;
And in Thy light we are most sure
  Eternal light to see.

From such as Thee desire to know
  Let not Thy grace depart:
Thy righteousness declare and show
  To men of upright heart.

Sat. 30.—One who had been a zealous opposer of 'this way' sent and desired to speak with me immediately. He had all the

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written. At 12.30 he met Mr. Snowball. Returning home he transacted business, and dined between two and three. It was one of his fast-days. The Account of Herrnhut occupied him. In the evening we find him at Mr. Fish's and Mr. Wolfe's, where he 'conversed of the band,' and drank tea. Later in the evening he had a conversation with Mr. Jenkins, which ended in prayer. At home he wrote his Diary, supped, and engaged in religious exercises until 11.30, when he retired.

Sat. 30.—He was still occupied with his Account of Herrnhut, to which he attached importance.[2]

At eight o'clock on this Saturday morning he breakfasted at Mrs. Prat's. He seems during this period always to have taken breakfast in one of the signs of settled despair, both in his countenance and behaviour. He said he had been enslaved to sin many years, especially to drunkenness; that he had long used all the means of grace, had constantly gone to church and sacrament, had read the Scripture and used much private prayer, and yet was nothing profited. I desired we might join in prayer. After a short space he rose, and his countenance was no longer sad. He said, 'Now I know God loveth *me*, and has forgiven *my* sins. And sin shall not have dominion over me; for Christ hath set me free.' And according to his faith it was unto him.[1]

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[1] See Dr. A. E. Gregory, Fernley Lecture, 1904, p. 67. The influence of sacred song on Wesley and the leaders around him is illustrated by the names given to the earliest Methodist tunes. They often recall the Religious Societies: 'Bray's,' 'Snowsfields,' 'Minories,' 'Fetter Lane,' 'Brockmer's,' 'Smith's,' &c.

[2] Wesley used this 'Account' as a teaching and training instrument. He familiarized the leaders of the Evangelical Revival with the facts he had gleaned in Germany, dwelling upon the more spiritual and experimental aspects of the work. To estimate the force of the revival, especially in London, we must understand the part played by Herrnhut in moulding Wesley's religious opinions and the character of the societies.

Christian homes which welcomed him; and, whether with the family alone or with neighbours who were called in for the occasion, he invariably accompanied the morning meal with prayer and conversation and singing. He then returned home to his 'Account' and the writing of his Diary. At eleven o'clock he was with 'Nat Philips at Newgate.' He read prayers, preached, and prayed with Bryan. At one he was at 'Mr. Philips',' where he dined.

In the afternoon he is conversing at Mr. Bray's. At 3.45 he is at Mr. Jennings's—'he in despair.' The next entries are a little confused. A word is blotted out, and we cannot recover it; but apparently the meaning is—

> He received [pardon?]. Mrs. Claggett's, singing, prayer, tea 6¼.

One may surmise that we have here one of the earliest conversions in the Methodist revival. Wesley was not yet so familiar with these experiences as to be able to write freely about them. The sinner 'in despair' whom he led to Christ received a blessing which he scarcely knows how to describe. He may have written a sign for 'assurance,' or 'pardon'; but not feeling quite certain as to the propriety of the word he was using, he blotted it out, and noted only the fact that the joyful event—a despairing sinner receiving the mercy of God—set good Mrs. Claggett singing.[2] At 6.15 he was at Mr. Burton's, where he conversed for half an hour, walking thence to Mr. Extell's, where one of the societies met. The meeting, which began at eight o'clock, was prolonged. Another troubled soul is named—'Mrs. Jenkins'—with whom Wesley prayed. He then returned home, and retired to rest at eleven o'clock.

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[1] Charles Wesley, who had just returned from Oxford, says, 'My brother informed me of one who was yesterday an open sinner, and to-day received into Christ's church, or the company of faithful people.' The Diary informs us that the despairing sinner was Mr. Jennings.

[2] Benjamin Ingham's copy of the Anglo-Moravian hymn-book (Hutton, 1742) contains the names of the authors of all the hymns (except those translated from the German), in Ingham's handwriting. These include Miss Claggett, Gambold, William Delamotte, James Hutton, Mr. and Mrs. Kinchin, Schlicht, Viney, and Molther.

OCT. 1, *Sun.*—I preached both morning and afternoon at St. George's-in-the-East.[1] On the following days I endeavoured to explain the way of salvation to many who had misunderstood what had been preached concerning it.

On *Sunday*, OCTOBER 1, he was with Charles in the early morning singing and reading letters. They walked together, and, at nine o'clock, breakfasted at Mr. Parker's (at Wapping). At ten Wesley read prayers at St. George's-in-the-East, preached, and gave the Communion. He dined at Mr. H's. (He leaves the space blank, as though intending to write out the name fully.) In the afternoon he was again at St. George's, reading prayers, preaching, and baptizing.

At 4.30, at Mrs. Ironmonger's, many tarried, tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 Mr. Sims', singing, etc.; 7.15 Mrs. Sims, singing, supper, prayer; 8.45 at home, singing, etc.; 11 prayer, conversed; 12.

Mon. 2.—Charles in the early morning read letters. They must have been considerable in number or length, for the reading occupied nearly three hours. Between 10.30 and eleven John Wesley walked from Little Britain to Newgate, where he read prayers and preached. Probably Charles was with him in this service; at all events, they met afterwards at Mr. Brockmer's, where they dined, singing with their host both before and after the meal. Charles's version is interesting. He says, 'We admonished one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.' Returning home, he meditated and read awhile. At three he read evening prayer at Mrs. C.'s. She evidently was the person referred to by Charles Wesley as having been 'received into Christ's Church,' and concerning whom Mrs. Claggett said, 'This morning, in utter despair, she had heard a distinct whisper, "I am the Lord thy God, mighty to save."' Charles, with the three Misses Claggett (four daughters are named in the Moravian lists), went 'to our poor sick woman. My brother and James [Hutton] followed; then Mrs. Metcalfe and three of the Delamottes. We found her full of triumph and vehement desires to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. We did this in remembrance of Him.' In other words, they took the sacrament together. The same evening John Wesley also gave the Communion to Mr. Heath. Later than usual he drank tea with Mrs. Sims in the Minories; and, after singing and prayer, returned to Mrs. C.'s, cheering the sick woman with song. At James Hutton's he held a society-meeting, returning to Mrs. C.'s, where he supped, sang, read the Bible, and conversed with the sick woman until 12.30.

The following morning, October 3, he rose at 6.15, dressed, 'read the Bible to Miss C.,' ending with a psalm or hymn. William Delamotte called for him at 8.30; they breakfasted with Mrs. Delamotte, probably at the Wharf, where the family from Blendon often stayed. He met the society at eleven, probably in the Fetter Lane room; at one o'clock returning home, where he wrote his Diary, dined, and, weary with heavy work and late hours, slept. He read prayers at Mrs. West's; called on Mrs. Sims, who

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[1] This church (see p. 134) is on the east side of Cannon Street, Ratcliff. It was built in 1715. The incumbent from 1729 to 1764 was William Simpson, D.D.

Fri. 6.—I preached at St. Antholin's once more.[1] In the afternoon I went to the Rev. Mr. Bedford,[2] to tell him, between me and him alone, of the injury he had done both to God and his brother by preaching and printing that very weak sermon on

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was ill; went to Mr. Thacker's, where he met Mr. Delamotte and Mrs. Bride. He closed the day with a long society-meeting in Bear Yard.

On *Wednesday* the 4th the record has a peculiar interest. On this day Isaac Watts, John Wesley, and Charles Wesley walked and sang together.

6.30 Singing, writ Account; 8 Mrs. Sisson's, tea, conversed; 9 read verse with Charles; 11 Newgate, read prayers, preached; 1.30 at Dr. Watts', conversed; 2.30 walked, singing, conversed; 3 Islington, prayers; 4 at Mr. Stonehouse's, singing, conversed, prayer, tea, conversed; 5.45 walked, conversed; 7 at home, conversed, prayer; 8 Mr. Harris's, singing, etc., conversed; 11 prayer.

On *Thursday* the 5th, whilst Charles, 'shamefully unwilling,' went with Sparkes to Newgate, John, Mr. Delamotte, Bray, and William Delamotte were going down the river to Greenwich, reading and singing as they sailed. At Blendon they all were welcome guests, so also was Kezzy Wesley, who joined the party. They dined together, and John conversed with 'sister Kezzy.' At four they set out, singing, with William Delamotte as companion for an hour and a half. At 7.15 Wesley was at home, supping in preparation for a long society-meeting at Mr. Brockmer's, where he seems to have passed the night.

Fri. 6.—After preaching at St. Antholin's, he drank tea at Mr. Hall's, conversed and sang at Mr. Mason's. Returning home, he read with Charles before going to Newgate, where also he preached. At home he conversed with Mrs. Musgrove, and at two set out for Hoxton. On the way he 'read verse'; at Hoxton he conversed with Mr. Bedford. He walked and read as far as Mr. Stonehouse's, where, after burying a corpse, he broke his fast, dining at five o'clock. A Mrs. S. is named. From her house he walked to Mr. Bray's, and thence to Wapping was a full hour's smart walking. The name of the man in whose house the little society heard him 'expound' was Mr. Parker, who seems to have entertained him at supper and found him a bed.

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[1] In Watling Street, at the corner of Sise Lane: its proper title is St. Antony (see p. 73). Dr. Richard Venn, father of Henry Venn, and himself a notable man, was rector. He died in the following year. It is said that the practice of singing psalms in Protestant Anglican worship was first introduced in this church. It was demolished in 1875.

[2] See under March 18, 1781; also letter to Bishop Lavington; and especially Green's *Anti-Methodist Bibliography*, Nos. 3 and 130. Arthur Bedford, M.A., was Chaplain to the Prince of Wales and to the Haberdashers' Hospital. Bedford's sermon controverting what he understood to be Wesley's doctrine of assurance opened, in London, the pulpit attack upon Methodism, and opened it temperately. Bedford deprecated the teaching on the ground that it tended to foster spiritual pride. (See *Arm. Mag.* 1782, p. 429.) Wesley admired his piety (Journal, March 18, 1781). For his kindness to Whitefield see Tyerman's *Life of George Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 74.

assurance, which was an *ignoratio elenchi* from beginning to end; seeing the assurance we preach is of quite another kind from what he writes against. We speak of an assurance of our present pardon; not, as he does, of our final perseverance.

In the evening I began expounding at a little society in Wapping. On *Sunday* the 8th I preached at the Savoy Chapel (I suppose the last time) on the parable (or history rather) of the Pharisee and Publican praying in the temple.

Mon. 9.—I set out for Oxford.[1] In walking I read the truly

The next morning, *Saturday* the 7th, he walked home and breakfasted with Mrs. Claggett. An hour—between eleven and twelve—he spent with James Hutton. He, or they, held a midday society-meeting at Mr. Summer's—from twelve to two. Then he dined. At three o'clock another society-meeting was held, apparently in the same house. At 5.15 they drank tea, conversing, and resumed the meeting at six, when they sang and prayed, &c., until eight, when yet another meeting was held at Mr. Extell's. It was ten o'clock before he reached home and 'supper,' and 11.15 before the tired man rested.

But at five the next morning (*Sunday* the 8th—the date in the Diary is Sunday the 9th; it should be the 8th: he does not recover the right date until Wednesday the 11th) he was robing for early morning prayers, sermon, and Communion at St. Lawrence's (Jewry, near the Guildhall). He did not reach home for the Sunday morning cup of tea until 8.45. At ten he was at the Savoy, meditating, no doubt, on the sermon he was going to preach—his last sermon in the chapel, as he then supposed. He dined with Mr. Jones. There he conversed, 'writ,' and prayed. By three he was at Bridewell, where his old friend Mr. Hutchings (John Hutchings, of Pembroke College) preached. At 4.15 he was singing and drinking tea with Mrs. Claggett. Mr. Claggett, as we learn from Charles, was more irreconcilable than ever. But Mrs. Claggett and her daughters were loyal to conviction, cleaving to the Wesleys, as afterwards they cleaved to the Moravians. The evening of this last day in London (for the present) he spent with the Minories society and at home, where he slept. The day following he had arranged to return to Oxford.

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[1] The Diary gives details respecting this pedestrian journey to Oxford—Wesley's companions, the route, the halting-places, the persons who showed hospitality, and the occupations of the journey. Bray was the brazier of Little Britain, in whose house John and Charles Wesley were lodging. Jennings was the ex-drunkard and 'zealous opposer,' in 'settled despair,' who, one week earlier, had found forgiveness; and Shaw was an enthusiast who figures later in the story. So long as he had companionship, Wesley sang, conversed, and prayed; but when the last friend (Shaw) left him, he followed an old practice—verse-making and reading. From High Wycombe to 'the Hut' he made verse and sang; from the Hut to Oxford he read,—two hours on an autumn morning alone with God and sacred song; three or four hours with the story of a great revival and his

surprising narrative of the conversions lately wrought in and about the town of Northampton, in New England.[1] Surely 'this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'

Oct. 9. *Mon.*

6.15 Drest, prayer; 7 Mrs. Claggett's, tea, singing, conversed; 8 Mr. Jenn[ings's], tea, singing, conversed; 9.30 walked with Mr. Bray, Jennings, and Shaw, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.30 they [i.e. Bray and Jennings] went, conversed with Mr. Shaw, singing; 2 Uxbridge, dinner; 3 walked, conversed, singing; 7 Wickam, Mr. Hollis, in talk; 7.30 Mr. Crouch's; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, conversed; 11.

Tues. 10.—After breakfast 'Shaw went,' and Wesley walked alone towards Oxford, beguiling the way, as he had so often done in Georgia, with 'verse' and singing. By 10.30 he was 'at the Hut,' where he conversed, apparently resting awhile. At 11.45 he resumed his lonely walk, reading the Account of New England referred to in the Journal. He dined at Tetsworth, halting for three-quarters of an hour. At one o'clock he was again on the road, still reading and meditating, until, at 4.30, he arrived at Mr. Sarney's, where Charles usually lodged. When he had refreshed himself 'within,' he went to prayers in his own College Chapel, as he had been wont to do when in residence. At six he drank tea at Mr. Evans's, and at eight sang and prayed with his friends Washington and Combes. He was present the same evening at Mrs. Fox's society. It was a long meeting, for he did not reach his lodging for the night at Mr. Combes's until 10.45.

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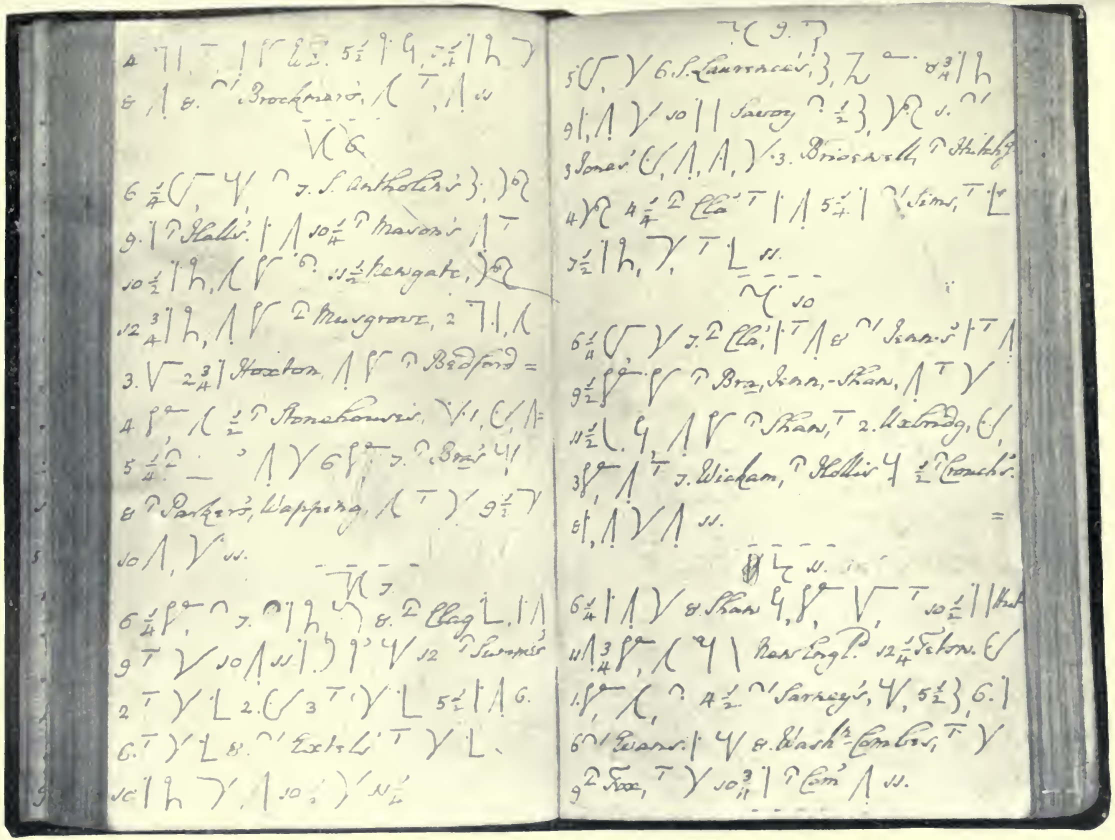
own meditations thereon. In Oxford he wrote a narrative (apparently of the New England revival) to an unnamed friend, and on Friday the 13th he 'writ verse.' Two days before commencing his journey to Oxford he 'read verse' as he walked to Islington. So that after, during, and before a journey Wesley made 'verse.'

Over against these Diary facts we may place another fact, leaving students to draw their own conclusions. In *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, pt. iii. p. 262 (1740) by John and Charles Wesley, there are four hymns entitled—two of them 'Before a Journey,' one 'On a Journey,' and the fourth 'After a Journey,' which might be the identical 'verse.' Every line of the hymn, 'On a Journey,' in its original form was strictly and literally true of the man whose Diary we are deciphering. In 1780 John Wesley altered it, omitting the first verse and changing the singular form to the congregational plural. This was the original form:

> Saviour, who ready art to hear
> (Readier than I to pray),
> Answer my scarcely uttered prayer,
> And meet me on the way.
>
> Talk with me, Lord, Thyself reveal,
> While here o'er earth I rove;
> Speak to my heart, and let it feel
> The kindling of Thy love.
>
> With Thee conversing I forget
> All time, and toil, and care:
> Labour is rest, and pain is sweet,
> If Thou, my God, art here.

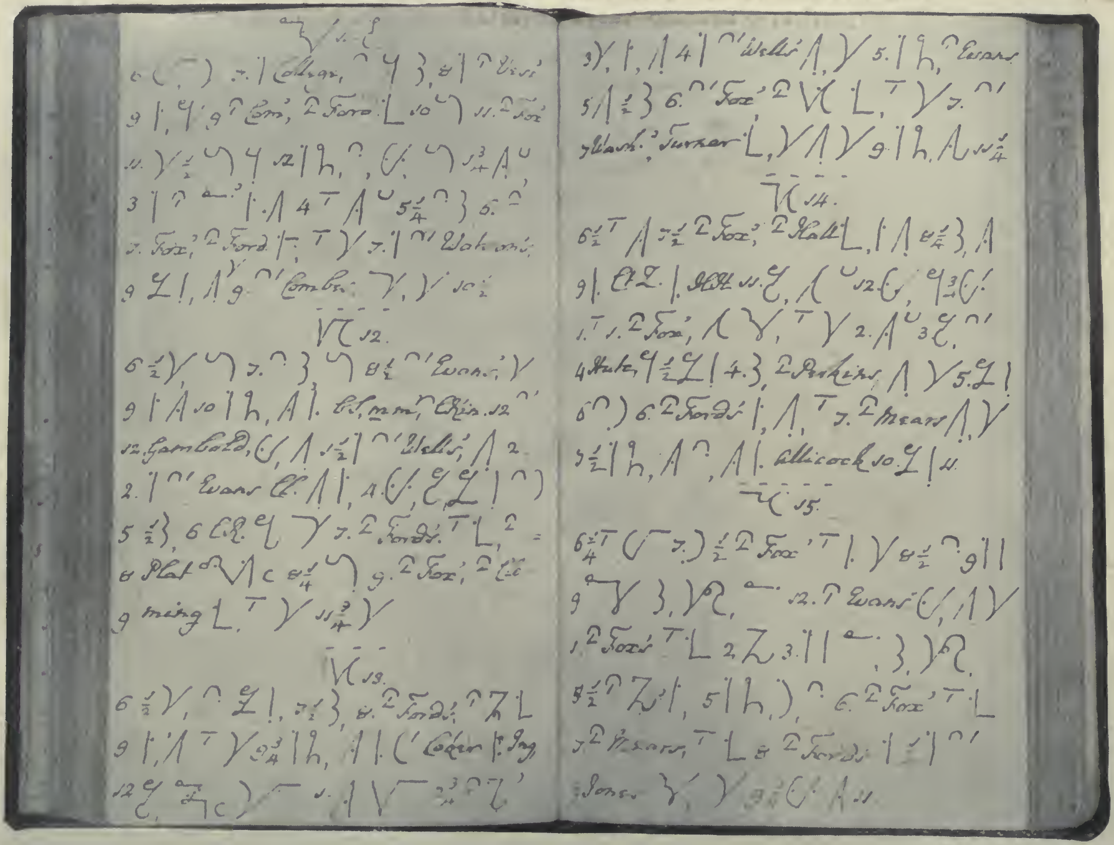
And so forth to the end of one of the most precious inheritances of the Methodist people. If John Wesley wrote it, the mere law of association would suffice to account for the allusion to Eve's address to Adam. He was approaching the University, where he had annotated Milton's *Paradise Lost.* (Cf. *Paradise Lost*, bk. iv. l. 639.)

[1] Under the ministry of Jonathan Edwards, out of 200 families in the town scarcely one person remained who was not an earnest seeker of salvation. Almost every house was a house of prayer, and the excitement spread from Northampton to the whole colony.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF DIARY PAGES, OCTOBER 6–11, 1738.

Recording Wesley's walk to Islington, reading 'verse' (Friday, 6) and from London to Oxford, with 'verse' and 'singing' on the journey.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF DIARY, OCTOBER 11–15, 1738.

Wesley arrived in Oxford[1] fresh from his first conversion, and deeply pondering the account of the New England revival which he had that day read on the road from the Hut to Oxford. The day following, after transacting business[2] relating to the Holy Club, the Oxford Religious Societies, and his pupils (probably), he sat down to write a letter, consisting largely of extracts from the book which had so strongly moved him. The friend to whom he wrote appears in the Diary under the initial 'N.' The letter occupied most of the afternoon. It seems to have been written at Mr. Combes's,[3] where also he drank tea. On the Thursday he wrote four letters

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[1] The Diary is our principal source of information not only for the journey to Oxford, but also for the detailed record of the week spent in that city. As yet Wesley had no thought of publishing a Journal. The need for 'Extracts' no longer existed. By word of mouth he and his brother could tell their friends the story of God's work. This Diary, unlike the Georgia Diary, contains no entry concerning the writing of the Journal.

[2] Wesley's reason for this brief visit to Oxford is obvious. He wished to see such members of the Holy Club as remained in the University, and those Religious Societies in the town which represented not only the Horneck work of the seventeenth century, but more immediately the devotional and philanthropic work of the Holy Club.

[3] It is not always possible to distinguish between University and town as Wesley visits old friends or holds religious meetings. The Diary indicates that he used his rooms as Fellow of Lincoln, but did not always sleep or often take meals there. In the town his head quarters were at Mr. Fox's, a family rescued from embarrassment and established in business by the Holy Club. Mrs. Fox was hostess for a society that met regularly in her house, which seems to have been to Wesley during this week what the 'Coffee House' used to be in earlier days. Probably it was a convenient house of call for all who sympathized with Oxford Methodism. (Cf. vol. i. pp. 443-4.) Another society met at Mrs. Ford's, and a third at Mrs. Mears's. Washington, Turner, Combes, Wells, Kinchin, probably others also, were university friends. For Combes see C. Wesley's Journal for Sept. 27, 1738 (new edition, p. 204). As in London, he took breakfast and dinner (except on fast-days) with friends. Apparently he supped and slept in the houses of friends, chiefly in Mr. Combes's rooms. The letters Wesley wrote show how spiritual was the influence he wielded during these days. Whitehead has preserved some of the letters (vol. ii. pp. 89 to 96). To Dr. Koker he wrote: 'His blessed Spirit has wrought so powerfully, both in London and Oxford, that there is a general awakening, and multitudes are crying out, "What must we do to be saved?"' He cannot find time to transcribe certain papers he had promised. 'Till our gracious Master sendeth more labourers into His harvest, all my time is much too little for them' (the multitude). To Benjamin Ingham, still in Herrnhut, he writes: 'O my dear brother, God hath been wonderfully gracious to us ever since our return to England.' He tells of the 'great door and effectual' opened to them, of 'the adversaries,' of the conversion of 'many of our fiercest opposers,' in detail the story of the conversion of Jennings, and continues:

> Mr. Stonehouse hath at length determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified; and to preach unto all remission of sins through faith in His blood. Mr. Sparkes also is a teacher of sound doctrine. Mr. Hutchings is strong in the faith, and mightily convinces gainsayers, so that no man has hitherto been able to stand before him. Mr. Kinchin, Gambold, and Wells have not yet received comfort, but are patiently waiting for it. Mr. Robson, who is now a minister of Christ also, is full of faith, and peace, and love. So is Mr. Combes, a little child, who was called to minister in holy

An extract from this I wrote to a friend,[1] concerning the state of those who are 'weak in faith.' His answer, which I received

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of considerable importance—to his brother Samuel, his mother, Charles Kinchin, and Mr. Gambold, the rector of Stanton Harcourt.

Wednesday the 11th was a fast-day. He rose at six. At seven he was at his college for morning prayers; at eight with Mr. Vesey; they drank tea and went together to Mr. Combes's, Mrs. Ford's, Mrs. Fox's, at each place transacting business, doubtless in relation to the Religious Societies which Wesley wished to meet. At home he wrote his Diary and a Narrative indicated in the shorthand by the letter N in the A place. This sign he now adopted, using it frequently for those Narratives which he wrote for friends, and on which so many of the societies were nourished. This is repeated later in the afternoon. Probably it refers to the extract from the book read on his outward journey. In the evening he called again at Mrs. Fox's, but the society-meeting was held at Mrs. Ford's. At seven he called at Mr. Watson's, where he read the Greek Testament, conversed and prayed—apparently a meeting of the Holy Club. At nine he returned home to Mr. Combes's, where he supped and prayed and slept.

On *Thursday* the 12th he again was busy. After prayers he breakfasted with Mr. Evans and wrote awhile. 'At home,' which we may interpret as his college rooms, he 'writ to "bS."' (brother Samuel) and 'my mother,' Charles Kinchin; twelve, Mr. Gambold. After dinner and conversation he went, at 1.30, to Mr. Wells's, and at two to 'Mr. Evans' Cl. [? Club, or class], conversed, tea; four, Diary, garden, Greek Testament, meditated, prayer.' After evening prayers he supped in the Common Room. In the evening he held another society-meeting at Mrs. Ford's. Mrs. Platt was 'comforted.' Calling afterwards at Mrs. Fox's, he saw Mrs. Cleminger and others, with whom he sang and prayed.

Friday 13

6½ Prayer, meditation, Greek Testament; 7.30 prayers; 8 Mrs. Ford's, singing, Mr. Sarom, etc., tea, conversation, singing, prayer; 9.45 at home, writ to Dr. Koker, to Ingham; 12 garden, corrected proofs. [The books he published in 1738 were *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, of which only two copies are known, one in the Didsbury College Library, and another in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth; and *A Sermon on Salvation by Faith*, which, however, seems to have been published earlier in the year]; 1 writ verses; 2.45 Mr. Sarney's, prayer, tea, conversed; 4 at Mr. Wells's, conversed, prayer; 5 at home, Mr. Evans, conversed, prayers; 6 Mr. Fox's, Mrs. Ford, etc.; 7 Mr. Washington's, Turner, etc., prayer, conversed, prayer [singing was often omitted in college meetings of the Holy Club]; 9 at home, writing till 11.15.

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things two or three weeks ago. Indeed, I trust our Lord will let us see, and that shortly, a multitude of priests that believe. My brother and I are partly here, and partly in London, till Mr. Whitefield, or some other, is sent to release us from hence.

[1] Was this the 'friend' to whom he had more than once written in times of critical difficulty? (See vol. i. p. 468, note 2.) The vagueness of the first sentence in this paragraph raises a

at [Oxford],[1] on *Saturday* the 14th, threw me into great perplexity, till, after crying to God, I took up a Bible, which opened on these words: 'And Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, Oh that Thou wouldst bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that Thine hand might be with me, and that Thou wouldst keep me from evil, that it may not grieve me! And God granted him that which he requested' (1 Chron. iv. 10).[2]

This, however, with a sentence in the Evening Lesson,[3] put me upon considering my own state more deeply. And what then occurred to me was as follows:

'Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith.' Now the surest test whereby we can examine ourselves, whether we be indeed in the faith, is that given by St. Paul: 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.'

First: His Judgements are new: his judgement of *himself*, of *happiness*, of *holiness*.

He judges himself to be altogether fallen short of the glorious image of God; to have no good thing abiding in him, but all that is corrupt and abominable. In a word, to be wholly earthly, sensual, and devilish—a motley mixture of beast and devil.[4]

Thus, by the grace of God in Christ, I judge of myself. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

Again: his judgement concerning *happiness* is new. He would as soon expect to dig it out of the earth as to find it in

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suspicion that the text here has been abbreviated from its original form. Probably the 'Narrative,' extracts of which he sent to his friend, revived the old question as to the reality or sufficiency of his own faith. Could he, in his present imperfect state, dare to embark on a career of soul-converting evangelism described in this story from New England? The reply of his friend deepened his distress. 'Jabez' and 2 Cor. xiii. he took as God's answer. His own answer was the Meditation that follows.

[1] In the first edition no place is named. Later, 'Bristol,' an impossible reading, crept in. Tyerman and others have been misled by it. The Diary finally corrects the error. The letter was received in Oxford. Wesley did not go to Bristol until March 31, 1739. (See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 144.)

[2] *Life of Dr. Bunting*, vol. i. p. 9.

[3] 2 Cor. xiii.

[4] The phrase is found in the Wesley hymn, 'Jesu, the sinner's Friend, to Thee' (1739). Whitefield also used it in a sermon preached in 1739. The phrase was evidently current. William Law wrote, 'Man is a motley mixture of the beast and devil'; and Bishop Hall, 'Man, when left to himself, is half a fiend and half a brute.'

riches, honour, pleasure (so called), or indeed in the enjoyment of any creature. He knows there can be no happiness on earth but in the enjoyment of God and in the foretaste of those 'rivers of pleasure which flow at His right hand for evermore.'

Thus, by the grace of God in Christ, I judge of happiness. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

Yet again: his judgement concerning *holiness* is new. He no longer judges it to be an outward thing—to consist either in doing no harm, in doing good, or in using the ordinances of God. He sees it is the life of God in the soul; the image of God fresh stamped on the heart; an entire renewal of the mind in every temper and thought, after the likeness of Him that created it.

Thus, by the grace of God in Christ, I judge of holiness. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

Secondly: his Designs are new. It is the design of his life, not to heap up treasures upon earth, not to gain the praise of men, not to indulge the desires of the flesh, the desire of the eye, or the pride of life; but to regain the image of God, to have the life of God again planted in his soul, and to be 'renewed after His likeness, in righteousness and true holiness.'

This, by the grace of God in Christ, is the design of my life. Therefore I am, in this respect, a new creature.

Thirdly: his Desires are new; and, indeed, the whole train of his passions and inclinations. They are no longer fixed on earthly things. They are now set on the things of heaven. His love and joy and hope, his sorrow and fear, have all respect to things above. They all point heavenward. Where his treasure is, there is his heart also.

I dare not say I am a new creature in this respect. For other desires often arise in my heart; but they do not reign. I put them all under my feet, 'through Christ which strengtheneth me.' Therefore I believe He is creating me anew in this also; and that He has begun, though not finished, His work.

Fourthly: his Conversation is new. It is always 'seasoned with salt,' and fit to 'minister grace to the hearers.'

So is mine, by the grace of God in Christ. Therefore, in this respect, I am a new creature.

Fifthly: his Actions are new. The tenor of his life singly points at the glory of God. All his substance and time are devoted thereto. Whether he eats or drinks, or whatever he does, it either springs from, or leads to, the love of God and man.

Such, by the grace of God in Christ, is the tenor of my life. Therefore, in this respect, I am a new creature.

But St. Paul tells us elsewhere that the 'fruit of the Spirit is love, peace, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, temperance.' Now although, by the grace of God in Christ, I find a measure of some of these in myself—namely, of peace, long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, temperance; yet others I find not. I cannot find in myself the love of God, or of Christ. Hence my deadness and wanderings in public prayer; hence it is that even in the Holy Communion I have frequently no more than a cold attention.

Again: I have not that joy in the Holy Ghost; no settled, lasting joy. Nor have I such a peace as excludes the possibility either of fear or doubt. When holy men have told me I had no faith, I have often doubted whether I had or no. And those doubts have made me very uneasy, till I was relieved by prayer and the Holy Scriptures.

Yet, upon the whole, although I have not yet that joy in the Holy Ghost, nor the full assurance of faith, much less am I, in the full sense of the words, 'in Christ a new creature'; I nevertheless trust that I have a measure of faith, and am 'accepted in the Beloved'; I trust 'the handwriting that was against me is blotted out,' and that I am 'reconciled to God' through His Son.

Saturday 14

6½ Singing, writ; 7.30 Mr. Fox's, Mrs. Hall, etc., tea, conversed; 8.45 prayers, writ to Count Zinzendorf,[1] to Herrnhut[2]; 11 garden, read N.

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[1] From his letter to Zinzendorf we gather the innermost reason for his activities in London, and for the journey to Oxford. Referring to his return from Germany and to his discovery of stumbling-blocks laid by adversaries, he writes: 'The weak were daily turned out of the way. Numberless misunderstandings had arisen, by means of which the way of truth was much blasphemed: and thence had sprung anger, clamour, bitterness, evil-speaking, envyings, strifes, railings, evil-surmisings, whereby the enemy had gained such an advantage over the little flock, that of the rest durst no man join himself to them.' But now the stumbling-blocks are in great measure removed, and he goes on to describe the revival much as he has done elsewhere. To Mr. Viney, still at Ysselstein, and to Isaac Le-long, of Amsterdam, he writes in the spirit of the closing paragraphs of the Meditation given above. One would like to read also the letters written during this Oxford week to his brother Samuel, his mother, and Charles Kinchin and Gambold. He had no time for transcription, and the originals are lost or hidden.

[2] The most interesting document is the 'Address to the Church of God which is

Sun. 15.—I preached twice at the Castle, and afterwards expounded at three societies.

[the letter N. here seems to refer rather to the friend to whom he wrote than to the document sent. In that case what he read in the garden would be his friend's reply to the letter written on the 11th], dinner, good talk; 12.45 Diary, singing; 1 Mrs. Fox's, read Bible [the 'Jabez' passage on which he opened], singing, prayer; 2 writ N.; 3 garden, Mr. [Richard] Hutch[ins] [the Sub-Dean of Lincoln and one of Wesley's oldest college friends], good talk; 3.30 Greek Testament; 4 prayers, Mrs. Perkins, conversed, prayer; 5 Greek Testament, meditation, prayer; 6 Mrs. Ford's, tea, conversed, singing; 7 Mrs. Mears, conversed, prayer; 7.30 at home, writ meditation, writ to Allicock; 10 Greek Testament, 11. [The 'writ meditation' may have been the beginning of the document which afterwards under this date he incorporated in his Journal.]

Sunday 15

6¼ Singing, drest [i.e. robed], Mrs. Fox's, singing, to [? error for tea] prayer; 8.30 meditation; 9 at the Castle, prayers, preached, communion; 12 Mr. Evans's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 1 Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc.; 2 sermon; 3 at the Castle, prayers, preached, Mr. Sarmon's [? Salmon, or is it an error for my 'sermon'?]; 5 at home, prayer, meditation; 6 Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc.; 7 Mrs. Mears, singing, etc.; 8 Mrs. Ford's, etc.; 8.15 Mr. Jones, Bible, prayer; 9.15 Diary, writ; 11.

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in Herrnhut,' written 'by John Wesley, an unworthy Presbyter of the Church of God in England.' Its date is Oct. 15, 1738.

Glory be to God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for His unspeakable gift! for giving me to be an eye-witness of your faith, and love, and holy conversation in Christ Jesus! I have borne testimony thereof with all plainness of speech in many parts of Germany, and thanks have been given to God by many on your behalf.

We are endeavouring here also, by the grace which is given us, to be followers of you, as ye are of Christ. Fourteen were added to us since our return, so that we have now eight bands of men, consisting of fifty-six persons; all of whom seek for salvation only in the blood of Christ. As yet we have only two small bands of women; the one of three and the other of five persons. But here are many others who only wait till we have leisure to instruct them how they may most effectually build up one another in the faith and love of Him who gave Himself for them.

Though my brother and I are not permitted to preach in most of the churches in London, yet, 'thanks be to God'! there are others left wherein we have liberty to speak the truth as it is in Jesus. Likewise on every evening, and on set evenings in the week at two several places, we publish the word of reconciliation, sometimes to twenty or thirty, sometimes to fifty or sixty, sometimes to three or four hundred persons, met together to hear it. We begin and end all our meetings with singing and prayer, and we know that our Lord heareth our prayer, having more than once or twice (and this not done in a corner) received our petitions in that very hour.

Nor hath He left Himself without other witnesses of His grace and truth. Ten ministers I know now in England who lay the right foundation: 'The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin.' Over and above whom I have found one Anabaptist, and one, if not two, of the teachers among the Presbyterians here who, I hope, love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and teach the way of God in truth.

(See *Works*, vol. xii. pp. 54 and 55.)

Wednesday evening [18] I came to London again; and on *Friday* [20][1] met a society (of soldiers chiefly) at Westminster.[2]

Monday 16

6 Im[mediately]; 6.30 walked with Watson, conversing, singing; 8.30 Stanton Harcourt [this was an early-morning visit to his old friend Mr. Gambold]; 10 singing, tea, conversed, prayer; 12 walked, conversed, singing; 2 Mrs. Fox's, prayer, singing; 3 tea, conversed; 4 walked with Watson conversing; 4.30 Mr. Hurst's; 5 conversed, prayer = [? agreed, like his old cipher sign 'at one']; 5.30 Mrs. West's, conversed; 6.15 Mrs. Ford's, singing, etc.; 7 S. Olave's, singing, etc.; 8 Sarney's, Greek Testament; 9 supper, conversed; 10 at home, on business; 10.30 Diary. [This was obviously a round of farewell visits, with preparation for his return to London the next day.]

Tuesday 17

6 Drest, prayer; 6.30 Mrs. Fox's, singing, tea, conversed, prayer; 8.15 walked praying; 10 Greek Testament; 12 eat, Greek Testament; 5 Wickham [High Wycombe] at Mr. Hollis's; 6 conversed, tea; 8 prayer; 9 supper, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

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[1] The Journal says not a word concerning the very important interview between the Wesleys and the Bishop of London (Dr. Gibson). Charles describes what occurred somewhat fully. (The date he gives is wrong. The Diary shows that it took place on Friday, Oct. 20, and not on Saturday the 21st.)

OCT. 21, *Sat.*—I waited with my brother on the Bishop of London, to answer the complaints he had heard against us, that we preached an absolute assurance of salvation. Some of his words were, 'If by "assurance" you mean an inward persuasion, whereby a man is conscious in himself, after examining his life by the law of God, and weighing his own sincerity, that he is in a state of salvation, and acceptable to God, I don't see how any good Christian can be without such an assurance.' 'This,' we answered, 'is what we contend for; but we have been charged as Antinomians for preaching justification by faith only.' 'Can any one preach otherwise who agrees to our Church and the Scriptures?' 'Indeed, by preaching it strongly, and not inculcating good works, many have been made Antinomians in theory, though not in practice: especially in King Charles's time.' 'But there is a heavy charge against us Bishops, by your bringing the Archbishop's authority for re-baptizing an adult.' My brother answered, 'That he had expressly declared the contrary: yet,' added he, 'if a person dissatisfied with lay-baptism should desire episcopal, I should think it my duty to administer it, after having acquainted the Bishop according to the canon.' 'Well, I am against it myself, where any one has had the Dissenters' baptism.'

Next my brother inquired whether his reading in a Religious Society made it a conventicle. His Lordship warily referred us to the laws; but upon our urging the question, 'Are the Religious Societies conventicles?' he answered, 'No, I think not. However, you can read the acts and laws as well as I: I determine nothing.' We hoped his Lordship would not henceforward receive an accusation against a Presbyter but at the mouth of two or three witnesses. He said, 'No; by no means. And you may have free access to me at all times.' We thanked him, and took our leave. (Journal of Charles Wesley, new ed., pp. 208-9.)

[2] This is probably the first reference to the society work of Methodism for soldiers, of which there are so many instances in the later developments of Methodism—a work destined to expand into large proportions and great public usefulness.

Wednesday 18

6 Prayer, conversed, tea; 8.30 walked, singing, prayer, Greek Testament; 12.30 eat, Greek Testament; 6 at Mr. Bray's, conversed, supper; 7 James Hutton, etc., prayer, conversed, singing; 8 conversed, prayer; 10.

Thursday 19

6 Prayer, conversation with Hutchings,[1] tea, singing; 8.30 James Hutton's, conversed, singing; 9 he went, at the room[2] [Fetter Lane, where the bands met], in talk; 10.30 at Mr. Fish's, in talk; 11 at Mrs. Sims's with Charles, within, prayer, singing; 1 at Mrs. Hind's with James Hutton and Charles; 2 Mrs. Sims's, dinner; 3 Mr. Clark's, prayer; at Mr. Bedford's, within; 4.15 prayers, within; 6.15 at home, conversed, tea; 7 James Hutton's, conversed; 8 Savoy, prayer, etc.; 11.15 at home, prayer; 11.30.

Friday 20

6½ Singing, prayer, writ verse; 8.15 at Mr. Easy's, conversation, tea; 9.45 at the Bishop of London's, prayer with Charles; 10.15 within with the Bishop, agreed [this is a test sentence showing that the transliteration of two unusual signs is accurate, viz. 'within' and 'agreed'], at Mr. H.'s, he not [this may mean either that he was not in or that he was not agreed], prayer; 12.5 at James Hutton's, in talk, at home, Diary; 1 writ N[arrative of his interview with the Bishop of London]; 3 walked; 3.30 Islington, prayers; 4 Mr. Stonehouse's, eat, conversed, singing; 5 visited [although neither of the brothers was

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[1] The Wesley abbreviations and their varied spelling of proper names have led to confusion between two very different and unrelated Oxford graduates. In the *Alumni Oxonienses* the two stand thus:

Hutchins, Richard, s. John Eydon, Northants, cler. All Souls Coll., matric. 12 July 1716, aged 18; B.A. 1720; Lincoln Coll. M.A., 16 Jan. 172⅔, B.D. 1734, D.D. 1747, and rector 1755-81; rector of Culworth, Northants, 1765 until his death 1781.

Hutchings, John, s. Richard, of Woolminster, Somerset, Pleb., Pembroke Coll., matric. 30 May 1734, aged 18; B.A. 3 Feb. 1737-8.

This John Hutchings was the Methodist who afterwards became a Moravian. After the lovefeast of Jan. 1, 1739, John Wesley spells his name as he himself spells it, Hutchings. Charles Wesley, who spells it 'Hutchins,' is not to be trusted. Charles Wesley heard him preach in St. Lawrence Jewry on Oct. 15. Richard Hutchins was not a member of the Holy Club, nor have we any proof that at any time or in any sense he bore the Methodist name. As a Fellow of Lincoln College (admitted Dec. 8, 1720) he was well known to John Wesley, also as sub-rector (1739) and tutor to Hervey. At intervals Wesley corresponded with him. Thomas Hutchinson, who was at this time rector of Horsham, was an early college friend of Wesley's whose name may possibly reappear in this later Diary disguised by one of Wesley's favourite abbreviations, thus, 'Hutchins.'

[2] 'The room' becomes more and more prominent. The bands meeting there were not Moravian. They were part of the society which Wesley formed May 1, 1738. For a discussion of the room, or chapel, in which this society met until the disruption in 1739, see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 34.

On *Sunday* the 22nd I preached at Bloomsbury in the morning, and at Shadwell in the afternoon.

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ever formally appointed at Islington, John discharged a curate's duties frequently], conversed, prayer; 6 walked, conversed, prayer; 7 James Hutton's, tea; 6.30 Westminster with the society, prayer, etc.; 10 at home, Mr. Piers, etc., conversed, prayer; 11 Diary.

Saturday 21

6½ Singing, prayer; 7 writ Account of Herrnhut; 8.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 9.15 Account; 11 Newgate, prayer, preached; 12.30 at Mrs. Claggett's, Mr. Piers, etc., dinner; 2 conversed, singing, prayer; 2.30 at home, Account; 3.30 James Hutton, tea, conversed, Account; 5.15 James Hutton's, shaved; 6.15 Mr. Extel's, tea, conversed; 8 singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, on business, within, prayer; 11.15.

Sunday 22

5¾ Drest, S. Ann's [Aldersgate], prayers, sermon, communion; 8.30 prayer, singing; 9 at Mr. Hodges', singing, tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 10.30 S. George's [Bloomsbury: rector, Rev. Edward Vernon], prayers, preached; 12.30 Mrs. Metcalf's, singing; 1 dinner; 2.45 Shadwell [S. Paul's, see Journal, Oct. 24, 1790; the incumbent was John Nash, M.A. (1736-40)], prayers, preached; 4.30 at Mrs. Ironmonger's, singing, tea, conversed, singing; 5.15 Mr. Sims', singing, etc.; 7 at home, supper, singing, etc.; 10.15.

Monday 23

6 Singing, prepared hymns [the word is quite distinct from the 'verse' of his Oxford visit]; 8.30 at Mrs. Duzzey's, tea, conversed; 9.30 Mr. P. Sims', in talk; 10 Mrs. Sims', conversed with Mrs. Lloyd; 10 in talk with Charles; 10.30 at home, hymns [he was preparing another hymn-book. If the proofs he had read in Oxford referred to the 1739 *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, this might refer to the 1740 issue]; 12.15 Diary, Account of Herrnhut; 1 dinner, carried letters; 3.30 at sister Wright's [Hetty Wesley], tea together, at Mr. Fish's, in talk; 5.45 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc.; 7 tea, conversed; 8 at James Hutton's, singing, conversed, prayers; 10.30 at Mrs. West's, conversed, prayers; 11.45.

Tuesday 24

5¾ Drest, prayer, tea; 6.45 walk with West [almost invariably Wesley identifies the house in which a Religious Society met by the wife's name, even though the husband may have been a member, and, as in this case, at home. He stayed the night at Mrs. West's, and early the next morning set out walking with Mr. West (vol. i. p. 475, note 1) as companion], singing, conversed, read Jennings [evidently the account he had written of the remarkable conversion of Mr.

Wed. 25.—I preached at Basingshaw[1] church; on *Friday* morning at St. Antholin's.

Jennings: see p. 80], prayer, preaching; 10 Blendon, conversed, singing, prayer; 11 Bexley [where Mr. Piers was vicar], singing, conversed; 12 read Account of Herrnhut; 2 Mrs. Delamotte, Miss Hetty, etc., convinced, explained Bible, prayer; 3.30 set out, singing, conversed; 6.30 at home, supper, singing, etc.; 8 Bear Yard, singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.

Wednesday 25

5¾ Singing, Account of Herrnhut; 8 James Hutton's, went to Mrs. Dubart's, prayer, tea, conversed, prayer; 10.30 Mr. Claggett's, he convinced; 11.30 Newgate, conversed, prayer, preached; 12.30 at home, conversed with Mrs. Woods, walked; 1.15 at Stonehouse's, singing, conversed, dinner, singing, conversed; 4 at home, tea, meditation; 4.30 at Mr. Holland's, convinced [this probably the Moravian who was reading Luther's Preface when Wesley was 'strangely moved': see vol. i. p. 475]; 5 Basingshaw, prayers, preached; 7 at home, singing, prayer, supper; 8 at J. Ha.'s, singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, conversed, prayer, read Mr. Whitefield's Journal; 12.

Thursday 26

6½ Singing, Account of Herrnhut; at Mr. Easy's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.15 Account of Herrnhut; 11 Newgate, prayer with Bryan [Charles says there were four condemned prisoners at this time whom they visited]; 11.30 prayers, preached; 12.45 Diary, dinner, conversed; 2 Account of Herrnhut; 3.15 prayers; 4 at Mr. Rivington's, writing; 5 Mr. Bray's, tea, Mrs. Claggett's, etc., conversed; 6 Account of Herrnhut; 7.30 James Hutton's, conversed, tea; 8 Savoy; 10.15 at home, conversed; 11 prayer.

Friday 27

6 Account of Herrnhut; 7 S. Antholin's, prayers, preached; 8.45 in talk; 9 Mrs. Claggett's, singing, tea, singing, read Account of Herrnhut, singing; 11 Account of Herrnhut; 11.30 Newgate, prayers, preached; 12.30 with Bryan, conversed, agreed [or 'convinced'], prayer; 1 drest, Diary; 1.30 walked with Mr. Bray; 2.30 at Mr. Stonehouse's, singing, conversed; 3.15 read prayers; 4 dinner]it was the Friday fast; his only refreshment had been the morning tea at Mrs. Claggett's], conversed, prayer; 5.30 visited [as on the occasion of the last visit], prayer; 6.30 at home, conversed, tea; 8 at Wapping, singing, etc.; 10 supper, prayer; 11.15.

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[1] St. Michael, Basingshall (or, as commonly called, Bassishaw). It was on the west side of Basinghall Street. Lavington was at this time rector. The church was closed in 1893, and soon after demolished. (See p. 134.)

Sun. 29.—At Islington and at London Wall. [Strange doctrine to a polite audience.[1]]

In the evening, being troubled at what some said of 'the kingdom of God within us,' and doubtful of my own state, I called upon God, and received this answer from His word: 'He himself also waited for the kingdom of God.' 'But should not I wait in silence and retirement?' was the thought that immediately struck into my mind. I opened my Testament again on those words, 'Seest thou not how faith wrought together with his works? And by works was faith made perfect.'

Saturday 28

6¼ Drest, walked; 7.15 S. Dunstan's, prayers, communion, in talk; 9 James Hutton's, prayer, singing, tea, conversed; 10.45 at home, conversed with ; 11.15 Account of Herrnhut; 12.15 Diary, in talk; 12.30 walk; 1 Mrs. May's, conversed; 2 dinner, singing, prayer; 4 at home, tea, conversation; 4.30 writ letters; 6.30 Mr. Extel's, tea, converse; 7 Mr. Gool's, conversed with me; 8 singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, eat, prayer; 11.15.

Sunday 29

6 Drest; 6.15 S. Ann's [within Aldersgate], prayers, sermon, communion; 8.15 singing, prayer, drest; 9 at Mrs. Metcalf's, tea; 9.30 walked, meditate; 10 Islington, prayers, preached; 12.15 Mr. Stonehouse's, singing, dinner, singing, prayer; 3 at London Wall, prayers, preached; 4.15 Mr. Savage's, tea, singing, prayer; 5.30 S. Bride's [St. Bridget (or Bride's) on S. side of Fleet Street], prayer, singing, Bible, singing, prayer; 7.45 at home, supper, conversed; 8.30 singing etc.; 10 conversed; 10.30 agreed.

Monday 30

5½ Singing, writ to brother Samuel; 8.30 at Mrs. Hind's, tea, conversed with Mr. Brown, prayer; 10.30 Mrs. Sims's, conversed with Mrs. Lloyd, etc.; 11.30 conversed with James Hutton; at Newgate, prayers, preached, visit[ed]; 12.30 at home, Diary, on business; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 2.45 transcribed letters; 4.30 William Delamotte at Mrs. Claggett's, conversed; 5.45 at Mrs. West's,

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[1] This sentence is found in the first edition. In the original draft of the Journal there was probably some indication of the subject matter of the sermon preached in the church of Allhallows-on-the-Wall, upon which this sentence was a comment (of this church Samuel Smith, LL.B., was incumbent). The Diary adds, as a footnote the two texts in Greek upon which Wesley opened, deciding for him two points on which his mind was exercised:

προσεδέχετο καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Luke xxiii. 51.

ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἡ πίστις ἐτελειώθη.—Jas. ii. 22.

NOV. 3, *Fri.*—I preached at St. Antholin's.

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singing, etc., tea; 7.30 within with Mrs. Manwaring; 8.15 James Hutton's, within, Mr. Bruce, the bands met; singing, prayer, within, singing, prayer; 10.30 prayer; 10.45.

Tuesday 31

5¼ Singing, letters; 8.30 Mr. Easy's, with Mrs. Musgrove, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 transcribed letters; 11 Diary, Newgate, prayers, preached; 12.30 at home, letters; 1.15 at Mr. Jenning's with me, singing, converse, dinner; 2.30 at Mr. Sherman's, conversed, prayers; 4 in talk with Mr. Ingham, conversed at James Hutton's; 6.15 at home, supper, conversed, singing, etc.; 8.15 Bear Yard, singing, etc., agreed; 10 conversed with Gool, agreed; 10.30 at home, within with Charles, prayer; 11.15.

Προϊδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γραφή.—Gal. iii. 8.

'Why art thou so heavy, O my soul?'

NOV. 1, *Wednesday*

5½ Singing, prayer; 6 letters; 7.15 prayers, communion; 9 James Hutton's, prayer; 9.30 at Mr. Clark's, tea, conversed; 11 at home, on business, Diary, walked, on business, in talk; 12.30 Newgate; 1.30 Mr. Stonehouse's with Ingham, etc., singing, dinner, conversed, singing; 3.15 prayers; 4 conversed with Ingham, agreed; 5.15 singing, tea, conversed; 6.30 at home, with the bands; 7 tea, Southwark, singing, agreed, Bible, etc., agreed; 10.15 James Hutton's, conversed with Ingham, etc., prayer; 12.

Thursday 2

5 Prayer, conversed, walk with Mr. Ingham and James Hutton, conversed; 6.30 at Mr. Cox's, conversed, prayer; 7.30 at home, within, Diary; 8.30 at Mr. Hall's, prayer, tea, conversed, prayer; 11.45 at home, Diary, writ; 12.5 conversed; 1 at Mr. Clark's, Mr. Stonehouse, etc., dinner, singing, conversed; 4.15 meditation, at home, transcribed letters; 6 Gutter Lane, Mr. Wogan, etc., at home, letters; 8.15 Savoy, singing, etc.; 10.15 at home; 10.45.

Friday 3

5¾ Singing, meditation, drest; 7 St. Antholin's [see p. 82], prayers, preached; 9 at Mrs. Sisson's, prayer, tea, conversed; 10.15 at home, conversed with Mr. Stonehouse; 11 Newgate, prayers, Mr. Gu. and Mr. Rawlins, preached; 1.30 at home, Diary, writing; 3 at Mrs. May's, singing, prayer, conversed; 4 dinner [fast-day], singing, conversed, prayer; 5.45 at Mr. Clark's, conversed, prayer; 7.30 at Mr. Parker's, Bible, singing; 8.15 read prayers; 9.15 at Mr. Parker's [Wapping], supper, conversed, Bible, singing, prayer; 11.15.

Sun. 5.—In the morning [I preached] at St. Botolph's,[1] Bishopsgate; in the afternoon, at Islington; and in the evening, to such a congregation as I never saw before, at St. Clement's, in the Strand.[1] As this was the first time of my preaching here, I suppose it is to be the last.

Saturday 4

6½ Singing, prayer; 7.30 at home, Diary; 8 in talk, at Mr. Easy's, tea; 9 conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, writ to sister Emilia; 10.45 Newgate, prayer with Bryan; 11.15 with James Hill, conversed, prayer; 12 at Mr. Summers', singing, etc.; 2 dinner, at the Room, at Mr. Summers', singing, etc.; 5 conversed, tea, James Hutton came, singing, etc.; 7.15 at Mr. Extel's, tea, conversed; 8 singing, etc.; 10.15 at home; 11 conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Sunday 5

6½ Singing; the bands met, chose leaders by lot [the Moravian method], singing, prayer; 8.30 tea, conversed; 9.15 meditation upon sermon; 10 St. Botolph's [this is the earliest recorded appointment of leaders. The selection of the church for the sermon and Holy Communion, following the solemn appointment of band-leaders, was probably determined by the friendliness of the rector, the Rev. William Crowe, D.D.]; 11 prayers, preached, communion; 2.30 Islington, dinner, singing; 2.45 read prayers, preached; 5.15 at Mr. Sherman's, singing, tea; 6 St. Clement's, prayers; 8 at Mr. Bray's, supper: 8.30 singing, prayer, agreed, +; 11.15.

Monday 6

6 Singing, Diary, on business; 7 Bible read; 8 James Hutton, etc., within; 9 tea, Richter, and Pisch, conversed; 10.15 at the Room; 11 Newgate with Benj. Ingham, etc., prayers, preached; 1 at Mr. Chapman's with Ingham, etc., singing, conversed; 2 dinner, conversed; 3 conversed with Mrs. Lloyd, Harper, and Mrs. Hanson; 4 prayer; 4.30 at Mr. Cook's, conversed, agreed; 5.45 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc.; 6.45 tea, conversed; 8 James Hutton's, conversed, Mr. Seward; 8.45 at Mr. Tolly's, he reads, etc.; 10.15 at home, eat, conversed, prayer; 11.

Mrs. Drewit.

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[1] Both these churches were destined to play an important part in the development of Methodism. The first, St. Botolph's (see p. 73), is the great square church on the city boundary, with the ancient watch-house—the church which for so many years enjoyed the ministry and the educational zeal of the Rev. W. Rogers; and, as is shown above, it had a very interesting connexion with the earliest known appointment of 'leaders.' St. Clement Danes (see p. 73) holds a distinguished place in the earliest history of West Street Chapel. The societies at the Savoy, Bear Yard, &c., had given Wesley strong influence in this neighbourhood.

On *Wednesday* my brother and I went, at their earnest desire, to do the last good office to the condemned malefactors. It was the most glorious instance I ever saw of faith triumphing over sin and death. One observing the tears run fast down the cheeks of one of them in particular, while his eyes were steadily fixed upwards, a few moments before he died, asked, 'How do you feel your heart now?' He calmly replied, 'I feel a peace which I could not have believed to be possible. And I know it is the peace of God, which passeth all understanding.'[1]

My brother took that occasion of declaring the gospel of peace to a large assembly of publicans and sinners. O Lord God of my fathers, accept even me among them, and cast me not out from among Thy children!

Tuesday 7

6 Singing, writ; 7.30 walked; 8 at Mrs. Duzzey's, tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 10 at Mrs. Ironmonger's, conversed, singing; 11 at Mr. Sims's in talk; 11.45 Newgate, conversed with Bryan, prayer; 1 at Mrs. Claggett's, conversed, singing; 1.30 at home, dinner; 2.30 in White Cross St., conversed, prayer; 3.15 Diary; 4 Newgate, prayers, preached; 5.15 at home, tea, conversed; 7 singing, etc.; 8 at Bear Yard, singing, etc., agreed; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.

Wednesday 8

5¾ Singing, drest; near 6.30 Newgate with Charles, well-beloved, agreed; 7 communion, prayers, preached; 9 in the coach, meditated, singing; 10 at S. Giles',[2] tea; 10.30 Tyburn, man [or mounted, or immediately]; 11 in the cart, prayer, singing, prayer, all cheerful; 12 'hath died,' prayer, preached to the mob; 1 at S. Giles', walked; 1.45 at home, in talk; 2 Islington, conversed, dinner, prayer; 4 tea, conversed; 5.30 Basingshaw, preached; 7 at Mr. Richter's, at the lovefeast, eat, conversed, singing; 8.15 at J. Harris's, singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] The Diary (see p. 124) in its handwriting shows how deeply Wesley was moved. He says nothing in the Journal of the part that he himself took in ministration to the 'cheerful men'—and to the mob; but apparently he, as well as Charles, preached on the occasion, and continued preaching and exhorting and praying all day until he seems to have been exhausted. Only thus can we account for the sudden and unexplained break in the Diary. He began the next day's record, and at the close of the morning abandoned the attempt to write further. Probably his visit to Tyburn resulted in one of his periodical attacks of illness. On Friday, Nov. 10, he set out for Oxford; but of this journey the Diary preserves no record.

[2] At St. Giles'-in-the-Fields, according to ancient custom, the procession would halt, each condemned felon receiving a bowl of ale. In this interval the Wesleys in their coach drank tea, probably supplied by the society friends living in that neighbourhood.

In the evening I proclaimed mercy to my fellow sinners at Basingshaw church; and the next morning, at St. Antholin's. *Friday* the 10th I set out, and *Saturday* the 11th spent the evening with a little company at Oxford. I was grieved to find prudence had made them leave off singing psalms. I fear it will not stop here. God deliver me, and all that seek Him in sincerity, from what the world calls Christian prudence!

Sun. 12.—I preached twice at the Castle. In the following week I began more narrowly to inquire what the doctrine of the Church of England is concerning the much-controverted point of justification by faith; and the sum of what I found in the Homilies I extracted and printed for the use of others.[1]

Sun. 19.—I only preached in the afternoon, at the Castle. On *Monday* night I was greatly troubled in dreams; and about eleven o'clock waked in an unaccountable consternation, without being able to sleep again. About that time (as I found in the morning) one who had been designed to be my pupil,[2] but was not, came into the Porter's lodge (where several persons were sitting) with a pistol in his hand. He presented this, as in sport, first at one and then at another. He then attempted twice or thrice to shoot himself, but it would not go off. Upon his laying it down one took it up, and

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Thursday 9

6 Singing, meditation; S. Antholin's, prayers, preached; 9 at Mr. Clark's, tea, conversed; 11 James Hutton's, conversed with Ingham; 12.15 at home.

[The remainder of the page is blank.]

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[1] In Green's *Wesley Bibliography* this publication is thus described: 'The Doctrine of Salvation, Faith, and Good Works. Extracted from the Homilies of the Church of England. London: printed for James Hutton, at the Bible and Sun, without Temple Bar, 1739, 12mo, pp. 23. A third edition was published in 1755; the thirteenth and last edition of which any record has been preserved was published in Bristol by Pine in 1770.' (But at the Conference Office there is a twelfth edition, dated 1780.)

[2] It would appear from this incidental reference that Wesley was still regarded in Oxford as able and willing to take pupils. Indeed, it seems not improbable that some of the university men whose names appear in the Diary were his pupils, at least in Greek Testament if not also in other studies. They were candidates for Ordination. In Appendix XXVII, vol. vi., will be found a list of the Oxford names mentioned in Journal or Diary, with brief notes identifying each drawn from the *Alumni Oxonienses*.

blew out the priming. He was very angry, went and got fresh prime, came in again, sat down, beat the flint with his key, and about twelve, pulling off his hat and wig, said he would die like a gentleman, and shot himself through the head.

NOV. 22, *Wednesday*[1]

4 Writ to Dr. Koker, Viney [the Moravian tailor who interpreted for Böhler, and whom Wesley met at Ysselstein], Le Long, Moscheros, Teltchig [Töltschig]; 7 writing with Watson. [A frequent shorthand sign in this section of the Diary is 'rtn.' If cipher, it might stand for 'sitting' or 'sat in,' i.e. serious conversation. If not cipher, it would mean 'retiring' or 'return.' As 'ritn' it always means 'writing.'] He very heavy! 8 read prayers; 8.15 writ hymns [the reference seems to be to the editorial rewriting of hymns for the new collection now in course of preparation. For original composition he uses the term 'verse']; Charles came, conversed; 2.30 Bocardo [the Bocardo was a room over the north gate of the city used as a debtors' prison. In his Journal Charles writes: '*Wed.* 22, I set out in coach for Oxford'][2]; conversed, prayer; 3.15 writ hymns; 3.45 at Mr. Carter's, conversed; 4.30 hymns; 5.15 prayer, prayers; 6 at Mrs. F.'s [in this part of the Diary the names are more frequently given in shorthand and initials only. Probably 'F' stands for 'Fox' and 'Fr' for 'Ford'], singing, prayer; 7.30 Washington's, conversed, prayer, 9.30. [The meaning is that in Washington's college-room a meeting of the Holy Club was held with conversation and prayer and without singing. See text, Nov. 11.]

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[1] The break in the Diary leaves us without details concerning the journey to Oxford and about Wesley's proceedings there from Saturday, Nov. 11, until Wednesday 22, when he resumes his Diary notes. Fortunately, however, the Journal at this point recovers its vivacity and fullness of information, and letters written in his rooms at Lincoln College to Ingham and Hutton, and preserved in the Fetter Lane archives and published in the Moravian *Messenger*, 1877, p. 50, give full details of the Oxford life. (On the Rev. H. J. Foster's discovery of these and other Wesley letters in the Moravian archives and the *Messenger*, see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 1; also below, p. 166.)

[2] The presence of Charles in Oxford during this visit of his brother is ignored in the Journal; so also in Charles Wesley's Journal, John's presence is ignored; but the Diary reveals John and Charles Wesley, Charles Delamotte, and Charles Kinchin, with other Oxford friends, holding constant and familiar intercourse. There is no trace of disagreement. That there was any unfriendliness between the brothers, or even between John Wesley and Delamotte, is improbable. He and Charles were in full doctrinal agreement. Delamotte's severe remarks on Wesley's spiritual experience are not based on doctrinal grounds, and Wesley himself evidently regarded the remarks of his friend as worthy of careful remembrance and consideration. He not only preserved Delamotte's strictures in the Journal, but wrote them at full length in the Diary. In Georgia he had drilled Delamotte and himself in the virtue of 'openness.' After their last meeting at Charlestown, Dec. 14, 1737, Wesley wrote just as bitter things against himself. (See vol. i. p. 413.)

Thur. 23.—Returning from preaching at the Castle, I met once more with my old companion in affliction, C[harles] D[elamotte]; who stayed with me till Monday. His last conversation with me was as follows:

> In this you are better than you was at Savannah. You know that you was then quite wrong; but you are not right yet. You know that you was then blind; but you do not see now.
>
> I doubt not but God will bring you to the right foundation; but I have no hope for you, while you are on your present foundation: it is as different from the true, as the right hand from the left. You have all to begin anew.
>
> I have observed all your words and actions; and I see you are of the same spirit still. You have a simplicity; but it is a simplicity of your own: it is not the simplicity of Christ. You think you do not trust in your own works; but you do trust in your own works. You do not believe in Christ.
>
> You have a present freedom from sin; but it is only a temporary suspension of it, not a deliverance from it. And you have a peace; but it is not a true peace: if death were to approach, you would find all your fears return.
>
> But I am forbid to say any more. My heart sinks in me like a stone.

I was troubled. I begged of God an answer of peace; and opened on those words, 'As many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God.' I was asking, in the evening, that God would fulfil all His promises in my soul, when I opened my Testament on those words, 'My hour is not yet come.'

Thursday 23

4 Hymns; 7.15 prayers, writ to R. Aldwor[th]; 8.30 at Mrs. Mears', tea [i.e. he breakfasted at one of the society-rooms in the town], singing [there is no indication of any abatement in the singing outside the colleges]; 10 hymns; 11 meditation; 12 dinner, read N[arrative]; 1.30 hymns; 3.15 at the Castle, prayers, preached; 4.15 at home, Charles and Charles Delamotte! prayer, conversed; 5.15 at Mrs. Ford's, supper, singing; 6 with Charles, in talk; 7 at Mr. Ford's, singing, etc.; 8 at home, within, prayer, singing, 10. [Assuming that the 'at home' was his own rooms at Lincoln, it is evident that he did not hesitate to sing there, however much he may have yielded to the fears and wishes of his friends in other colleges.]

Friday 24

4 Singing, writ hymns; 6 singing with Charles Delamotte [his guest], prayer, conversed; 7.15 prayers at Mrs. H.'s, singing, tea, Ch. Ch.

came and Charles Delamotte [is this an accidental repetition of the name, or does it point to three persons, Charles Wesley, Charles Kinchin, and Charles Delamotte?], prayer; 9 at Mr. Sarney's; 10 at home with them, prayer, returned; 11.30 on business, writ to Benj. Ingham and James Hutton [are these the letters in the Moravian archives?]; drest, at Mrs. Townsend's; 2 communion, singing; 2.30 at Mrs. Fox's, conversed; 3 tea, singing, conversed; 3.30 writ to Mr. Fox [it is evident that Mr. Fox had some appointment or engagement away from home]; 4.15 within with Charles and Charles Delamotte; 5 read verse; 5.30 prayers; 6 Mrs. Fox's, prayer; 7 at Mrs. Ford's, supper; 7.30 Washington's, Bible; 9.30.

Saturday 25

4 Singing, writ N., Bible, singing; 6 read history of the French Prophets; 7 conversed, Turner's, tea: 1 prayers, Watson, conversed, prayer; 9.30 conversed, singing; 11 Charles came, conversed; 12 dinner, slept till 1; at Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc.; 2 Bocardo, conversed, prayer; 3 visited, conversed, prayer; 4 prayers, conversed; 6 at Mrs. Fox's, tea, conversed; at home, Jeffrys and Turner [? pupils], began the Acts; 9.15 played [this is the first time that 'pl' has appeared since he left Oxford in 1735. Is it an error for 'pr' prayer, or does it mean that when the work of this day was done he played the flute or a game with Charles, or with Charles Delamotte or whoever happened to be his guest?]; conversed; 10.

Sunday 26

4¾ Singing, prayer, conversed; 6.30 at Mrs. Fox's, prayer, tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 7.30 prayers, communion; 9 writ to James Hutton; 10 conversed with Charles Delamotte; 11.30 meditated; 12 dinner, conversed; 1 at Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc.; 2 at sermon; 3 at Castle, prayers, preached; 4.30 at Mrs. Fox's, writ for her, tea, conversed; 6 singing, etc.; 7 at Mear's, singing, etc.; 8 at home, Turner and Charles Delamotte, singing, conversed; 9.30.

Monday 27

4 Prayer, writ to Mr. Fish, Summers, J. Hams. [contracted name]; J. H.'s; 6 tea, conversed; 7 Charles Delamotte went, prayers; 8 at Mrs. Fox's, within; 8.15 walked, meditated; 10.30 at Mr. Gambold's, Charles came and Charles [probably the second Charles was Charles Kinchin], conversed, singing; 1.30 communion; 2 dinner, singing; 3 walked, meditated; 5.15 at home, meditated, prayers; 6 at Mrs. Fox's, tea, conversed; 7 at N. Reeves', singing, etc.; 8 at home, on business, meditated; 8.30 Charles and Charles came, within, prayer; 9.30.

There follow on these two pages (1) texts in Greek, and (2) a condensed report of Charles Delamotte's frank expression of opinion with reference to his friend's religious views and experience. (See text above, p. 103.)

Tuesday 28

4 Singing, prayer, writ sermon; 6 sleep; 7 within, prayers; 8 Charles came, tea, conversed; 9 Mr. Chickly, together, tea; 10.45 in talk, drest; 11.15 garden, meditate; 12 dinner, writing; 1 Charles read the Homily; 1.45 at Mrs. Fox's, conversed, prayer; 2.30 with Charles at Mr. Wat[son]'s, conversed, prayer for him, agreed; 3.30 at Mrs. Stanton's, her son dead, conversed, prayer; 4 at home, Watson, Charles and Charles [Kinchin], prayer, agreed; 4.30 at Mrs. Fox's, conversed; 5 at home, meditate, singing; 5.30 read prayers; 6 at Mrs. Fox's, supper; 6.45 singing, etc.; 8 at Mr. Evans's, singing, etc.; 9.30.

Wednesday 29

4 Singing, sermon, German; 5 prayer, singing, Spangenberg sermon; 7.15 prayers; 8 at Charles Kinchin's, Mr. Watson, Washington, Jeffrys, Charles, tea, conversed and prayer; 9.30 at home; sermon, on business; 12 sermon; 12.45 Mr. Carter of London and King, conversed; 1.30 tea, W[atson] came, prayer; 2.30 walked, meditated; 3.15 at S. Hurst's, conversed, ate, read J. Bray's letter, prayer; 4.30 walked, meditation; 5 at home, on business, writ, meditated; 5.45 at Mrs. Fox's, conversed, singing; 6 Charles and Charles Kinchin, prayer; 7 at Charles Kinchin's, supper, W[atson], etc. [In Charles Wesley's Journal about this time Mr. Wells, Mr. Hoare, Mr. Kinchin, Mr. Gambold, and Mr. Whitefield are named]; 8 Greek Testament; 9.15 at home, prayer; 9.45.

Thursday 30

4¾ Singing, prayer; 6 writ to brother Samuel: 6.45 W[atson] came, tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 7.30 letter; 8.15 read prayers; 9 letter; 10 St. Mary's; 11 letter; 11.30 writ N[arrative]; 12 in talk with Mr. Sarney; 12.15 at Mrs. Ford's, Charles Kinchin, dinner, singing, conversed; 1.15 at home, Charles Kinchin and Mrs. Fox, read Mr. Bedford's sermon, tea; 3.30 Castle, prayers, preached; 5 at home, Mr. Chickley, within; 5.30 at Mrs. Fox's, conversed, singing, supper; 6.45 at Mrs. Ford's, singing, etc.; 8 St. Clement's, singing, etc.; 9.15 at home, prayer; 9.45.

DEC. 1, *Friday*

4½ Prayer, singing, writ to Hutchi. [John Hutchings]; 6 Wats[on], Greek Testament; 7.30 prayers, at Mrs. Fox's, Charles Kinchin, etc., singing, prayer; 10.30 at Mr. Sarney's, conversed, prayer with Charles Kinchin; 11 writ to my mother; 11.15 on business, read Newcomb; 12 garden, prayer; 1 prayer with Charles; 2 at Mr. Jervas's, conversed; 3 at Mr. W[atson], tea, prayer, conversed, prayer; 4.15 at home, writ to James Hutton; 5.30 prayer; 6 at Mrs. Fox's, prayer, Mrs. F—— sick of life; 7 at home, Jeffr., etc., Greek Testament, prayer; 9.30.

Dec. 3, *Sun.*—I began reading prayers at Bocardo (the city prison), which had been long discontinued. In the afternoon I received a letter earnestly desiring me to publish my account of Georgia; and another as earnestly dissuading me from it, 'because it would bring much trouble upon me.' I consulted God in His Word, and received two answers: the first, Ezek. xxxiii. 2–6; the other, 'Thou therefore endure hardship, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.'

Tues. 5.—I began reading prayers, and preaching, in Gloucester Green Workhouse; and on *Thursday*, in that be-

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Saturday 2

4½ Singing, writ to sister Emilia; 6 on business, Wa[tson], Greek Testament; 7.15 Jeffr[ys], conversed, tea; 8.15 prayers, hymns; 11.45 garden, meditation; 12 dinner, singing, hymns; 1 at Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc.; 2.30 Bocardo, at Mr. Evans's, conversation, prayer; 3.15 at the Castle, prayers; 4.15 at home, read letters, writ to C. D. [Charles Delamotte]; 5.30 prayer with Charles; 5.30 at Mrs. Fox's, singing, conversed, tea, Charles came, singing, conversed; 7 at Washington's, conversed, Greek Testament, prayer; 9 Diary, singing, in talk; 9.30.

Sunday 3

4 Singing, prayer, Greek Testament; 5.45 writ to Stonehouse; 6.30 at Mrs. Fox's, tea, singing; 7.30 prayers, communion; 9 singing, writ to Sympson, to Marschall at Jena [see above, p. 17]; 10.30 Bocardo, prayers; 11.15 garden, meditation, Diary; 12 dinner, prayer; 1 at Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc.; 2 sermon; 3 at the Castle, prayers, preached; 4.30 at home, read letter; 4.45 meditation, singing; 5.30 tea; 6 at Mears', singing, etc.; 7.15 at home, Washington, etc.; 9 Greek Testament, prayer; 9.45.

Ezek. [xxxiii.] v. 2, &c. [see text of Journal].

Σὺ οὖν κακοπάθησον ὡς καλὸς
στρατιώτης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Monday 4

4 Prayers, German, Spanish, Italian; 6.15 Wa[tson], Greek Testament; 7.30 prayers; 8 tea with Charles, conversed; 9.15 writ to Gottschalck [see above, p. 58], etc.; 11 garden, meditation, read, conversed with Hughs and J. Mears; 12 dinner, Mrs. Fox's, conversation, singing, prayer; 1 Watson and Washington, prayer, reading; Account of Georgia; 3 set out, and 3.45 Cowley, conversation with S. H.; 4.15 prayer; 4.30 walked, meditated; 5.30 at home, tea, conversed; 6.30 Diary, at N. Reeves', singing, etc.; 8 at home, Wa[tson] and Washington, conversation, singing; 9.30.

longing to St. Thomas's parish. On both days I preached at the Castle. At St. Thomas's was a young woman, raving mad, screaming and tormenting herself continually. I had a strong desire to speak to her. The moment I began she was still. The tears ran down her cheeks all the time I was telling her, 'Jesus of Nazareth is able and willing to deliver you.' Oh where is faith upon earth? Why are these poor wretches left under the open bondage of Satan? Jesus, Master! give Thou medicine to heal their sickness; and deliver those who are now also vexed with unclean spirits!

Tuesday 5

4 Singing, on business, prayer; 5.15 Charles read; 6.15 Wa[tson]. [The name we do not know. It certainly could have been either Watson or Washington], Greek Testament; 6.45 Chickley [took his degree on this day], tea, conversed; 7.30 prayers; 8 sermon; 11.30 Mrs. Fox, conversed; 12 dinner, singing, conversed; 1.15 at the Work-house, conversed with Mears, prayer, prayer with all; 2 Convocation; 2.45 at the Castle, prayers; at Mrs. Platt's, conversed, he [Mr. Platt] came, conversed, prayer; 4.45 at Mrs. Fox's, conversed, singing; 5.30 prayers; 6 tea with Charles; 6.30 at Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc.; 8 at Mrs. Evans', singing, etc.; 9.15 at home, singing; 9.30.

Wednesday 6

4½ Singing, prayer; 5.30 writ sermon; 7.30 prayers; 8 at Mrs. Fox's, singing; 9 tea, singing, prayer; 9.30 at home, sermon; 1.15 read Greek Testament; 2 at Bocardo, prayers, spoke; 3.15 at Sara Jens', conversed; 4.15 at home, Mr. Wells, tea, conversed; 5.15 singing, prayer; 5.30 prayers; 6 at Mrs. Fox's, singing, prayer; 7 at home, within, Wat., etc., Greek Testament, singing, prayer; 9.15.

Thursday 7

4 Singing, sermon; 6.15 prayer; 6.30 Wa., Greek Testament; 7.30 prayers; 8 Mr. Checkley, tea, conversed; 9.15 sermon; 1.30 with Wa. to S. Thomas' Work-house, prayers, spoke; 3 Castle, prayers, preached; 4.30 at home, Mr. Wells, tea, writ; 5.30 Mrs. Ford's, tea, conversed; 6.30 singing, etc.; 8 S. Clement's, singing, etc.; 9 at Mrs. Fox's, conversed, singing; 9.45.

Friday 8

4 Singing, sermon, prayer; 5 sermon; 6.30 Wa., Greek Testament; 7.30 prayers, sermon; 8.30 at Mr. Evans', tea, prayer; 9.45 at home, sermon; 1.30 Diary 𝄐, sermon; 2 Bocardo, prayers; 3 at home, Wa. etc., prayer, tea, conversed!!! 4 transcribed sermon; 4.45 at Mrs. Fox's, conversation, singing; 5.30 prayers; 6 at Mrs. Fox's, prayer; 7 at home, sermon; 7.30 with the poisoned woman; 8.45 at Mr. Fox's, he tarried, supper, singing, conversation; 9.45.

About this time, being desirous to know how the work of God went on among our brethren at London, I wrote to many of them concerning the state of their souls.[1] One or two of their answers I have subjoined.

My dear Friend, whom I love in the Truth,

I know my Saviour's voice, and my heart burns with love and desire to follow Him in the regeneration. I have no confidence in the flesh. I loathe myself, and love Him only. My dear brother, my spirit even at this moment rejoices in God my Saviour; and the love which is shed abroad in my heart by the Holy Ghost destroys all self-love, so that I could lay down my life for my brethren. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and have confidence toward God that through His blood my sins are forgiven. He hath begotten me of His own will, and saves me from sin, so that it has no dominion over me. His Spirit bears witness with my spirit that I am His child by adoption and grace. And this is not for works of righteousness which I have done. For I am His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works: so that all boasting is excluded. It is now about eighteen years since Jesus took possession of my heart. He then opened my eyes, and said unto me, 'Be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee.' My dear friend, bear with my relating after what manner I was born of God. It was an instantaneous act. My whole heart was filled with a divine power, drawing all the faculties of my soul after Christ, which continued three or four nights and days. It was as a mighty rushing wind, coming into the soul, enabling me from that moment to be more than conqueror over those corruptions which before I was always a slave to. Since that time the whole bent of my will hath been towards Him day and night, even in my dreams. I know that I dwell in Christ, and Christ in me; I am bone of His bone, and flesh of His flesh. That you, and all that wait for His appearing, may find the consolation of Israel, is the earnest prayer of

Your affectionate Brother in Christ,
W. F[ish].

Saturday 9

4 Singing, sermon; 5 singing, prayer, sermon; 8 read letters; 8.15 prayers; at Mr. Wells', coffee, conversed; 10 garden, read letters; 11 meditation; 12 dinner, on business; 1 at Mr. Fox's, singing, etc.; 2 read Account of Georgia and Journal; 4 prayers, Mr. Wells', tea, conversed; 5.45 at Mr. Fox's, singing, read Journal, tea, conversed; 7.15 at home, Wa[tson] and Washington, conversed, read letters, singing, prayer; 9.30.

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[1] See Diary, Nov. 27 (p. 104).

My most dear and honoured Father in Christ,

In the twentieth year of my age, 1737, God was pleased to open my eyes, and to let me see that I did not live as became a child of God. I found my sins were great (though I was what they call a sober person), and that God kept an account of them all. However, I thought if I repented, and led a good life, God would accept me. And so I went on for about half a year, and had sometimes great joy. But last winter I began to find that whatever I did was nothing; and the enemy of souls laid so many things to my charge that sometimes I despaired of heaven. I continued in great doubts and fears till April 9, when I went out of town. Here, for a time, I was greatly transported in seeing the glorious works of God; but in about three weeks I was violently assaulted again. God then offered a Saviour to me; but my self-righteousness kept me from laying hold on Him.

On Whit Sunday I went to receive the blessed sacrament; but with a heart as hard as a stone. Heavy-laden I was indeed, when God was pleased to let me see a crucified Saviour. I saw there was a fountain opened in His side for me to wash in and be clean. But alas! I was afraid to venture, fearing I should be too presumptuous. And I know I at that time refused the atonement, which I might then have had. Yet I received great comfort. But in about nine days' time my joy went out, as a lamp does for want of oil, and I fell into my old state. Yet I was not without hope; for ever after that time I could not despair of salvation: I had so clear a sight of the fountain opened in the side of our Lord. But still when I thought of death, or the day of judgement, it was a great terror to me. And yet I was afraid to venture to lay all my sins upon Christ.

This was not all. But whenever I retired to prayer I had a violent pain in my head. This only seized me when I began to pray earnestly, or to cry out aloud to Christ. But when I cried to Him against this also, He gave me ease. Well, I found God did love me, and did draw me to Christ. I hungered and thirsted after Him; but I was still afraid to go boldly to Christ and to claim Him as *my* Saviour.

July 3.—My dear sister came down to see me. She had received the atonement on St. Peter's day. I told her I thought Christ died for *me*; but as to the assurance she mentioned I could say nothing.

July 5.—She went. That night I went into the garden, and considering what she had told me, I saw Him by faith whose eyes are as a flame of fire, Him who justifieth the ungodly. I told Him I was ungodly, and it was for *me* that He died. His blood did I plead with great faith, to blot out the handwriting that was against me. I told my Saviour that He had promised to give rest to all that were heavy-laden. This promise I claimed, and I saw Him by faith stand condemned before God in my stead. I saw the fountain opened in His side. I found, as I hungered, He fed me; as my soul thirsted, He gave me out of that fountain to drink. And so strong was my faith that, if I had had all the sins of the world laid upon me, I knew and was sure one drop of His blood was sufficient to atone for all. Well, I clave unto Him, and He did wash me in His blood. He hath presented me to His Father and my Father, to His God and my God, a pure, spotless virgin, as if I had never committed any sin. It is on Jesus I stand, the Saviour of sinners. It is He that hath loved me and given Himself for me. I cleave unto Him as my surety, and He is bound to pay God the debt. While I stand on this rock, I am sure the gates of hell cannot prevail against me. It is by faith that I am justified, and have peace with God through Him. His blood has made reconciliation to God for me. It is by faith I have received the atonement. It is by faith that I have the Son of God, and the Spirit of Christ dwelling in me; and what then shall separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus my Lord?

You must think what a transport of joy I was then in, when I that was lost and undone, dropping into hell, felt a Redeemer come, who is 'mighty to save, to save unto the uttermost.' Yet I did not receive the witness of the Spirit at that time. But in about half an hour the devil came with great power to tempt me. However, I minded him not, but went in and lay down pretty much composed in my mind. Now St. Paul says, 'After ye believed, ye were sealed with the Spirit of promise.' So it was with me. After I had believed on Him that 'justifieth the ungodly' I received that seal of the Spirit, which is the 'earnest of our inheritance.'

July 6.—In the morning, being by myself, I found the work of the Spirit was very powerful upon me (although you know God does not deal with every soul in the same way). As my mother bore me with great pain, so did I feel great pain in my soul in being born of God. Indeed I thought the pains of death were upon me, and that my soul was then taking leave of the body. I thought I was going to Him whom I saw with strong faith standing ready to receive me. In this violent agony I continued about four hours; and then I began to feel the 'Spirit of God bearing witness with my spirit that I was born of God.' Because I was a child of God He 'sent forth the Spirit of His Son into me, crying, Abba, Father.' For that is the cry of every new-born soul. Oh mighty, powerful, happy change! I who had nothing but devils ready to drag me to hell, now found I had angels to guard me to my reconciled Father; and my Judge, who just before stood ready to condemn me, was now become my righteousness. But I cannot express what God hath done for my soul. No; this is to be my everlasting employment when I have put off this frail, sinful body, when

I join with that great multitude which no man can number, in singing praises to the Lamb that loved us and gave Himself for us! Oh how powerful are the workings of the Almighty in a new-born soul! The love of God was shed abroad in my heart, and a flame kindled there, so that my body was almost torn asunder. I loved. The Spirit cried strong in my heart. I trembled: I sang: I joined my voice with those 'that excel in strength.' My soul was got up into the holy mount. I had no thoughts of coming down again into the body. I who not long before had called to 'the rocks to fall on me, and the mountains to cover me,' could now call for nothing else but, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' Then I could cry out with great boldness, There, O God, is my Surety! There, O death, is thy plague! There, O grave, is thy destruction! There, O serpent, is the Seed that shall for ever bruise thy head! Oh, I thought my head was a fountain of water. I was dissolved in love. 'My Beloved is mine, and I am His.' He has all charms. He has ravished my heart. He is my comforter, my friend, my all. He is now in His garden, feeding among the lilies. Oh, 'I am sick of love.' He is altogether lovely, 'the chiefest among ten thousand.'[1]

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[1] Who wrote the letters? Wesley gives the initials of the first writer. Henry Moore (*Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 109), with the manuscript sheets before him, prints the name in full—William Fish, who, as we learn from the Hutton *Memoirs*, was one of the signatories of the letter Hutton wrote to Zinzendorf pleading that Böhler might be appointed 'preacher of faith in England.' (See Charles Wesley's Journal, July 17, 1738, where Fish goes with Charles Wesley and Bray to visit the condemned felons at Newgate. On May 16, 1739, Fish is zealous for lay preaching, and with Bray opposes Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.) Henry Moore not only prints this letter, but also a second dated Dec. 5, 1738. Wesley wove the two into one, omitting nothing material. Originally both letters were in the Colman Collection: the one dated Nov. 25, 1738, alone survives. Unfortunately the original draft of the much more important letter has disappeared, and with it the writer's name. Assuming it to have been written by a person of education, whose penmanship was legible, we may imagine it sent, with its closing signature and personal greeting erased, to the printer along with the other Journal copy. The first letter, being woven out of two, needed transcription for the press, and the originals were preserved in the collection of MSS. which Moore safeguarded during his life, and used; the second shared the usual fate of all copy handled by the Bristol printers—it perished. Why did not Wesley in this case also print the initials? The reason may have been purely accidental, or it may be found in his rooted habit of avoiding the publication of names if he had reason to think that such publication might prove inconvenient or painful. Internal evidence and a comparison of the letters with contemporary documents may enable us, however, to conjecture, possibly to recover, the writer's name. The address, 'My most dear and honoured father in Christ,' indicates a person much younger than Wesley, and one who regarded him as a spiritual 'father.' 'In the twentieth year of my age, 1737, God was pleased to open my eyes.' An examination of the

Sun. 10.—I administered the Lord's Supper at the

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baptismal registers for 1717 in two or three parishes might yield a name that would meet all the requirements of the case. The writer had a sister who 'had received the atonement on St. Peter's Day.' She lived in London, as he (or she) ordinarily did. The writer had gone down into the country, and was living in a house, or college, with a garden, presumably where he saw 'the glorious works of God.' One would judge, from some expressions in the letter, that he was a person in delicate health. He certainly must have been a devout Churchman, otherwise he could scarcely have used the expression that on Whit Sunday he went 'to receive the blessed sacrament.' It has been suggested that the letter is feminine in sentiment and style, and phrases are quoted strengthening this suggestion. If a woman wrote it, she would probably be a member of the Claggett, Delamotte, Kinchin, or Hopson families. But any one who reads the Moravian correspondence of the times will recognize the influence of fervid Moravianism playing upon a sensitive nature and resulting in an unconscious imitation of the usual Moravian phraseology. In this light even the words 'a pure, spotless virgin' do not determine the writer's sex. On the whole, it seems reasonable to assume that the writer was, in reality, William Delamotte, brother of Charles, a Cambridge student, unable to carry on his studies in the University or to live long together in the atmosphere of his father's London home at Fresh Wharf, and therefore often going down to Blendon, where he meditated in the garden and had intercourse with the earnest-minded Mr. Piers, rector of Bexley, and with the many Moravian friends who visited the hospitable home at Blendon. Charles Wesley, in the first instance, was his spiritual father, but he owed much also to John Wesley's teaching. Charles Wesley's Journal rather strengthens this conjectural identification ;

> June 27, *Tues.*—Coming back to Mr. Piers's, I found William Delamotte. I was full of hope for him. June 29, *Thur.* (S. Peter's Day): Miss Suky Claggett called, and, to my no small comfort, informed me of her sister's lately receiving faith.

The sister (Miss Betsy Claggett) and Mrs. Turner carry him away by coach to Mrs. Claggett, for whose conversion they are all praying.

> I sought to the oracle for direction, and was much strengthened by the answer, from Acts x. 29: 'Therefore came I unto you without gainsaying, as soon as I was sent for: I ask therefore for what intent ye have sent for me.' What makes it more remarkable is, that it is S. Peter's Day.

The world would scoff at this as a mere coincidence. But Charles Wesley and his brother and these devout ladies regarded it as an answer to prayer and 'direction by the oracles of God.' The Bible thus used played an important part in many passages of early Methodist and Moravian history. The story of the first stage in the conversion of Mrs. Claggett follows. The next day, Friday, June 30, Betsy Delamotte called, and gave Charles Wesley the following letter:

> Dear Sir,—God hath heard your prayers. Yesterday (i.e. on S. Peter's Day) about twelve He put His fiat to the desires of His distressed servant; and, glory be to Him, I have enjoyed the fruits of His Holy Spirit ever since. The only uneasiness I feel is want of thankfulness and love for so unspeakable a gift. But I am confident of this also, that the same gracious Hand which hath communicated will communicate even to the end.
>
> I am,
> Your sincere friend in Christ,
> W. Delamotte.

The Diary shows that John Wesley, as well as his brother Charles, was on very intimate terms of friendship with William Delamotte. Only one letter, out of a correspondence probably considerable, has survived ; it will be quoted under its proper date. Here it may suffice to say that it conveys the im-

Castle.[1] At one I expounded at Mr. Fox's, as usual. The great power of God was with us; and one [Mrs. Hall] who had been in despair several years received a witness that she was a child of God.

Sunday 10

5¼ Prayer, singing; 6.15 prayers; 7 at Mrs. Clemenger's, Mr. Easy, Charles and Mrs. Fox; 8.15 on business; 9 at the Castle, prayers, Charles

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pression of a loving, sensitive, and deeply religious young man.

The two letters—three really, as we have shown—published in the text are much more important than casual readers would imagine. They are not only interesting in themselves as graphic descriptions of early Methodist conversions, but they also mark a new phase in the development of that scheme of spiritual edification, through the more social means of grace, which ultimately resulted in the class-meeting system of Methodism. They may be regarded as the first definite use of personal experience in that circle of religious companionship which was now, at the close of 1738, rapidly travelling towards the 'United Societies of the People called Methodists.' Hitherto, in the societies, whether of Georgia, London, or Oxford, the main exercises had been 'singing, conversation, and prayer.' The 'conversation' had been based usually on 'reading.' Wesley read to the members books of devotion, the Bible, Christian biography, or, as at this period, sermons, thus giving to the conversation which followed a definite and instructive direction. But now, having written the story of his own conversion and various accounts of his personal experience, he induced others—converts in the societies—to write their experiences. Selections from these letters he read in the society-meetings. The readings would elicit new experiences. And so the old order of the 'Oxford Methodist' society-meetings which we have followed with so much interest in Savannah and Frederica gradually changed, under the genial influence of a more assured sense of personal reconciliation, into the new order—into the joyful experience of the Methodist class-meeting. At present, be it remembered, there was no organized English Moravian Church, no organized Methodism, no class-meeting—only the first beginnings of these things. The new year about to dawn was to witness a great process of crystallization, accompanied by not a little uproar and disturbance, but issuing finally in forms of religious life destined to play a great part in the history of Christian civilization.

[1] Charles preached 'All under sin,' and assisted in the administration of the sacrament. For interesting particulars respecting Fox and his wife see vol. i. pp. 443, 444, 448; the Fetter Lane 'Letters of John Wesley,' Nov. 16, 1738, published in the Moravian *Messenger*, 1877, p. 50; and Charles Wesley's Journal, where the references are too numerous to quote. Fox was among the first-fruits of the prison work of the Holy Club. He and his wife owed everything to the Wesleys, Morgan, Whitefield, Kinchin, Hutchings, and other members of the Club. In their house the first Oxford (town) society met. The house could not have been taken but for the generosity of Kinchin and others. It seems to have become a house of call, a lodging-place, and a convenient place of meeting for 'Oxford Methodists.' It may be appropriate at this point to say that the names found in the Diary also abound in Charles Wesley's Journal, often suggesting interesting identifications. Only a few of the many illustrative references can be given here

Mon. 11.—Hearing Mr. Whitefield was arrived from Georgia,[1] I hastened to London; and on *Tuesday* the 12th God gave us once more to take sweet counsel together.

preached, communion, 38 tarried; 12 dinner, on business, singing; 12.45 on business; 1 at Mr. Fox's, singing, prayer, Mrs. Hall received [witness]; 2.45 at home, garden; 4 prayers [great blessing]! meditated; 5 at Mrs. Ford's, tea, conversed, tea; 6 at Mrs. Me[ars'], prayer, etc.; 7.45 at home, Wa[tson], etc., conversed, singing; 9.30.

[Watson and some others from the University were either pupils, or members of the Holy Club, studying with him the Greek Testament, etc. Charles Wesley's Journal, Aug. 29, 1738, refers to Mrs. 'Cleminger,' as he spells the name.]

Monday 11

4 Prayer, on business; 5 at Mr. Fox's, singing, prayer, conversed, singing, prayer; 7 walked with Mr. Easy and Hitchman, conversed, singing, prayer; 9 Hitchman went, prayer; 11 Tetsw[orth], dinner; 11.30 walked, conversed, prayer; 4 at Mr. Crouch's, conversed, tea; 6.30 at Mr. King's, Mr. Pierce, conversed; 8 at Mr. Crouch's [one of the societies met there], supper, conversed, singing; 11. Great blessing!

Tuesday 12

5¼ Singing, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.45 at Mr. Pierce's, conversed; 7 walked, prayer; 11.15 Uxbridge, tea, conversed; 12 walked, prayer, conversed; 2 at the Green Man, dinner; 3.30 walked, conversed, prayer; 5 at James Hutton's, B. Ingham, Shaw, prayer, conversed; 5.30 at Bro. Clark's, tea, conversed, singing [a sign meaning 'man,' or less probably, 'many']; 7.45 at Mr. Bray's, return; 8.30 G. Whitefield, conversed, prayer, J. Hutton! 9.30 supper, within; 11.30 [of] prayer, conversed with B. Ingham and G. Whitefield, 1.30. Great blessing!

Wednesday 13

6¾ Prayer, return; 8.30 tea, within; 9.30 conversed with Mr. Bray; 11.15 prayers; 12 read my sermon to J.B., conversed; 1.15 at Mr. Hall's, conversed, dinner; 3.15 at Mr. Threlkeld's funeral; 4 spoke, prayer; 5.15 at Mr. Bray's, James Hutton, etc., tea, conversed; 7 the leaders, conversed, singing, conversed, read Mr. Whitefield's sermon; 9.45 conversed, supper, G. Whitefield, conversed, prayer; 12.

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[1] On Monday, Dec. 11, Wesley heard of Whitefield's return, but whether before leaving Oxford, or at Tetsworth or High Wycombe, does not appear. In the evening of Tuesday the 12th, at Bray's, he either heard again of his notable 'return' or met Whitefield. Later, at Hutton's, after supper, near midnight, Wesley, Ingham, and Whitefield met—a section of the Holy Club conversing and praying until 1.30 on the Wednesday morning. Whitefield had come from America to obtain priest's orders, to collect money for the orphan house in Georgia, and generally to wrestle with difficulties, financial and otherwise.

Fri. 15.—I preached at St. Antholin's.[1]

Sat. 16.—One who had examined himself by the reflections wrote October 14 made the following observations on the state of his own soul[2]:

I. 1. I judge thus of myself. But I feel it not. Therefore there is in me still the old heart of stone.

Thursday 14

6¾ Singing, drest, prayer with G. Whitefield [who also had spent the night at Bray's]; 8 within, tea; 9.30 writ to Mr. Griffin, Mrs. Gr[iffin], Mrs. Vanderplank [friends in Georgia]; 11.15 at Newgate, prayers, preached; 1.30 at Mr. Stonehouse's, J. H[utton], Ingham, etc., singing, Mr. Stonehouse read his sermon; 2.15 dinner, singing, conversed; 3.30 prayers, Mrs. Vaughan, etc., singing, prayer, tea, conversed; 5.30 at home, conversed, read G. Whitefield's sermon; 8 at Blackfriars, singing, prayer, etc.; 10 at home, supper, singing, prayer, conversed, 1.45.

Friday 15

6¾ Drest, St. Antholin's, prayers, preached; 9 at Mr. Ritner's, tea, conversed; 10 at home, writ to Hird [of Frederica], Mr. Tolly, conversed; 2.30 Diary; 3 Newgate, read prayers, spoke; 4 at home, tea; 4.45 with Esther Hopson, conversed; 7 in Southwark, prayer, singing, etc.; 9.15 at Bartholomew's Hospital, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, supper, conversed, prayer, 12.

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[1] Wesley seems not to have preached in this church again for forty years (Nov. 15, 1778). On Dec. 21 Charles Wesley was told that Dr. Venn, the lecturer in charge, had forbidden any Methodist to preach there. He little thought that his son Henry would become a prominent Evangelical clergyman.

[2] We are by this time familiar with the formula used by Wesley when, impersonally, he wished to relate his own religious experience. Turning to the Diary of the same date we find the shorthand note 'writ N.' A comparison of the many occasions on which this form of words occur, suggests that 'N' may have been a confidential friend to whom he wrote on personal religion. There are many entries in which 'N' simply means a *Narrative* such as he was in the habit of writing, or a Memorandum ('N' would then be cipher for 'M' as it so often is in the 1st Diary). But this explanation does not account for all the facts. For instance: earlier in the Diary, we have unmistakable proof of letters written to 'N' and received from him. Probably his 'reflections' in December, like those written in October, are copied from a long confidential letter written to this unknown friend. It is quite characteristic of Wesley that, whereas other men on such occasions would content themselves with self-communing, he invariably sought spiritual companionship with some living person like-minded with himself. Hence his extensive correspondence with his mother, his sister Emilia, Varanese, John Clayton, and 'N.' Christian fellowship, to use his own favourite words, 'close' and 'open,' with spiritually-minded friends, was one of the deepest instinctive necessities of Wesley's nature; and he transferred the habit to the Methodist people.

2. I judge thus of happiness. But I still hanker after creature-happiness. My soul is almost continually running out after one creature or another, and imagining 'How happy should I be in such or such a condition!' I have more pleasure in eating and drinking, and in the company of those I love, than I have in God. I have a relish for earthly happiness. I have not a relish for heavenly. 'I savour, φρονῶ, the things of men, not the things of God.' Therefore there is in me still the carnal heart, the φρόνημα σαρκός.

But the eyes of my understanding are not yet fully opened.

II. 'This is the design of my life.' But a thousand little designs are daily stealing into my soul. This is my *ultimate* design—but *intermediate* designs are continually creeping in upon me: designs (though often disguised) of pleasing myself, of doing my own will; designs wherein I do not eye God—at least, not Him singly.

Therefore my eye is not yet single; at least, not always so.

III. Are my desires new? Not all. Some are new, some old. My desires are like my designs. My great desire is to have 'Christ formed in my heart by faith.' But little desires are daily stealing into my soul. And so my great hopes and fears have respect to God. But a thousand little ones creep in between them.

Again, my desires, passions, and inclinations in general are mixed; having something of Christ and something of earth. I love you, for instance. But my love is only partly spiritual and partly natural. Something of my own cleaves to that which is of God. Nor can I divide the earthly part from the heavenly.

Sun. 17.—I preached in the afternoon at Islington. In the evening at St. Swithin's,[1] for the last time. *Sunday* the 24th I

Saturday 16

6½ Singing, prayer; 7.30 writ to Jo. Lindal, tea, conversed, writ N.; 10.30 at the Hospital, conversed, prayer; 11.15 at Mr. Clark's, within, shaved; 12.30 at James Hutton's, conversed, dinner, singing, read letters; 2 at home, prayer, writ to Mr. Burns[side? the name is contracted]; 3 at Mr. Easy's, writ, prayers; 4 Diary, read letters, singing, conversed; 6.30 at Mr. Exall's,[2] Mr. Gould, conversed, tea; 7.45 singing, etc.; 10 at home, prayer, conversed, singing; 12.

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[1] In Cannon Street, at the corner of St. Swithin's Lane. Built into the wall of this church is a stone that tradition says is older than London itself. It is one of three surviving ancient city landmarks 'which helps to define the old place in the map and the original limits of the small town in the Thames Marshes destined to become a world's capital.' It is said to be the actual Roman *milliarium*, or central milestone, from which the outgoing roads and distances were measured. The incumbent of St. Swithin's (1729–65) was William Ayerst, M.A., D.D.

[2] Are 'Axtel,' or 'Extel,' of earlier

preached at Great St. Bartholomew's[1] in the morning and at Islington in the afternoon[2]; where we had the blessed sacrament every day this week, and were comforted on every side.

Sunday 17

5½ Singing, prayer, drest; 6.15 at St. Michael's, Crooked Lane [at the junction of Cannon Street with King William Street], meditated, prayers, communion; 8.30 at Mrs. Hind's, G. Whitefield, etc., tea, singing, conversed; 9.45 at Mr. Crowther's, conversed; 10.15 S. Katherine's,[3] prayers, G. Whitefield preached; 12.45 at Mr. Crowther's, dinner, conversed; 2.45 Islington, prayers, preached; 4.14 at Mr. Stonehouse's, singing, conversed; 5.30 at S. Swithin's; 7.30 at Mrs. West's, Esth[er] [who married Mrs. West's son. The day before Charles Wesley wrote 'Hester Hobson and her sister called, being sick of love to Christ crucified. My soul, in and after prayer with them, was all desire and expectation'] and B. Ho[pson], tea, conversed, prayer, singing; 10 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Monday 18

6½ Prayer, writ; 8 at Mrs. Duzzey's, prayer, tea, singing, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, writ to Habersham[4] and Mr. Garden [of Charlestown]; 12.30 at Mr. Clark's, conversed; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 at Mrs. Howman's, conversed, prayer; 3 at the Hospital, conversed; 4 at Mr. Brockmer's, Richter, etc., conversed, singing, tea; 5.30 J. Hutton's, conversed; 6 visited Betty at Mrs. Wolfe's; in the band, singing, conversed, tea; 8 J. Hutton's in [? 'of' error for 'ours']; 9 band; 10.15 at home, G. W. read letters; 11.15 prayer, 11.30.

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date, and 'Exal, or 'Exall,' of this date and of C. Wesley's Journal, two persons or one? To assist this and other identifications the spelling of the Diary is here followed regardless of consistency. Wesley writes most of the names distinctly and usually spells them out fully.

[1] There are two churches of this name, distinguished as the Great and the Less; the latter is in the Hospital. The former—one of the most famous of the old city churches—had for its rector at this time Richard Thomas Bateman, an 'awakened clergyman' (*C. of Hunt.*, vol. i. p. 62), one of Wesley's old college friends, but not the Bateman of the 1st Diary.

[2] Charles Wesley writes:

> *Christmas Day.*—I preached at Islington in the morning, and gave the cup: George Stonehouse in the afternoon.
>
> Dec. 26, *Tues.*—George Whitefield preached. We had the sacrament this and the four following days. On *Thursday* my brother preached; on *Friday* George Whitefield; and on *Saturday* Mr. Robson. The whole week was a festival, indeed; a joyful season holy unto the Lord.

[3] There were three churches of this name—St. Katherine Coleman in Fenchurch Street, St. Katherine Cree in Leadenhall Street, and St. Katherine near the Tower. The clue to identification is the residence of Mr. Crowther—probably the incumbent.

[4] James Habersham was born at Beverley in 1712. He was married, by Whitefield, to Mary Bolton on Dec. 26, 1740. He was the manager of Bethesda till 1744, when he entered into business at Savannah. He became President of Georgia in 1769, and died in 1775. In all respects he was a highly honourable man. (Belcher's *Biography of Whitefield*; Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 110.)

Tuesday 19

5¾ Singing, prayer, writ to sister Kezia; at Bro. Clark's, Oxlee, Wolf, Shaw, Brown, Hartlea [*sic*], conversed, prayer; 8 tea, conversed; 9 at Mrs. Humberstone's, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, G. Whitefield read his Journal at our society; 1 at Mrs. Claggett's, conversed, prayer; 1.30 at home, Diary, meditation; 3 at Mr. Stonehouse's, singing, prayers; 4 prayer, tea, singing, Betty Hopson, etc.; 6.30 conversed with Betty Hopson; 7.45 at Exall's, tea, conversed; 8.15 singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, supper, conversed, prayer, conversed; 11.30.

Wednesday 20

6¾ Singing, prayer, G. Whitefield read his Journal, 8.15 at Mr. Oswald's, return; at Mrs. Heathfield's, conversed, tea, prayer; 10.30 at Mr. S——'s, conversed; 11 at home, Diary, at James Hutton's within, at Bro. Clark's, shaved; 1 at home, within; 2.30 at Mr. Dubart's, many tarried, conversed; 2 dinner, conversed, singing; 3.45 at Mrs. Howman's, conversed, prayer; 5.15 at Mrs. West's, Esther and Betty Hopson, tea, singing, prayer; 7.45 at Mr. Hodges', tea, conversed; 8.15 singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.45.

Thursday 21

6 Singing, prayer, conversed; 7.15 at S. D[unstan]'s, prayers, communion, conversed with Esther and Betty Hopson; 9 at Bro. Clark's, tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 10.15 at home, conversed, singing, read papers; 12.30 Diary, within; 1 at Mr. Oswald's, conversed; 2 dinner, conversed, prayer; 5 at Mr. Burton's, tea, conversed; 6 at Mr. Broc[kmer]'s, singing, etc., Mr. Dobrey [elsewhere spelt 'Dobree': this probably more correct form]; 8 Savoy's [society], singing, etc.; 10 [Blessed time] at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 12.

Friday 22

6 Singing, prayer, G. Whitefield read his Journal, tea, conversed; 8.30 corrected his sermon; 11 at Mr. Jones', Goodman Fields, prayer, conversed; 12.15 at Bloomsbury, conversed, communion, conversed; 1.30 at home, corrected; 3 Diary, at Mr. Bell's, singing, etc.; 5.15 at Mr. Parker's, tea; 6 singing, etc.; 8 singing, etc., again convinced by the cross, supper, conversed; 11.45.

Saturday 23

7¼ Prayer, conversed; 7.45 with Mrs. Butts, communion, prayer; 8.15 at Mr. Park[er]'s, tea, conversed; 9.45 at home, prayer, writ; 11 G. Whitefield read Journal, writ verse; 12.15 writ; 1 at Mrs. West's, G. Whitefield, etc., singing, dinner, singing, conversed, tea, singing; 5 at Esther Hopson's, conversed; 5.45 at Mr. Hopson's, conversed, agreed; 7 at Mr. Exall's, tea, conversed; 8 singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 12.

Wed. 27.—I preached at Basingshaw church; *Sunday* the 31st to many thousands[1] in St. George's, Spitalfields. And to a yet more crowded congregation at Whitechapel in the afternoon I declared those glad tidings (oh that they would know the things which make for their peace!), 'I will heal their backsliding; I will love them freely.'

Sunday 24

5½ Singing, drest, S. Lawrence, prayers, sermon, communion; 8.15 at home, prayer, singing; 9 at Mrs. Taylor's, tea, conversed; 10 Great S. Bartholomew's, read prayers, preached; 1 at home, dinner, conversed; 2.30 at Islington, prayer; 3 prayers, preached; 5 at home, tea, conversed; 5.30 S. Bride's, singing, etc.; 7 at home, many tarried, singing, etc.; 9.15 supper, singing, prayer; 3 +.

Christmas Day

5½ Singing, prayer, singing; 8.30 tea, conversed, singing; 10.30 read prayers for Dr. More, +¨=; 1.30 at Mr. Summers', dinner, conversed; 4.30 at St. James' [society], singing, etc.; 6 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc.; 7 tea, conversed; 8 Bridgw'r. (?) Square, singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, prayer; 11.

Tuesday 26

7 Singing, Diary, writ N.; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9.30 walked, conversed; 10 Islington, conversed, singing; 11 prayers, sermon G. Whitefield, communion; 1.45 singing, prayer; 2.30 dinner, conversed, singing; 3.45 at Mrs. May's, conversing; 4 at Mr. Clark's, Bell there, conversed, tea, singing; 5.30 at Mrs. May's, conversed, singing, etc.; 7 supper, conversed; 8.15 at our room; 8.45 at Mr. Exal's, singing, etc.; 10 at the room [Fetter Lane], conversed, prayer; 11 at home, conversed, prayer; 12.

Wednesday 27

7 Prayer, not t [tired? tea? a fast-day, and strictly observed]; 8.30 conversed with Mrs. Goldwire, within, corrected for G. Whitefield; 10.30 Islington, singing, conversed; 10.45 prayers, sermon, com-

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[1] This is perhaps the first of many instances in which it becomes obviously necessary to discount Wesley's estimate of numbers. His exaggeration of numbers is well known. It was a fault shared with others. Whitefield and Cennick are notable examples. If we wish to arrive at approximately accurate estimates of the congregations, indoors and out-of-doors, we should probably find it necessary to substitute hundreds for thousands. 'Many thousands' could not have been accommodated in St. George's, Spitalfields; and 'a yet more crowded congregation at Whitechapel' is unthinkable. Apparently there were two Anglican Churches in Spitalfields, Sir George Wheeler's, afterwards called St. Mary's, and the new parish church built after the fire, opened in 1723, and named Christ Church. There may be an error in the text.

munion; 2 prayer with Mrs. Vaughan; 3.30 dinner, singing, conversed; 4.30 at Mrs. Lloyd's, Mary Hanson and Nanny, singing, conversed; 5 at Basingshaw, read prayers, preached; 6.45 the leaders [leaders of bands] met, singing, conversed, prayer; 10.15 at home, conversed with Esther Hopson; supper, conversed, prayer; 12.

Thursday 28

7 Prayer, within; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at Bro. Clark's, shaved, conversed, meditated; 11 Islington, prayers, preached, communion; 2.30 singing, conversed, dinner; 4.30 at Mr. Exal's, J. Lloyd and Nanny, tea, singing, conversed; 5.30 at Mr. Sherman's [? Rev. Henry Sherman, his old tutor at Christ Church], conversed; 6 James Hutton's, at band; 7 at B. Summers's [doubtful whether in some instances the 'b' before the surname is not now to be understood as 'brother': if so, we have here the beginning of the familiar mode of society address so frequent in later Methodist annals—'Brother' and 'Sister.' It was a family habit with John Wesley. Excepting Charles sometimes, he never refers to his sisters and brothers and brothers-in-law in any other way. It was a common mode of address among the Moravians], tea, conversed; 7.30 Bible; 8 Savoy, singing, etc.; 10 at home, conversed; 11.30 prayer, conversed; 12.30.

Friday 29

7 Prayer, conversed, tea; 8.30 at Mr. Claggett's, conversed; 10 at home, writ preface to Haliburton; 11 Islington, prayers, preached, communion, singing, prayer; 3 at Mr. Bell's, singing, etc.; 5 at Mr. Burnham's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 at Esther Hopson's, many tarried, could (?) not speak; 8 at ! 9 St. Ann's Lane, singing, etc.; 10 at home, prayer; 11 supper; Diary 11.30.

Saturday 30

6½ William Delamotte, singing, drest; 7.15 at St. Dunstan's; 9 at Miss Delamotte's [probably the elder Miss Delamotte kept house for her father at Fresh Wharf], tea, singing, prayer, with George Whitefield, etc.; 11 at home, conversed with man; 12.15 at Fetter Lane, singing, conversed, prayer; 2.15 at Bro. Clark's, dinner; 3.30 Fetter Lane, singing, prayer; 5 at Bro. Clark's, tea, conversed, Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 7.45 at Mr. Exal's, tea, singing, etc.; 10 at home, within; 11 prayer.

Sunday 31

6 Singing, Crooked Lane, prayer, communion; 8 at Bro. Chapman's; 9 prayer, singing, tea, conversed; 10.15 Spittlefield's [Spitalfields], prayers, preached ! [this always indicates a special blessing]; 12.30 at Mr. Russel's, dinner, conversed; 2.45 Whitechapel; 3 prayers, preached; 5.15 at Mr. Sims', singing, etc.; 7.30 at home, Esther Hopson, prayer, singing; 9.30 ate, conversed with Esther Hopson, etc., singing; 11.45.

1739. JAN. 1, *Mon.*—Mr. Hall, Kinchin, Ingham, Whitefield, Hutchins, and my brother Charles were present at our lovefeast in Fetter Lane,[1] with about sixty of our brethren.[2] About

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JAN. 1, *Mon.*—The opening of the new year found him still in London, conducting devotional meetings in the societies, preaching in such churches as still remained open to him, and holding frequent conferences with his friends, both Moravian and members of the Holy Club. He, at this time, did not rise so early as in earlier and later years. The reason is discernible in the late hours at which he finished his work. He seems to have observed through all this period his Oxford rules, loyally fasting on Wednesdays, Fridays, and other days appointed in the calendar. He comthree in the morning, as we were continuing instant in prayer, the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground.[1] As

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[1] At the risk of some repetition it seems necessary to define, if only negatively, the place of meeting on the occasion of this lovefeast, which was destined to become historic. On May 1, 1738, Wesley, acting under the advice of Peter Böhler, formed his first society; it met originally in Hutton's house, but was compelled to remove to a room in Fetter Lane. Biographers have taken it for granted that this was a Moravian society, but a careful examination of all available data proves clearly that this is a mistaken view. It was neither a Moravian nor a Methodist society, but one of the many Religious Societies attached to the Church of England, using the Book of Common Prayer, and taking the sacrament of Holy Communion in the parish churches. The Moravian congregation, for which the present Fetter Lane Chapel was taken on lease by Hutton (see below, July 16, 1740) was formally organized some months later, as also was the 'United Societies of the People called Methodists.' The room in which the original Wesley-Hutton society met is not certainly known. The only fact clear is that it was situated in Fetter Lane. Wilson (*History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in London*, vol. iii. p. 471), speaking of Elim Court, Fetter Lane, General Baptists, says: 'On the site of the present meeting-house formerly stood a substantial brick building, which is said to have been originally in the occupation of the celebrated Mr. John Wesley.' This can only have been possible in 1738 and 1739. Wilson, however, says under 'Fetter Lane, United Brethren' (vol. iii. p. 420): 'Shortly after the removal of Mr. Rawlin his old meeting-house was taken by Mr. John Wesley, who formed his first society in that place May 1, 1738.' If Wesley's report of July 16, 1740, is taken so precisely as to mean that Fetter Lane was, at Midsummer 1740, not only taken on lease, but first occupied, by the Fetter Lane Moravians—which may be questioned—then we may turn to Elim Court as the earlier place of meeting from the time when Böhler organized the society until 1740. There may be a germ of truth in so vague a tradition. Elim was last occupied by the Primitive Methodists. The building is still standing as part of an extensive printing-works. There is yet another ancient room in one of the Fetter Lane courts which may conceivably have been the place of meeting. It is now known as Newton Hall. It is very near to Fetter Lane Chapel, and was for many years in the occupation of Mr. Frederic Harrison and the Positivists. All attempts, however, to ascertain its history and ownership in the mid-eighteenth century have failed.

[2] It has been remarked that seven clergymen of the Church of England were present at this meeting, and not a single Moravian minister. The 'sixty of our brethren' were members of the Fetter Lane society and of the Church

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municated in the churches every Sunday, and frequently administered Holy Communion to the sick, and, apparently, also in certain of the societies, we may surmise, because the parish churches in those districts were closed against him and his friends. Several of the familiar names either disappear or are less frequently in evidence. But new names appear, and many special features may easily live again in the imagination as the Diaries are studied in the light of Charles Wesley's Journal, Whitefield's, and the correspondence of the times.

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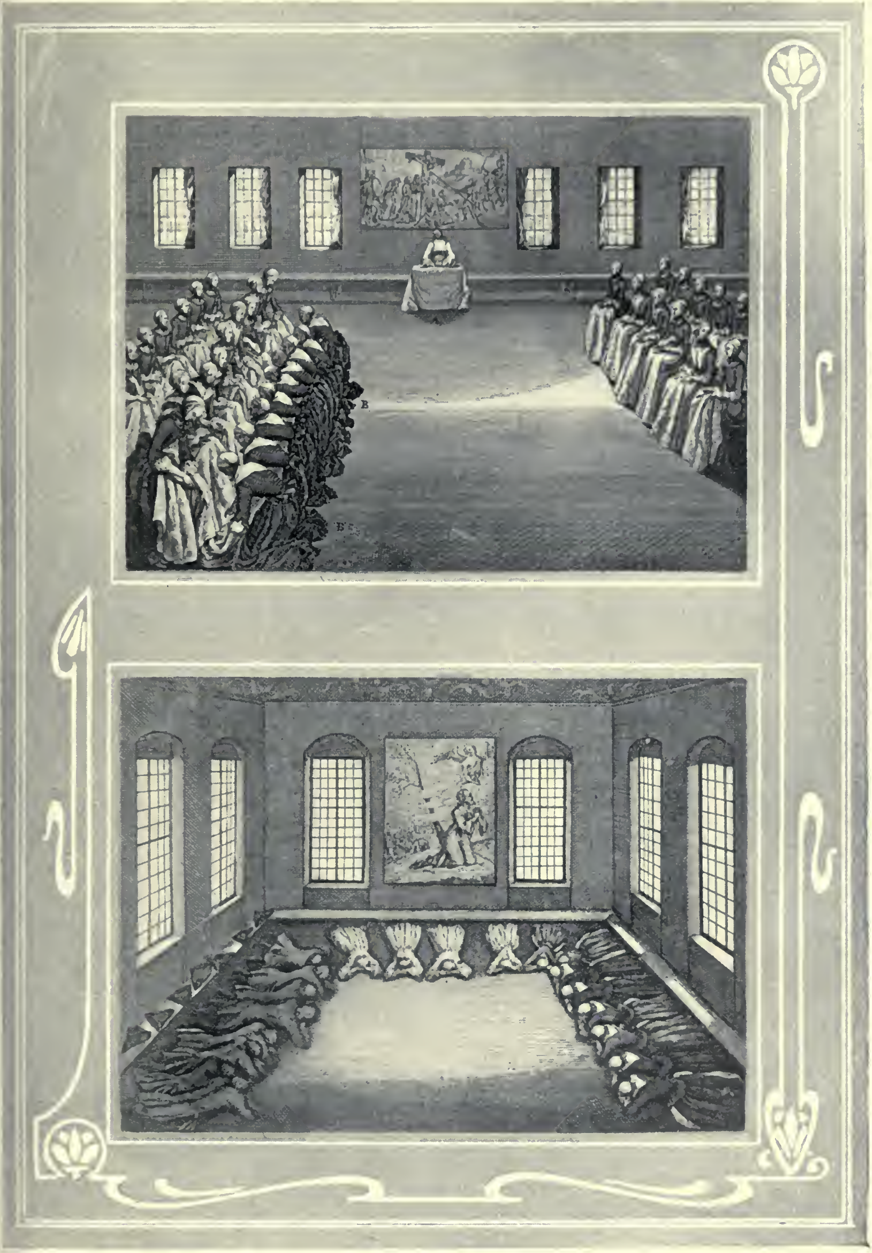
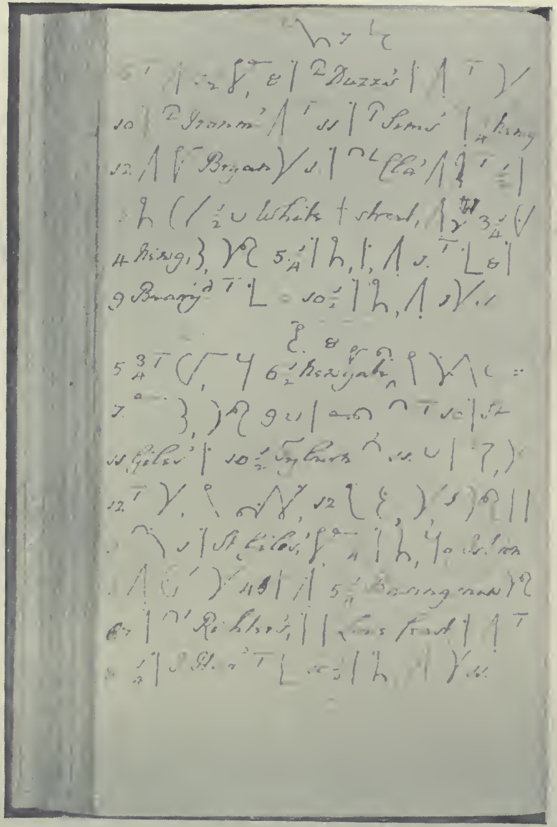
of England. There was no organized Moravianism in London at that time, or, indeed, organized Methodism. The Fetter Lane society, it cannot be too clearly stated, was a new Religious Society with bands and lovefeasts in imitation of the Moravians, and the whole organization was framed by Wesley, acting under the advice of Peter Böhler. Mr. Westley Hall, whose real character was at that time comparatively unknown, was the husband of Martha Wesley, who long afterwards occupied the house at West Street Chapel, and is buried in the same grave with her brother John. Charles Kinchin, Benjamin Ingham, and George Whitefield are well known. Each subsequently went his own way, and was separated from John Wesley and the Methodists. Hutchins is undefined, and possibly undefinable, unless some letter of the period should be discovered in which the name is spelt out beyond possibility of doubt. John Wesley frequently during these days writes the name in the Diary, but always in an imperfect form—'Hutch.' or 'Hutc.' It is conceivable that Mr. Richard Hutchin, Sub-Dean of Lincoln College, may be the person intended, but more probably it is Mr. J. Hutchings, of Pembroke College, who also was closely associated with the Wesleys and Whitefield. (See above, p. 94.)

[1] Fo the custom of prostration in various acts of worship in the Moravian Church and its missions see *W.H.S.* vol. iv. pp. 140–43. The special interest of the 'curious and quaint little volume' there referred to, a copy of which may be seen in the British Museum, is the fact that the interior of the chapel in which the scene of the prostration is depicted is identical with the present Moravian chapel in Fetter Lane. For a full description of the picture reproduced opposite (in a building not Fetter Lane), see *W.H.S.* as above. 'Apropos of the lovefeast, it is explained that at first the English Moravians used wine and bread at their services, but to obviate a not unnatural misunderstanding, and to keep the lovefeasts distinct from the Lord's Supper, they had substituted "the ordinary beverage," tea, and used a specially made bread. Tea and a bun were not uncommon a few years ago.' It will be remembered that tea was the beverage used at the society-meetings recorded in the Diary. There is no reason, however, to believe that the falling to the ground in the midnight lovefeast of Jan. 1–2 was a formal act of prostration; the same falling to the ground is noted at Warrington, April 27, 1780, and also on another occasion at Fetter Lane, June 15, 1739. The Diary confirms the Journal that it was at three o'clock in the morning of the 2nd when the power of God came upon the company. The meeting continued for some time after, and it was 6.30 before Wesley retired to rest.

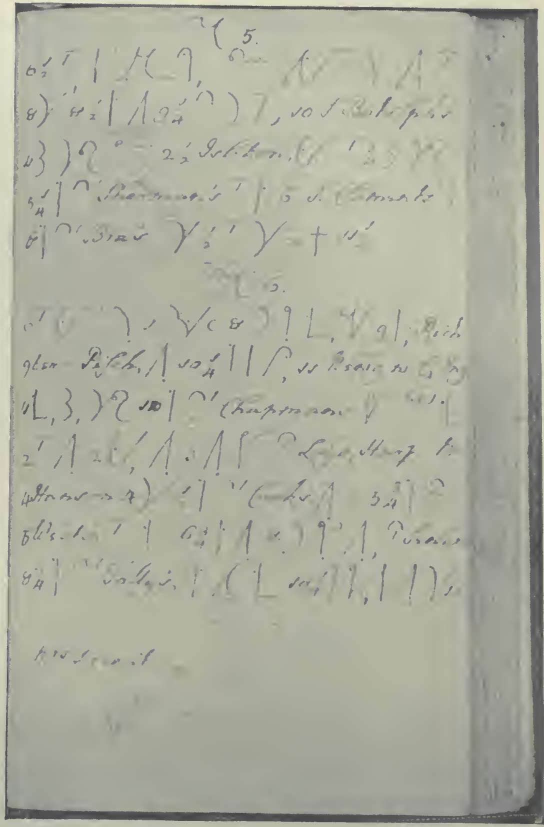


1. THE MORAVIAN CEREMONY OF FEET-WASHING.

2. PROSTRATION BEFORE THE LORD.



REDUCED FACSIMILE SHOWING THE JOURNEY FROM NEWGATE TO TYBURN



REDUCED FACSIMILE SHOWING REFERENCE TO THE FIRST APPOINTMENT OF LEADERS (*see* PAGE 99) soon as we were recovered a little from that awe and amazement at the presence of His majesty we broke out with one voice, 'We praise Thee, O God; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.'

Thur. 4.—One who had had the form of godliness many years wrote the following reflections:

My friends affirm I am mad, because I said I was not a Christian a year ago.[1] I affirm I am not a Christian now. Indeed, what I might have been I know not, had I been faithful to the grace then given, when, expecting nothing less, I received such a sense of the forgiveness of my sins as till then I never knew. But that I am not a Christian at this day I as assuredly know as that Jesus is the Christ.

For a Christian is one who has the fruits of the Spirit of Christ, which (to mention no more) are love, peace, joy. But these I have not. I have not any love of God. I do not love either the Father or the Son. Do you ask how do I know whether I love God? I answer by another question, 'How do you know whether you love me?' Why, as you know whether you are hot or cold. You *feel* this moment that you do or do not love me. And I *feel* this moment

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JAN. 1, *Monday*

7¼ Singing, on business; 8.30 at Mrs. Duzzey's, singing, tea, conversed, prayer; 11 Islington, Robson preached, communion; 1 singing, prayer; 2.15 at Mr. Claggett's, dinner; 3.30 at Mrs. May's, singing, etc.; 5 at Mrs. West's, tea, prayer, singing, etc.; 7.30 at Deadman's Fields, singing, etc.; 9.30 at Fetter Lane, all the brethren, lovefeast, singing, prayer, conversed; 3 prayer, singing, prayer! 6.30.

Tuesday 2

9 Tea, conversed, on business, letters; 12.30 corrected Haliburton; 1.30 dinner; 3 at Mr. Ripley's, conversed, tea, prayer; 4.45 at Mr. Hastings', singing, etc.; 6.45 at Mr. Exal's, tea, conversed; 10 at home, conversed; 10.45.

Wednesday 3

7½ Singing, within; 8.30 at Mr. Mason's, G. Whitefield, Ingham, etc., tea, conversed, prayer; 10.30 at home, G. Whitefield, Ingham, Hutch[ings], Kinchin, etc., read Account of Georgia; 1 conversed, with Oswald[2] in talk; 2 at J. Hutton's, Thorold, Ingham, etc., dinner; 3.45 at Dr. Newton's, tea, conversed; 5 Basingshaw, P. preached; 6.30 at home, the leaders, singing, conversed, prayer, tea; 8 Fetter Lane, prayer, singing, a conversation, singing, prayer; 10.15 at home, prayer; 10.30.

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[1] See vol. i. pp. 479-80.

[2] Oswald was the publisher of Haliburton's *Life*.

I do not love God; which therefore I *know* because I *feel* it. There is no word more proper, more clear, or more strong.

And I know it also by St. John's plain rule, 'If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.' For I love the world. I desire the things of the world, some or other of them, and have done all my life. I have always placed some part of my happiness in some or other of the things that are seen. Particularly in meat and drink, and in the company of those I loved. For many years I have been, yea, and still am, hankering after a happiness in loving and being loved by one or another. And in these I have from time to time taken more pleasure than in God.

Again, joy in the Holy Ghost I have not. I have now and then some starts of joy in God. But it is not that joy. For it is not abiding. Neither is it greater than I have had on some worldly occasions. So that I can in no wise be said to 'rejoice evermore,' much less to 'rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.'

Yet again, I have not 'the peace of God'; *that* peace peculiarly so called. The peace I have may be accounted for on natural principles. I have health, strength, friends, a competent fortune, and a composed, cheerful temper. Who would not have a sort of peace in such circumstances? But I have none which can with any propriety be called 'a peace which passeth all understanding.'

From hence I conclude (and let all the *saints of the world* hear, that whereinsoever they boast they may be found even as I), though I have given, and do give, all my goods to feed the poor, I am not a Christian. Though I have endured hardship, though I have in all things denied myself and taken up my cross, I am not a Christian. My works are nothing, my sufferings are nothing; I have not the fruits of the Spirit of Christ. Though I have constantly used all the means of grace for twenty years, I am not a Christian.

Thursday 4

7 Prayer, writ Account of myself; 9 G. Whitefield, Hut[chings], etc., tea, conversed; 10.15 writ for our society; 1 at Mr. Merrit's, conversed with G. Whitefield; 2.15 dinner, conversed; 3.30 at Mrs. Burton's, conversed, prayer; 4.15 at Mrs. West's, within, tea, conversed; 6 conversed with Esther Hopson[1]; 6.30 at Mr. Brockmer's,

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[1] Two things are noteworthy. One of the persons claiming frequent pastoral attention was Esther Hopson. He spells her name variously, 'Hobson' or 'Hopson' (Charles always writes 'Hester Hobson'). Her sister Betty is frequently named with her. The two sisters appear to have had the *entrée* to most of the Christian homes named in the Diary, as well as to the Religious Societies. There is little doubt that we may recognize these ladies as persons well known for many years and greatly esteemed in the Moravian congregation. In *Memoirs of*

singing; 7 at Bro. Summers', tea, singing, etc.; 8 Savoy, singing, etc.; 10 at home, conversed, prayer, Diary; 11 writ our orders; 12.15.

Friday 5[1]

7½ Drest, within; 8.30 Islington, G. Whitefield, Hutc[hings], Hall, Ingham, Kinchin and Charles, prayer, conversation, singing; 2.30 tea, conversed; 3.15 at Mr. Bell's,[2] singing, etc., tea; 6.15 with Mr. Jennings, conversed; 7.15 at Mr. Exal's, tea, conversed; 7.45 at St. Ann's Lane, Westminster, singing, etc.; 10 at Fetter Lane, prayer, singing; 11.30 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 12.45.

Saturday 6

6¾ Singing, drest; 7.15 St. Dunstan's, prayers, communion; 9 James Hutton's, tea, conversed; 10.30 at home; 11 writ orders; 12.30 at Mr. Sims', prayer for his child; 1.15 writ to sister Kezia[3]; 1.30 at Mrs. Lewin's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 at S. Paul's, prayers; 4 at Mr. Easy's, tea, conversed; 5 at home, conversed, visited Jacky Storer, conversed; 6.30 at Mr. Exal's, conversed, tea, singing, etc.; 9.45 Betty Hopson, conversed; 10.45 at home with her and Esther, conversed, singing, prayer; 3.15 [Mr. Hopson does not appear in these Notes, but he figures in the Moravian records].[4]

James Hutton, p. 92, we find the following note:

> **Esther Sutton West, see her husband above; maiden name Hopson; born at Luggershall, Wilts, July 1, 1714; married April 11, 1741. She served the Congregation more than half a century, and, dying December 31, 1794, was buried at Chelsea.**

Her sister Joan married 'Brother John Wade,' and went to Pennsylvania. We have no record of Betty Hopson, but she and her sisters were at one time members of the society at Fetter Lane. The other point is that reference is made to 'Orders' for the Fetter Lane band-society. The exact phrase is 'writ our orders.' This doubtless is the revision of 'Band-society Rules, Dec. 25, 1738' (*Works*, vol. viii. p. 272). The difference between New and Old Style accounts for the apparent discrepancy. C. W., Jan. 7, 1739, 'I was offended much at some orders which Bray, etc., were imposing on the society.' The original 'Orders' (as drafted by Wesley?) are given above (vol. i. p. 458). Bray's action may have been the beginning of developments which resulted in the further form given in *Hutton*, p. 29.

[1] Charles Wesley's note under this date (Jan. 5) is as follows: 'My brother, Mr. Seward, Hall, Whitefield, Ingham, Kinchin, Hutchings, all set upon me; but I could not agree to settle at Oxford without further direction from God.' Moore (vol. i. p. 423) urges this as proving that up to this time no plan of becoming itinerants was yet formed. The views of the Wesleys at present extended no further than to preach the gospel in the churches wherever they had opportunity (see Wesley's letter to his father, Dec. 10, 1734).

[2] Two Bells figure prominently in the early Moravian history: Richard, who was Vice-elder in the Married Choir, and William, who was Registrar of the Congregation in London.

[3] Kezia, who was always delicate, had lived for some time at Stanton Harcourt with the Gambolds; about this time she removed to Bexley.

[4] In the earliest days of Oxford Methodism the London home of the Wesleys and of other members of the Holy Club was at the Rev. John Hutton's, in Great College Street, Westminster. But when Mr. and Mrs. Hutton quarrelled with the Wesleys, after they became disciples of Peter Böhler, they seem to have lodged,

Wed. 10.—I preached at Basingshaw church. *Saturday* the 13th I expounded to a large company at Beech Lane.[1] *Sunday* the 14th, after preaching at Islington, I expounded twice at Mr. Sims's in the Minories.

Sunday 7

6 Singing, writ account of myself; 8.30 tea, conversed; 9.30 at Mr. Sparke's, prayer; 10 at S. Mary Somerset,[2] read in prayers, Dr. Croxall [who was incumbent at this time] preached; 1 at Bro. Hodges', reconciled Arthur and Tom Hodges, dinner, singing, prayer; 3 at home, singing, prayer; 3.15 S. Paul's, prayers, sermon; 4.45 at home, conversed; 5.15 at Creed-Ch[urch] Society,[3] prayers, singing, etc.; 7 at Mr. Bell's, tea, conversed, singing, etc.; 9.45 Fetter Lane, conversed, singing, prayer; 1 at home, slept.

Monday 8

9¼ Tea, conversed; 10.15 writ Account of myself; 12.45 at Dr. Newton's, conversed; 2 dinner, conversed; 3.45 at Mrs. Sellar's with G. Whitefield, etc., conversed, prayer; 5 G. Whitefield went, conversed, prayer; 6.30 at Mr. Dean's, conversed, prayer; 8 at James Hutton's, with our band; 9.30 tea, conversed; 10.30 at home, Hill tarried, conversed, prayer; 11.

Tuesday 9

7¾ Drest, conversed, singing; 9 at Mrs. Claggett's, conversed, tea, prayer; 11 at Mr. Broc[kmer]'s, conversed; 1.30 at home, dinner, singing; 2.30 conversed; 3.15 at Mrs. Hind's with G. Whitefield, etc., within; 5 prayer, Bible [usually this refers to an oracular consultation of Scripture], singing; 6.15 at the door gathered for the Saltzburghers; 7.45 at Mr. Exal's, tea, singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.

[The next evening Whitefield preached at Great St. Helen's for erecting a church for the Saltzburghers, and collected £33.]

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when in town, with James Bray, the brazier, in Little Britain. The house must have been commodious. Guests were often there. Probably it became to the London Religious Societies what Fox's house was to the Oxford Methodists. Whitefield and others lodged there; so occasionally, at this time, did the Hopsons.

[1] At Beech Lane (between Redcross Street, by Barbican, and Whitecross Street) a large society met to which Wesley, when in London, was in the habit of preaching on Saturdays. In a letter to Whitefield he says that he expounded there usually to five or six hundred before going to Mr. E.'s society. Sarah Clay (*Arm. Mag.* 1783, p. 528) says that she heard Wesley on consecutive Sundays. Probably she refers to the services at Islington.

[2] On the north side of Upper Thames Street, in Queenhithe Ward.

[3] The first edition of *Paradise Lost* was 'Printed and are to be sold by Peter Parker, under Creed Church, near Aldgate &c.' Was this St. Katherine Cree (originally Christ Church) Aldgate? Maitland describes curious underground ancient buildings near this church—one of the oldest in London, and a survivor from the fire.

Wednesday 10

6 Conversed with Charles Kinchin, etc., prayer; 7 at the inn with Charles Kinchin, prayer, singing; 8.30 at Islington with Hutc[hings], etc., prayer, conversed, singing; 11 prayers, conversed; 2 at Mrs. Duzzey's, prayer with Thompson, conversed; 3 at Jenny Loyd's, singing, conversed; 4.45 at Mrs. Hanson's, Mrs. Sellar, etc., singing, prayer, conversed; 5 Bassishaw, prayers, preached; 7 with the leaders, singing, etc.; 8 Fetter Lane, singing, etc., conversed; 10.45 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 12.

Thursday 11

5 Prayer, within, tea, prayer; 7 G. Whitefield and Hutch[ings] went, writing; 8.30 at Miss Delamotte's, Ingham and James Hutton and Miss Claggets, singing, tea, conversed, read B[etty] H[opson]'s letter, prayer; 12 James Hutton's, at Bro. Clark's, within; 1 James Hutton's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 at Mrs. Hanson's, she sick, prayer; 4.15 at Jenny Loyd's, conversed, prayer, singing; 5.45 at home, conversed; 6.15 at James Hutton's, conversed, tea, prayer; 8 Savoy, singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.

Friday 12

6¾ Drest, prayers; 7.45 Diary, in talk; 8.45 Islington, within, singing, conversed; 12 at home; 12.30 at Mr. Burton's, Esther Hopson there, within, prayer; 2.45 at home, within; 3 with Miss Claggets at Miss Sellars', prayer, conversed, prayer; 4 at home, John Lilly, Holland, conversed, coffee; 5.30 Diary, writ Account of Esther Hopson; 6 Hollis came and J. Bray, conversed; 7.30 Westminster, singing, etc.; 9.15 at Mr. Exal's, tea, conversed; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11 within with Brown; 11.45.

Saturday 13

6¼ Writ Account of Esther Hopson; 7 prayers, walked; 8.15 at Mr. Burton's, Esther Hopson there, tea, conversed, prayer, Charles came, prayer, singing; 11.30 at Bro. Thompson's, conversed, communion; 12.30 with Esther Hopson and Charles, prayer, singing; 1.30 at home, dinner, conversed; 2.30 Charterhouse, Wilding [or Wilde, or Wilder], prayer, Greek Testament; 5 at home, Mrs. Claggets, etc., Charles read his sermon; 6 at Beech Lane, singing, etc.; at Mrs. West's, tea, Esther and Betty Hopson, prayer, singing; 11 at home, prayer, within; 11.45.

Sunday 14

5 Drest, singing, St. Lawrence's, prayers, sermon, communion; 8.30 at home, singing, prayer, tea, conversed; 10 S. Paul's, prayers, sermon, communion; 12.30 at Mrs. West's, James Hutton, etc., dinner, Esther and Betty Hopson, conversed, singing; 2.30 Islington, prayers, preached; 5.45 at Mr. Sims', singing, etc., twice; 8.15 at home, supper, prayer with Esther, etc.; 11.15.

Wed. 17.—I was with two persons,[1] who I doubt are properly enthusiasts. For, first, they think to attain the end without the means; which is enthusiasm, properly so called. Again, they think themselves inspired by God, and are not. But false, imaginary inspiration is enthusiasm. That theirs is only imaginary inspiration appears hence: it contradicts the Law and the Testimony.

Monday 15

6½ Drest, singing; 7 prayers, conversed with Harrison; 8 at Mrs. Stoner's, tea, conversed, prayer, singing; 10 at home, corrected Haliburton ∴ !! [devotional exclamations]; 1 Mr. Palmer came! Haliburton; 2 dinner, conversed with Mrs. Easy, prayer; 3.15 at sister Patty's [Mrs. Westley Hall], prayers; 4 at J. Loyd's band, conversed, prayer; 5 at Mrs. Hanson's, Esther there, prayer; 6 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc., tea, conversed; at our band; at home, prayer, Diary:

ἕτερον ἀνίστασθαι ἱερέα, &c. (Heb. vii. 11),

'Though ye fight against the Chaldeans, ye shall not prosper' (Jer. xxxii. 5).

Tuesday 16

6 Corrected sermon; 7 prayers, tea, conversed, prayer, corrected Haliburton; 11 with Mrs. Hanson, prayer, conversed; 12.15 J. Bray, etc., communion, prayer; 2.30 at Islington with Esther, etc., walked, singing; 3.15 prayers; 4 conversed, prayer; 6.15 at Exal's with Esther, etc., tea, conversed, singing, etc.; 10 at home, supper, conversed, 11.30.

Wednesday 17

6½ Prayer, drest; 7 prayers, tea, conversed; 8.15 prayer at Mr. Agutter's [for a reference to this name see p. 137 n.], writ sermon; 11.15 at home, return[ed]; 11.45 prayer with Seward, Hollis, etc.; 1.15 dinner, conversed; 3.15 prayers; 4 Clerkenwell with Betty S., conversed; 5.30 at Mrs. West's, conversed, tea, prayer, singing; 6.15 with the leaders; 8 at Fetter Lane; 10.30 at Mrs. Hanson's, Esther there [Hopson; she seems to have been nursing Mrs. Hanson], prayer, conversed; 12. [The day closes at midnight. Thursday the 18th

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[1] Mr. Hollis, of High Wycombe (on whom he always called when travelling to or from Oxford), and one of the Sewards There were four brothers of the Seward family, who figured variously in the early Methodist history, but more especially in connexion with Whitefield and Howell Harris. Thomas was a clergyman of the Church of England; Benjamin spent some years at Cambridge, was unimpeachable in morals, converted in the spring of 1739, and occasionally employed himself in composing hymns; Henry, the eldest of the brothers, married a Baptist wife; he was a violent opposer of the Methodists. William Seward was specially prominent in Whitefield's work in both London and America. (See p. 395.) A long and interesting account of the Sewards will be found in Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i, pp. 163–8.

Sun. 21.—We were [greatly] surprised in the evening, while I was expounding in the Minories. A well-dressed, middle-aged woman suddenly cried out as in the agonies of death. She continued so to do for some time, with all the signs of the sharpest anguish of spirit. When she was a little recovered, I desired her to call upon me the next day. She then told me

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opens at twelve with prayer and conversation. Probably he remained all night at Mr. Hanson's.]

Thursday 18

12 Prayer, conversed; 1.15 slept; 3.15 prayer, conversed; 4 slept; 6 prayer, conversed, tea, prayers, conversed with Betty Hopson; 8 at home, tea; 8.45 at Mr. Agutter's, writ sermon, Mr. Herdson [apparently at Agutter's: also a Charterhouse man], conversed, prayer; 11 meditation, conversed; 12.15 at home, Miss Hutton, prayer for her [Mr. and Mrs. Hutton were concerned because the Wesleys were influencing their two children], conversed, read; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 3.15 prayers; 4 slept; 5 at Mrs. Hanson's, she better, prayer; 6 at James Hutton's band, tea, conversed; 8 Savoy, singing, etc.; 10 James Hutton's, conversed with Benjamin Ingham; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.30.

Friday 19

6 Prayer with Mrs. Platt, conversed; 7 prayers, tea, conversed; 8.30 at Mr. Agutter's; 2 writ sermon ; 2 at Mrs. Sellar's, conversed; 2.30 Miss Claggett came, conversed, prayers; 3.15 prayers; 4 at James Hutton's, tea, conversed; 5 at Bro. Oxley's, Mrs. Stoliday there, conversed, prayer; 6 at Mrs. Hanson's, Esther there, conversed, prayer, tea; 8 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.30.

Saturday 20

6 On business, singing; 7 prayers, on business; 8.15 at Mr. Agutter's, sermon; 9 at Mr. Herdson's, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 writ sermon [i.e. he spent the morning at the Charterhouse sermon-writing, and saw two pensioners, or masters]; 1 at home, writ to sister Kezia; 2.30 dinner, conversed; 3 at James Hutton's, Cossart there, conversed; 4 at Mrs. Clark's, shaved; 5 at Mr. Burton's, G. Whitefield there [returning from Oxford after his ordination on Monday the 15th, Whitefield found a pamphlet written against him by a clergyman; a week later he received the sacrament at the hands of this minister, and preached in his church to two thronged congregations. During this week he preached three times, expounded to sixteen companies, and received contributions for the Orphan House], conversed; 7 at Mrs. Hanson's, Esther and Betty Hopson, prayer, conversed, read my sermon, prayer; 10 walked with Betty, conversed, at home, eat, conversed, prayer; 11.30.

that about three years before she was under strong convictions of sin, and in such terror of mind that she had no comfort in anything, nor any rest day or night: that she sent for the minister of her parish, and told him the distress she was in: upon which he told her husband she was stark mad, and advised him to send for a physician immediately. A physician was sent for accordingly, who ordered her to be blooded, blistered, and so on. But this did not heal her wounded spirit. So that she continued much as she was before: till the last night, He whose word she at first found to be 'sharper than any two-edged sword' gave her a faint hope that He would undertake her cause, and heal the soul which had sinned against Him.

Sunday 21

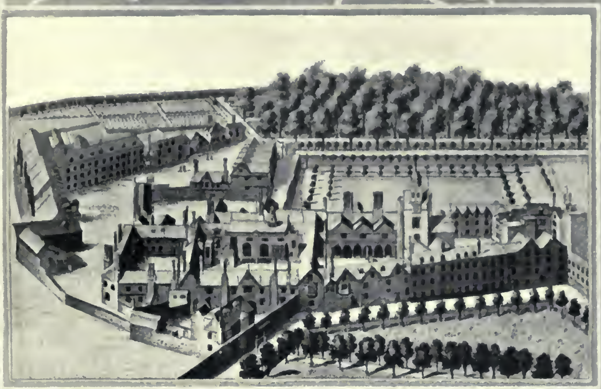
5¼ Singing, on business; 6 St. Lawrence, prayers, sermon, communion; 8.45 at home, prayer, singing, tea, conversed with Bro. Roberts; 10.15 writ Account of myself; 12 walked, meditated; 1 at Mr. Park's, dinner, conversed; 2 singing at Mrs. Butt's [students of early Methodist music will recognize this name], prayer; 2.30 Wapping Church, prayers, preached; 4.15 at Mr. Park's, prayer, at Mr. Hill's, tea, conversed; 5 at Mr. Sims's, singing, etc.; 7 singing, etc., walked, conversed; 9 at Mrs. Modi's, supper; 9.30 walked, conversed; 10 at home, prayer, singing; 11.30 conversed of the Prophets, prayer, conversed; 12.

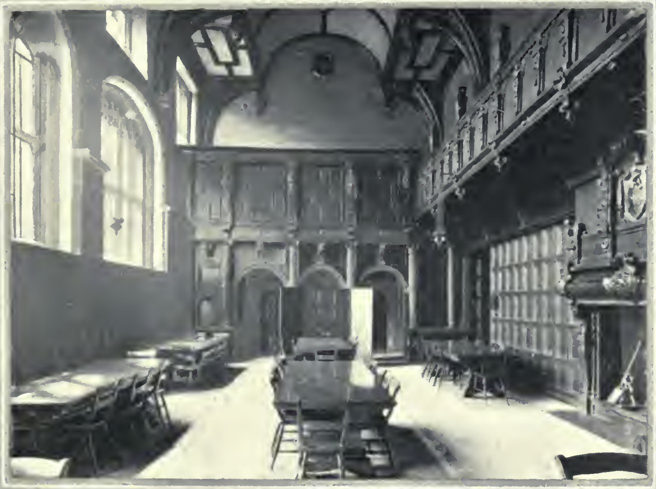
Monday 22

6 Singing, on business; 7 prayers at Mrs. Hanson's, Esther there, prayer, tea, conversed, prayer, at home on business, within; 10 at Agutter's, corrected hymns [for *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, published in 1739, unless, indeed, we are to suppose that this book was already in the press, and that *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1740) was now in course of preparation]; 11 at Bro. Sims's, conversed with Mrs. Randal; 2.30 dinner, conversed; 3 Mrs. Duzzey's, Mrs. Robinson, etc., singing, tea, conversed, prayer; 5 at Mrs. Hanson's, conversed, prayer; 6 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc.; 7.15 tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 8.15 James Hutton's, singing, conversed, prayer; 10.15 at Mrs. Hanson's, Mrs. Sellars's, prayer, conversed, prayer; 11 at Mrs. Burton's, singing, prayer, singing; 12.30 at home.

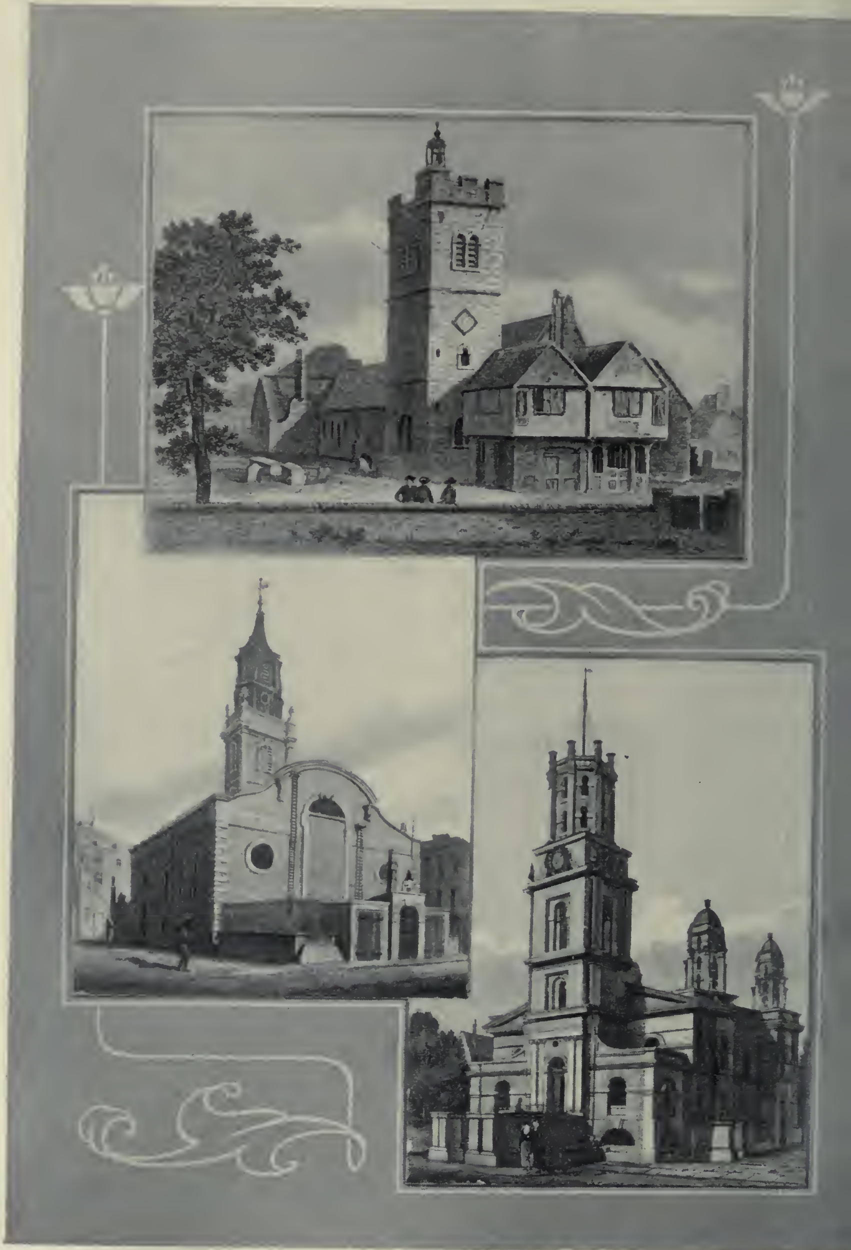
Tuesday 23

6¾ Betty Hopson, singing, prayer, conversed; 8.15 at Mrs. Delamotte's, singing, tea, conversed; 11 Charterhouse, walked, meditated; 12 at home, writ orders; 1 at Mr. Driver's, Mr. Samuel there, dinner, conversed; 3 at Mr. Fish's, conversed, tea; 4.15 at Mr. Hanson's, prayer, conversed with Esther Hopson, walked with her; 6 at Mrs. Wolf's band, conversed; 7 at Mr. Exall's, Mr. John Smi[th], tea, conversed; 8 singing, etc.; 10 at home, conversed, prayer; 12.





1. VIEW OF THE CHARTERHOUSE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
2. THE GREAT DINING-HALL, CHARTERHOUSE.



1. OLD ST. MARY, ISLINGTON (DEMOLISHED IN 1751).

2. ST. MICHAEL BASSISHAW.
(*See* p. 96.)

3. ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.
(*See* p. 81.)

Thur. 25.—I baptized John Smith (late an Anabaptist) and four other adults at Islington. Of the adults I have known baptized lately, one only was at that time born again, in the full [1] sense of the word; that is, found a thorough, inward change, by the love of God filling [2] her heart. Most of them were only born again in a lower sense; that is, received the remission of their sins. And some (as it has since too plainly appeared) neither in one sense nor the other.

Wednesday 24

6½ Singing, on business; 7 prayers, tea, G. Whitefield, Bro. Ingham, read letters, in talk, with Charles within, 11 read letters, etc.; 12.30 corrected verse; 3.15 prayers; 4 at Mrs. Hanson's, prayer, at Bro. Burton's, conversed, he cold; 5 at Mrs. West's, Betty Hopson, etc., tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 7 at home with the leaders; 8 Fetter Lane, prayers, etc.; 10 at home, within, prayer; 10.30.

Thursday 25

5¼ Prayer with Bro. Patt[erson], writ Rules for the women [bands]; 7 tea, conversed, Betty Hopson, prayer; 8.30 the catechumens came, singing, prayer; 9.30 set out, conversed, singing; 10 Islington, conversed; 10.15 prayers, baptized 5 adults, preached, communion; 1.30 prayer, singing, dinner (2.15) in the kitchen, singing, prayer; 3 at Spittlefields, G. Whitefield preached for the Orphan House; 5 at Mr. Slade's, within; 5.30 at Mrs. Hanson's, singing, prayer; 6.30 at our band; 7.15 at Mr. Clark's, tea, conversed; 8 at the Savoy, singing, etc.; 10 at home, eat, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Friday 26

6 Writ; 7 prayers, at Mr. Bow's, prayer, Bible; 8.30 tea, conversed; 10 corrected verse; 2 at Mr. Slath's (*sic*), conversed with a Papist; 3 at Mrs. Sellar's with Miss Claggett, singing, conversed, prayer; 4 at Mrs. Hanson's, communion, tea, conversed; 5.15 at Mr. Abbot's, singing, etc.; 6.30 at Mr. Park's, singing, etc.; 8.30 conversed, singing, etc.; 11 supper, conversed, prayer; 12.15.

Saturday 27

5½ Singing, conversed, prayer; 7.30 visited; 8.15 tea, prayer; 9 prayer at Mrs. Butt's [or Bull's]; 10 at Mrs. Mills's, communion, at Mrs. Special's, prayer, at Mrs. Duzzey's, singing, conversed; 12 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 2 at Bro. Clarke's, dinner, conversed; 3 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 5 at home, buried [? in Bunhill Fields], at Mr. Easy's, tea; 6 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 8 at Mr. Agutter's, Bell, Esther Hopson, Shaw, Patterson, Bray, etc., tea, singing, conversed, prayer, singing; 11 at home, conversed, prayer; 12.

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[1] 1st ed., 'higher.'

[2] 1st ed., 'shed abroad in.'

Sun. 28.—I went (having been long importuned thereto) about five in the evening, with four or five of my friends, to a house where was one of those commonly called French prophets.[1] After a time she came in. She seemed about four or five and twenty, of an agreeable speech and behaviour. She asked why we came. I said, 'To try the spirits, whether they be of God.' Presently after she leaned back in her chair, and seemed to have strong workings in her breast, with deep sighings intermixed. Her head and hands, and, by turns, every part of her body, seemed also to be in a kind of convulsive motion. This continued about ten minutes, till, at six, she began to speak (though the workings, sighings, and contortions of her body were so intermixed with her words, that she seldom spoke half a sentence together) with a clear, strong voice, 'Father, Thy will, Thy will be done. Thus saith the Lord, If of any of you that is a father, his child ask bread, will he give him a stone? If he ask a fish, will he give him a scorpion? Ask bread of Me, My children, and I will give you bread. I will not, will not give you a scorpion. By this judge of what ye shall now hear.'

She spoke much (all as in the person of God, and mostly

Sunday 28

7 Singing, within, on business; 8 tea, prayer, singing; 9.30 at St. Paul's, meditated; 10.30 prayers, sermon, communion; 1.15 at home, dinner; 2.30 Islington, prayers, preached; 5 with Mary Plewit [the French prophetess named in text], Betty [and] Esther Hopson, Mr. Bray, Eames, Brown, Mrs. Sellars there; 7 prayer, singing, she spoke!! at Mr. Bray's, tea, singing, etc.; 10.15 ate, conversed; 10.45 prayer; 11.30. Acts x. 17–20, 'While Peter yet doubted.'

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[1] Probably 'Mary Plewit' was the 'French prophet.' A remarkable account of the prophetic gifts of the Camisards is given in Tyler's *Camisards*. These French prophets were refugee Camisards, victims of the 'Dragonnades.' Southey devotes several pages to their extravagances in England, and emphasizes the harm they wrought amongst the Methodists (Southey's *Wesley*, Cavendish ed., pp. 146–50). For further information see Eadie's *Ecclesiastical Dictionary*, pp. 180–89. Also *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser. vol. ii. pp. 408, 493; vol. iii. pp. 56, 176, 418; and anecdote in Trevelyan's *Life of Lord Macaulay*, p. 482. There are many references in the Journals of the Wesleys to these fanatics. Sometimes sane Christian men were smitten with the mania, as for example Mr. Hollis of Wycombe, who so often entertained the Wesleys. Charles Wesley tells an amusing story of an adventure he had with him on Dec. 11, 1738. A Fetter Lane letter, June 7, 1739, reports a visit John Wesley paid to a Mrs. Cooper, a supposed prophetess in Bristol (see p. 214).

in Scripture words) of the fulfilling of the prophecies, the coming of Christ now at hand, and the spreading of the gospel over all the earth. Then she exhorted us not to be in haste in judging her spirit to be or not to be of God; but to wait upon God, and He would teach us, if we conferred not with flesh and blood. She added, with many enforcements, that we must watch and pray, and take up our cross, and be still before God.

Two or three of our company were much affected, and believed she spoke by the Spirit of God. But this was in no wise clear to me. The motion might be either hysterical or artificial. And the same words any person of a good understanding and well versed in the Scriptures might have spoken. But I let the matter alone; knowing this, that 'if it be not of God, it will come to nought.'

Monday 29

6½ Singing, writ; 7 prayers, at Mr. Lynd's [or Lynn, see C. Wesley's Journal, July 31, 1738], prayer, tea, conversed; 8.45 at Mr. Agutter's,[1] writ account of the Prophets; 1.15 at home, on business; 1.45 dinner, on business; 3.15 prayers; 4 at Mr. Riv[ington]'s, conversed, coffee; 5.15 at Jenny Loyd's, band, singing, tea, conversed; 7 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc., at Mr. Dobree's, Mr. Venn, Mr. Berryman [? lecturer at St. Paul's, and afterwards rector of St. Alban's, Wood Street], etc., conversed; 10 supper, conversed; 12.30 at Mr. Wathen's, conversed, prayer; 1.30.

Tuesday 30

7¾ Prayer; 8.15 at home, sorted papers, tea, prayer, sorted papers; 3.15 prayers, at home, tea, conversed; 4.45 at Mrs. Hanson's, prayer, many tarried; 6.15 at home, prayer, singing, etc.; 8 at Mr. Blake's, singing, etc., + [devotional exclamation]; 10 at home [it is not clear where his 'at home' at this time was. It may still have been at Bray's, where many lodged, or at Mr. Hopson's] with Esther, etc., prayer, supper, conversed; 11.30.

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[1] Wesley never lost his love for the Charterhouse. A week after his return from Germany he went there and conversed with Mr. Agutter (Sept. 25, 1738). Three weeks after the great love-feast at Fetter Lane, he walked for an hour in the Charterhouse grounds and 'meditated' (Jan. 23). Another day he spent an afternoon there with a Mr. Wilding (or Wilde or Wilder) praying and reading the Greek Testament. Other names, probably connected in some way with the Charterhouse, occur. Occasionally a kind of band-society met in Mr. Agutter's rooms. But the chief interest gathers round the hitherto unsuspected fact that during this period Mr. Agutter provided Wesley with a quiet room in which, far from the strife of tongues, he wrote sermons, corrected proofs, and 'writ letters.' The Rev. Gerald S. Davies, the Master of the Charterhouse, has kindly read many of the Diary proofs containing references to Mr. Agutter. He says: 'Mr. H. S. Wright found for me in the Minute-books the name of "Jonathan Aguttir, nominated as a Brother by the Bishop of London. Sworn June 25, 1733; died Nov. 27, 1762: buried at Chelsey."' Are we to infer from the last entry that 'Brother Aguttir' became a Moravian and was buried in the graveyard at Chelsea, where Hutton and many others lie?

Wednesday 31

6¼ Singing, prayer; 7 prayers, conversed; 8 corrected proof, tea; 9 communion, with Esther Hopson, Mrs. Claggett, Mrs. Metc[calf], etc., prayer; 10.15 at Mr. Agutter's with Bro. Bray and Esther, prayer, writ our conversation with Mr. Venn; 1 at Bro. Bell's, Mrs. Pierce there, dinner, conversed; 3 at Mrs. Preston's, conversed, prayer; 3.45 at Mrs. May's, conversed, prayer; 4.30 at Mr. Clark's, conversed; 5 at Mrs. West's, conversed, prayer; 6.30 with the leaders, supper; 8 Fetter Lane; 10.30 at home, prayer, Diary; 10.45 conversed; 11.

FEB. 1, *Thursday*

6¼ Singing, conversed with Charles; 7 prayers, within; 8 at Mrs. Hanson's, tea, prayer, conversed with Esther; 10.30 James Hutton's, conversed; 12 Cossart, etc., went r⁴ [this is in the margin: it is a cipher sign and probably means 'sorrowfully'] to his inn, Richter, James Hutton, etc. (1.45) at Mrs. Sims's, dinner, conversed, singing; 3.30 at Mrs. Xeres's, conversed, tea; 5.15 at Mr. Savage's, conversed, tea; 6.30 at James Hutton's, our band, singing, conversed, prayer; 8 Savoy; 10.15 at home, conversed, supper, prayer; 11.30.

Friday 2

6¼ Singing, writ; 6.30 Betty Hopson, conversed, prayer: 7.30 tea, prayer; 9 within; 10 Islington, conversed, visited; 11 prayers, G. Whitefield preached,[1] communion; 2.45 at Mrs. Dyer's, with s[ister] K[ezia], etc., conversed, tea, at s[ister] Hetty's [Mrs. Wright], tea, conversed; 6.30 at Mrs. Wolfe's, Mrs. Soan, tea, conversed, at Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 10 at James Hutton's, Shaw, supper, conversed, prayer; 12.

Saturday 3

6¼ Drest, meditated; 7 prayers, tea, conversed, prayer; 8.30 at Mr. Agutter's, writ to my mother,[2] Mr. Fox, brother Samuel; 1 at home, within, dinner; 2 15 at Mrs. Burton's, conversed; 4 at Mrs. Duzzey's, James Hutton and Shaw there, conversed, prayer, tea; 5 at Mrs. Hanson's, Esther and Miss Claggetts there, conversed; 5.45 at Bro. Clark's, conversed with Mrs. Small, prayer; 6.15 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 8.30 Agutter's, Esther, Betty, Brown, Patt[erson], conversed, singing, prayer; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.45 Diary.

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[1] This was the first time Whitefield preached without notes.

[2] Did Wesley commission Whitefield to take this letter to Tiverton? It appears to have contained some expression of his desire that his mother should come to London, which, as we know, she did later in the year. On Feb. 13 Whitefield writes to Wesley from Stapleashwin, Wilts: 'Your prayer is heard. This morning I visited your mother, whose prejudices are entirely removed, and she only longs to be with you in your societies at London.'

FEB. 4, *Sun.*—I preached at St. Giles's on 'Whosoever believeth on Me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.' How was the power of God present with us! I am content to preach here no more.

Sunday 4

7 Singing, drest, tea, conversed, Betty Hopson, prayer, singing; 10 at St. George's [in-the-East], prayers, G. Whitefield preached, communion, 1,000 there! 3 at St. Giles's! prayers, preached; 5 at Mr. Gib's [? Gibb's. There is no sign of contraction], singing, conversed, tea; 6.15 at Mr. Sims's, singing, etc.; 7.30 singing, etc.; 9 Fetter Lane, conversed, lovefeast, prayer, 3.

Monday 5

The lovefeast of the night before continued until 3 in the morning. Instead of returning home he went at 3 to Mrs. Thornbury's, where he gave the communion, probably to some one who was sick. 4.30 slept; 8 singing, tea, conversed on business; 9.45 at Mr. Agutter's, writ to Mr. Hutchins [in all other instances hitherto we have had 'Hutch': here the name is spelt out fully, Hutchins—i.e. Mr. Richard Hutchins, the sub-rector of Lincoln College, and not Mr. J. Hutchings, of Pembroke], to Sally's mother; 1 at home, dinner, conversed; 2.30 at Mr. Bell's, with Esther, conversed; 3.30 with Mrs. Preston, etc., communion, prayer; 4.15 at Mrs. May's, singing, etc.; 5.30 at Mrs. Hanson's band [she has recovered, and here figures as leader of a band], conversed; 6.15 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc.; 7.30 tea, conversed; 8.15 at our band [i.e. at Fetter Lane]; 10 at home, conversed prayer; 11.15.

Tuesday 6

6½ On business; 7 prayers, tea, conversed; 9 at Mr. Agutter's, writ letters; 1.15 dinner, within; 2.45 James Hutton's, conversed, tea; 3.30 at Mr. Summers', singing, conversed; 4.45 at Mrs. Wolfe's, conversed, singing; 5.30 at Mr. Hast[ings], singing, etc.; 7 at Mr. Exall's, tea, conversed; 8 singing, etc.; 10 at home, conversed, prayer, 12.

Wednesday 7

6½ Singing, on business; 7 prayers, tea, conversed; 9.45 at Mr. Agutter's, writ Preface to Haliburton[1]; 12 at home, prayer, G. Whitefield [for Whitefield, who left London this afternoon], went, dinner, Dr. Byrom,[2] conversed, Mr. Hall went; 1.30 walked (2) with sister Kezia,

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[1] Mr. and Mrs. Hutton forbade their son to publish this book, but Hutton sold it. See PS. to Wesley's letter to Hutton, on June 7, 1739, when he was in Bristol (p. 215).

[2] The writer of 'Christians, awake' and other hymns. Also the inventor of the system of shorthand used in this Diary and in Charles Wesley's Journal. In Byrom's letters to his wife on the 7th, 8th, and 14th of this month he says that he often went with Mr. John Wesley to Mr. Stonehouse's at Islington. See *W.M. Mag.* Oct. 1863.

Fri. 9.—A note was given me at Wapping, in nearly these words:

SIR,

Your prayers are desired for a child that is lunatic, and sore vexed day and night, that our Lord would be pleased to heal him, as He did those in the days of His flesh, and that He would give his parents faith and patience till his time is come.[1]

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conversed, tea; 3.30 prayers; 4 Mrs. Dymox christened (4.30), prayer! 5.15 at Mrs. Claggett's, conversed; 6 Fetter Lane [this raises the question whether the Claggetts, who were wealthy people, may not have had their town residence in Fetter Lane]; 8 Fetter Lane; 10.15 supper, conversed, prayer; 11.30.

Thursday 8

6½ On business; 7 prayers, at James Hutton's, tea, conversed; 9.30 at Bro. Clark's, prayer with Mrs. Small; 10 at James Hutton's, within; 12 Agutter's, writ N. [? Narrative]; 1.30 at Mr. Evans's, conversed, dinner, prayer, singing; 3.15 at Mrs. Hanson's, communion, conversed with Levi, prayer; 4.30 at Mr. Burton's, conversed; 5 at Mrs. Sims's, singing, etc.; 6 at Mrs. West's, Betty Hopson, etc., tea, conversed, prayer; 8 Savoy, singing, etc.; 10 at home, supper, conversed, prayer, on business; 12.

Friday 9

6½ Betty Hopson, prayer; 8.15 at Mr. Bow's, tea, conversed, prayer, singing; 9.30 at Mr. Agutter's, writ Preface to Haliburton; 1.30 at home, Diary; 2 within; 2.30 at Mrs. Claggett's; 3 at Mrs. Mills's, conversed, tea, singing, prayer; 4.45 at Mr. Abbott's, singing, etc.; 7 at Mr. Park's, singing, etc.; 8.30 singing, etc.; 10 supper, conversed, prayer; 11.30.

Saturday 10

7 Prayer, conversed, tea; 9 with Mrs. ——, in despair; 10 at Mrs. Mudg.'s [name contracted], conversed, prayer; at Mrs. Sims's, conversed, prayer; 12 at home, James Hutton, conversed, at Mr. Brook's, Spittlefields, Mr. Evans, etc., prayer, dinner, Bible, prayer; 3.15 at home, Diary, on business; 4 walked, conversed; 5 conversed with Betty Hopson; 5.30 at home, within; 6 Fetter Lane, at James Hutton's, prayer with Okeley; 8 at Exal's, tea, singing, etc.; 9.30 with Nanny Hop. [contracted: might be Hopkins or Hopson; if latter, is this Joan Hopson, the third sister, who with Esther afterwards became a Moravian?], conversed; 10.30 at home, prayer, corrected proofs; 11.30.

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[1] Mark ix. was the Second Lesson for Friday morning, Feb. 9.

Tues. 13.—I received the following note:

SIR,

I return you hearty thanks for your prayers on Friday for my tortured son. He grows worse and worse; I hope, the nearer deliverance. I beg your prayers still to our Redeemer, who will cure him, or give us patience to bear the rod, hoping it is dipped in the blood of the Lamb.

Sir, he is taken with grievous weeping, his heart beating as if it would beat through his ribs, he swells ready to burst, sweats great drops, runs about beating and tearing himself. He bites and pinches me, so that I carry his marks always on me. He lays his hands on the fire and sticks pins in his flesh. Thus he has been these five years. He is in his eleventh year, a wonder of affliction: I hope, of mercy also; and that I shall yet praise Him who is my Redeemer and my God.

Sunday 11

6½ Prayer; 7 tea, conversed; 8 Betty Hopson, Esther, Mrs. Chambers, etc., prayer, singing; 10 at Islington, prayers, preached, communion, prayer; 1 at Lady Crips's, dinner, conversed, singing; 3 at Aldersgate, prayer, sermon; 4.45 at Mrs. Hanson's, prayer; 5 Mr. Sims's, singing, etc.; 6.30 tea at Bro. Bell's, singing, etc.; 8.30 at home, supper, singing, etc.; 11.

Monday 12

6¼ Returned with Charles, singing; 7 prayers, Sukey Claggett, Horn, Richter, Pisch, etc., tea, conversed; 9 at Agutter's, writ answer to Mr. Hook[er]; 12.30 at Mrs. Thornbury's, Mrs. Pratt, etc., conversed, communion, sang, conversed with Mr. Mosely; 1.45 at Mr. Oswald's, Ma——on, etc., dinner, Bible, prayer, singing; 4 at Mrs. May's, singing, etc.; 5.15 at Mrs. Hanson's, conversed, prayer; 6 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc., tea, conversed; 8 Gravel Lane, singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, prayer; 10.30 Diary, meditated; 11.

Tuesday 13

6 Singing, prayer; 6.40 conversed with Charles; 7 Prayers, tea, conversed; 9 Agutter's, hymns; 11.15 Newgate, prayers, preached; 1.30 at Mr. Hast[ings'] with Brown and Metcalf, Mrs. Chamber's, dinner, conversed, singing; 4 singing, etc., meditated, tea; Mrs. Wolfe's, tea, conversed, singing; 7.30 at Dowgate Hill, singing, etc., tea; 9.15 at Mrs. Hind's, in talk; 9.45 at Mrs. Sellar's, Hanson, etc.; return of her and him; 11.15 at Mrs. Metcalf's, conversed; 12.30.

Wednesday 14

6¾ Within; 7 prayers, on business, tea, conversed; at Mrs. Hind's with Mr. Brown; 10 at James Hutton's, within; 12 at home, on business, read; 1 at Mr. Bell's, dinner, conversed; 2 at Mrs. Preston's, con-

Sat. 17.—A few of us prayed with him, and from that time (as his parents since informed us) he had more rest (although not a full deliverance) than he had had for two years before.[1]

Sun. 18.—I was desired to preach at Sir George Wheeler's chapel in Spitalfields[2] morning and afternoon. I did so in the morning, but was not suffered to conclude my subject (as I had designed) in the afternoon—a good remembrance that I should, if possible, declare at *every* time the *whole* counsel of God.

versed, communion, singing ; 3.45 at Mrs. West's, at Mr. Berryman's, return of all objec[tions] ; 6.15 Fetter Lane ; 10.30 at James Hutton's, conversed, ate, conversed ; 12.30.

Thursday 15

6¾ Drest, on business ; 7.30 at home, within, tea ; 9 Agutter's, writ to Mr. Barn[—]d [Barnard of Epworth, vol. i. p. 70] ; 10 read, conversed ; 11.15 Newgate, prayers, preached ; 1 at James Hutton's, conversed, dinner ; 3.30 Islington, prayers ; at sister Kezia's, within, tea ; 5.15 at Mrs. Sims's, singing, etc. ; 6 at Mrs. Hanson's, conversed ; 7 at Bro. Chapman's, tea, conversed ; 8 Fetter Lane, at home, supper, conversed, prayer ; 12.

Friday 16

6½ Betty Hopson, singing, prayer ; 8 at Mr. Bow's, Bro. Bray, etc., tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 at Agutter's, singing, writing ; 12 Wil. [? Wilde or Wilder], Greek Testament, meditation ; 2 at Mrs. Sellar's, conversed, prayer ; 3.30 at Mrs. Mills's, conversed, tea, prayer ; 5 at Mr. Abbott's, singing, etc. ; 6.45 at Mr. Park's, singing, etc. ; 9.45 supper, conversed, prayer ; 11.15.

Saturday 17

6½ Prayer ; 7.15 walked, at Mrs. Blackburn's, within ; 8 prayer, conversed ; 9.30 with a sick person, conversed, prayer ; 11.30 at home, in talk ; 12 Wild., meditation, Greek Testament ; 1.30 at home, dinner, conversed ; 2.30 at Bro. Clark's, within, shaved ; 3.45 at Bro. Thack[er]'s, Mrs. Chambers, etc., settled with band ; 4.30 tea, singing, conversed ; 5.15 at Bro. Clark's with t[he e]nem[y] [this no doubt is the case of the sick boy referred to in the letter of the 14th], conversed, prayer ; 6 Beech Lane, singing, etc. ; 8.15 at Mrs. Exal's, tea, singing, etc. ; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer ; 11.30.

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[1] Other instances of healing by prayer at this time are given by Tyerman, vol. i. p. 232.

[2] See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* The chapel, modernized in 1842, is now St. Mary's, Spitalfields. It was originally built by Sir George Wheeler for the use of his tenantry. In it Charles Wesley often ministered. In his Journal he mentions the conversion of Mrs. Wheeler—presumably the mother of the Rev. Sir George. His wife was Lady Catherine Hastings, sister of Lady Margaret Ingham, and sister-in-law of the Countess of Huntingdon.

Sunday 18

6½ Meditation, prayer; 7 on business, tea, conversed; 8 prayer, singing; 10 at Sir George Wheeler's chapel, read prayers, preached; 12.15 at Mr. London's, singing, conversed, dinner; 2.30 at the chapel, prayers, forbidden to preach; 4.15 at Mr. Duthoit's, tea, conversed, singing; 5.15 at Southwark, singing, etc.; 7 prayer with ——; 7.30 Fetter Lane; 8 lovefeast of the women, tea, singing, prayer; 10.30 at home, prayer, conversed; 12.

Monday 19

6¾ Drest, prayers, on business, tea, conversed; 9 at Agutter's, read Cole's book [probably *The Godly Man's Assurance of His own Salvation*, by Nathaniel Cole, published in 1617]; at James Hutton's, Mrs. Okeley [of Bedford, one of the founders of the Moravian Church in that town], return (12) Summers, conversed; 12.45 at Mrs. Thornbury's, communion, singing; 1.15 James Hutton's, dinner, Mr. Palmer, conversed; 3.15 with Bro. Payne, conversed, prayer; 4 at Mrs. May's, singing, etc.; 5.15 at Mrs. Hanson's, conversed, prayer; 6 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc.; 7.15 tea, conversed; 8 Gravel Lane [there were four 'Gravel Lanes'—off Aldgate, Southwark, and Old and New at Wapping: the first probably meant here], singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, prayer, conversed; 11.30.

Tuesday 20

6¼ Singing, prayer, tea, conversed; 7.45 on business; 9.30 at Mr. Johnson's, conversed; 11.30 at James Hutton's in talk; at home [here follows a cipher confessional sign], writ to Morgan, to Mr. Wragg; 12.30 within, meditation; 1.30 dinner, prayer; at Mrs. Eustace's [Ewster's: see C. W.], conversed, prayer; 4 at Mrs. Hast[ings], singing, etc.; 5.45 with one sick person; 6.15 at Mr. Savage's, Esther, etc., singing, prayer, etc., tea; 8 Dowgate Hill [a steep (down) street near Walbrook to the river], singing, etc., (9.45) tea, conversed; 10.15 at Charles Metcalf's, conversed; 11.45.

Wednesday 21

6½ Within, at home, drest; 7.30 tea, conversed; 8 at Furn[ival's] Inn, communion, singing; at the Archbishop's, conversed with him; 10 at the Bishop of London's[1] with Charles, conversed; 11 Agutter's,

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[1] In his Journal John Wesley makes no reference to a visit he and Charles made to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Charles, under date Feb. 21, writes:

> He showed us great affection; spoke mildly of Mr. Whitefield; cautioned us to give no more umbrage than was necessary for our own defence; to forbear exceptional phrases; to keep to the doctrines of the Church. We told him we expected persecution; would abide by the Church till her Articles and Homilies were repealed. He assured us he knew of no design in the governors of the Church to innovate, and neither should there be any innovation while he lived; avowed justification by faith only; and his joy to see us as often as we pleased. From him we went to the Bishop of London, who denied his having condemned or even heard much of us. G. Whitefield's Journal, he said, was tainted with enthusiasm, though he was himself a pious, well-meaning youth. He warned us against Antinomianism, and dismissed us kindly.

Sun. 25.—I preached in the morning to a numerous congregation at St. Katherine's, near the Tower[1]; at Islington in the afternoon. Many here were, as usual, deeply offended. But the counsel of the Lord, it shall stand.

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corrected verse; 12.20 Wild., verse, Agutter's, read Mr. Luyr. [Luther ?]; 2.45 at home, Diary; 3 read; 3.30 conversed with man; 5 at Mrs. West's, the band; 6.45 with the leaders; 8 Fetter Lane; 10.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Thursday 22

6 Prayer; 6.30 Esther, conversed, prayer; 7.30 at Agutter's, writ to H. Hatfield, tea, writ to Mr. Simpson, sister Emilia, Mr. Hutchins [*sic*: R. Hutchins, of Lincoln College], Ridley, prayer, singing; 10.30 at James Hutton's, read Bishop Bull upon the teachings of the Spirit; 11 Mrs. Nicols, conversed; 12 Mrs. Hopson, conversed; 1 at home, Diary, dinner, conversed; 2.30 walked, at Bro. Clark's; at Mrs. Thack[er]'s, singing, Bible; 4.30 at Betty Hopson's, conversed, tea; 5 at Mrs. Sims's, singing, etc.; 6.30 at home, conversed with Mr. Johnson at Mr. Brockmer's, singing, etc.; 8 at Mrs. Claggett's, prayer; 7.30 at the Savoy, singing, etc.; 10 at James Hutton's, supper, conversed, singing, conversed; 12.15.

Friday 23

6¾ Drest, prayers; 7.45 visited Mr. Randal, conversed, prayer; 8.30 Agutter's, tea, answered Dr. Webster; 12 Bray and Fish, prayer, conversed, visited; 3.15 at Mrs. Mills's, tea, conversed, prayer; 5 at Mr. Abbot's, singing, etc.; 6.45 at Mr. Park's, singing, etc.; 8.45 singing, etc., supper, conversed; 11.30 prayer.

Saturday 24

6 Drest, prayer; 7 at Mrs. Mills's, conversed, tea, singing; 8.15 at Mrs. Blackburn's, prayer; 9.15 at home, drest; 10 Islington, prayers, preached, communion [St. Matthias Day]; 1 Fetter Lane, singing, prayer; 2 at Bro. Clark's, tea; 3 Fetter Lane, singing, letters; 5 visited Miss Sukey Claggett, she sick; 6 Fetter Lane! singing, etc.; Beech Lane, singing, etc.; 8.45 at Mr. Exal's, tea, he sick, singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer, corrected; 11.45!

Sunday 25

6 Singing, meditation, drest, Diary; 7 Esther and Betty Hopson, prayer; 7.30 at Sukey Claggett's, communion, prayer; 8 at home, prayer, singing; 8.45 tea, conversed; 10 at St. Katherine's, walked, meditated; 10.15 prayers, preached; 12.30 Bisset's, dinner together; 2.30 Islington, prayers, preached; 5 at Mr. Sims', etc.; 6 tea; 6.30 at Mr. Bell's, singing, etc.; 8.15 at Fetter Lane; 9 at Mr. Bray's, prayer, singing; 10 supper, prayer; 11.

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[1] The incumbent was the Hon. John Berkeley (1738–46).

Monday 26

6 Singing, on business; 7 prayers, visiting Sukey Claggett, prayer; 1.15 at Agutter's, tea, conversed; writ to Mr. Seward and G. Whitefield[1]; 11 Newgate, prayers, preached; 12.45 at Mrs. Thornbury's, communion; 1.30 a conversation with Mr. Mosely, dinner, conversed, singing; with Mr. Okeley; 4 at Mrs. May's, singing, etc.; 5 at

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[1] Tyerman quotes part of the letter which Wesley wrote to Whitefield (Feb. 26) describing, in true journal form, the events of these days. The names are initialled only. In Whitefield's Journal may be found a more complete copy. The same letter, restored almost to its original form, edited, and with some of its names filled in, will be found in the Book-Room Collection of Wesley Letters prepared in twelve cases by the late Richard Green. The Diary enables us to fill in the names still more completely.

The letter is as follows:

My dear Brother,

Our Lord's hand is not shortened amongst us. Yesterday I preached at St. Katherine's, and at Islington, where the church was almost as hot as some of the society rooms used to be. I think I never was so much strengthened before. The fields[1] after service were white with people praising God. About three hundred were present at Mr. Sims's; thence I went to Mr. Bell's, then to Fetter Lane, and at nine to Mr. Bray's, where also we only wanted room. To-day I expound in the Minories at four, at Mrs. West's at six, and to a large company of poor sinners in Gravel Lane (Bishopsgate)[2] at eight. The society at Mr. Crouch's does not meet till eight, so that I expound before I go to him, near St. James's Square, where one young woman has been lately filled with the Holy Ghost and overflows with joy and love. On Wednesday at six we have a noble company of women, not adorned with gold or costly apparel, but with a meek and quiet spirit and good works. At the Savoy on Thursday evening we have usually two or three hundred, most of them, at least, thoroughly awakened. Mr. Abbot's parlour is more than filled on Friday, as is Mr. Park's room twice over, where I have commonly had more power given me than at any other place. A week or two ago a note was given me there, as near as I can remember in these words: 'Your prayers are desired for a sick child that is lunatick, and sore vexed day night, that our Lord would heal him, as He did those in the days of His flesh; and that He would give his parents faith and patience till his time is come.'

On Saturday se'enight a middle-aged, well-dressed woman at Beech Lane (where I expound usually to five or six hundred before I go to Mr. Exall's society) was seized, as it appeared to several about her, with little less than the agonies of death. We prayed that God, who had brought her to the birth, would give her strength to bring forth, and that He would work speedily, that all might see it, and fear, and put their trust in the Lord. Five days she travailed and groaned, being in bondage. On Thursday evening our Lord got Himself the victory, and from that moment she has been full of love and joy, which she openly declared at the same [society] on Saturday last; so that thanksgivings also were given to God by many on her account. It is to be observed, her friends have accounted her mad for these three years; and accordingly bled, blistered her, and what not. Come, and let us praise the Lord, and magnify His name together.

Kinchin also wrote to Whitefield about the same time:

God has greatly blessed us at Oxford of late. We have reason to think that four, within this fortnight, have been born of God. The people crowd to the societies on Sunday nights, several gownsmen among the rest. God has much assisted me. Last night we had a thronged society, and about forty gownsmen.

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[1] Tyerman (vol. i. p. 241), in quoting from this letter, notes an interesting fact respecting these weeks of 1739 referred to by Wesley in his *History of England* (vol. iv. p. 188): 'A severe frost began at Christmas, and continued to the latter end of February. The Thames was covered with such a crust of ice that a multitude of people dwelled upon it in tents, and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped; the fruits of the earth were destroyed; many persons were chilled to death; the price of all sorts of provisions rose almost to a dearth; and even water was sold in the streets of London.'

[2] On the north-east side of Houndsditch, near Aldgate, a way to Petticoat Lane. This would agree with 'Bishopsgate' Without.

MARCH 2, *Fri.*—It was the advice of all our brethren that I should spend a few days at Oxford, whither I accordingly went on *Saturday*[1] the 3rd. A few names I found here also who had not denied the faith, neither been ashamed of their Lord,

Mrs. Hanson's with Nanny, conversed; 5.30 with her band; 6.30 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc.; 7.30 tea, conversed; 8.15 Gravel Lane, singing, etc.; 10 at home; 10.15 in bed.

Tuesday 27

6¾ Drest, prayers, with Sukey Claggett, communion; 8.30 chocolate; 9 at Robert Westley's,[2] in talk; 9.30 at Agutter's, writ to Viney [Moravian tailor, interpreter, and preacher]; 11 Jenks Of the Righteousness of Christ[3]; 1 within at home; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 3 at James Hutton's, tea, conversed; 4 at Mr. Hast[ings's], singing, etc.; 5.15 at Mrs. Ripley's, conversed, singing; 6 at Mr. Seagrave's, within, within with Bro. Payne, prayer; 7.15 at Betty Hopson's, tea, conversed, prayer; 8 at Mr. Crouch's, singing, etc.; 10 at Metcalf's, supper, conversed; 11.30.

Wednesday 28

6½ Drest, at home, ill of the flux, read Luther, chocolate; 1 read Erskine, conversed with many; 5.30 tea, conversed; 7 the leaders, singing, etc.; 8 Fetter Lane; 10 at home, Betty Hopson, supper, conversed, prayer, corrected proof; 12.15.

MARCH 1, *Thursday*

6 Prayer; 7 chocolate, at Sukey Claggett's, conversed, prayer; 8 at Payne's, prayer; 9.45 at Betty Hopson's, Bro. Shaw, etc., prayer, singing, tea, conversed; at Mrs. Hanson's, conversed; at Bro. Burton's, within; 11 Newgate, prayers, preached, prayer; 12.45 Diary, within; 1.15 dinner, on business; 3.30 at Mrs. Nicol's, conversed; 4.30 with her at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed; 6 at Mr. Brockmer's, singing, etc.; 7.30 Islington, singing, etc.; 9.45 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] We have no indication as to Wesley's mode of travel during this journey. He started from London at 4 a.m. and at 7 p.m. was at Mrs. Fox's. He probably travelled at least part of the way by coach, but, as on a former occasion, he read during the journey. Charles Wesley was also urged to go to Oxford on Feb. 28. But 'I understood them and begged to be excused.'

[2] Alderman Robert Westley is often mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In Maitland's *Rise of London* he appears as Sheriff of the City in 1733. In 1744 he was elected Lord Mayor and knighted. From 1734 he was Treasurer of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He died in 1745. Another notice of death in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is: '8 July 1780, at his apartments in St. James' Palace, aged 80, Died Mr. Richard Westley, upwards of 50 years Overseer to the Board of Works.'

[3] *Submission to the Righteousness of God*, by Benj. Jenks, M.A. (1700). Whitefield read a part of it in the following June, and describes it as 'a most excellent book.'

even in the midst of a perverse generation. And every day we were together we had convincing proof, such as it had not before entered into our hearts to conceive, that 'He is able to save unto the uttermost all that come to God through Him.'

One of the most surprising instances of His power which I ever remember to have seen was on the Tuesday following, when I visited one [Mrs. Compton] who was above measure enraged at this *new way*, and zealous in opposing it. Finding argument to be of no other effect than to inflame her more and more, I broke off the dispute, and desired we might join in prayer, which she so far consented to as to kneel down. In a few minutes she fell in an extreme agony, both of body and soul, and soon after cried out with the utmost earnestness, 'Now I know I am forgiven for Christ's sake.' Many other words she uttered to the same effect, witnessing a hope full of immortality. And from that hour God hath set her face as a flint to declare the faith which before she persecuted.

Friday 2

6 Prayer; 6.45 on business; 7.15 tea, conversed; 8 at Mrs. Claggett's, conversed, prayer; 9 at James Hutton's, within, at Bro. Clark's, within; 10 at Mrs. Ripley's, conversed; 11 at Mr. Brockmer's, in talk; 11.30 Newgate, prayers, preached; 1 at Mrs. Sellars', conversed; 2.45 at home, Miss D[? elamotte], conversed; 3 at Mrs. Mills', Thompson, etc., tea, conversed, prayer; 4.45 at Mr. Abbot's, singing, etc.; 6.30 at Mr. Park's, singing, etc., (8) singing, etc., (9.30) supper; 10.30 at home, within, prayer; 11 Diary.

Saturday 3

3½ Chocolate, conversed; 4 set out with Mr. Franklin, etc., together; 8.30 Uxbridge, tea, read *Life of a Private Gentleman*; 12.30 at Wickham [Wycombe], dinner; 1.30 set out together, read *Life*; 7 at Mrs. Fox's, Metcalf, Mrs. Ford, etc., singing, conversation; 8 prayers; 8.45 at Mrs. Fox's, two students, etc., singing, prayer, singing; 9.30 conversed, singing; 11.15.

Sunday 4

6 Singing, drest, prayer, tea, Mrs. Ford; 7.30 walked, Jenks; 9 meditated, Castle, prayers, preached, communion, twenty-seven there; 12.30 at Mr. Franklin's together; 1 dinner together; 1.45 at Mrs. Fox's, Washington there; 2 S. Mary's; 3.15 Castle, prayers, preached; 5 with Hutchins, in talk; 6.30 at Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc., many gownsmen; 7 at Mears', Washington read Burkit; 8 at Mrs. Fox's, Sa. Hurst, etc., singing, tea, singing, prayer; 9.45 S. H[urst] went, conversed with Mrs. Plat; conversed with Mrs. Fox, 11 Diary.

Thur. 8.—I called upon her and a few of her neighbours who were met together in the evening, among whom I found a gentleman, of the same spirit she had been of, earnestly labouring to pervert the truth of the gospel. To prevent his going on, as the less evil of the two, I entered directly into the controversy, touching both the cause and the fruits of justification. In the midst of the dispute one [Mrs. Mears] who sat at a small distance felt, as it were, the piercing of a sword, and before she could be brought to another house, whither I was going, could not avoid crying out aloud, even in the street. But no sooner had we made

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Monday 5

6 Singing, meditation, drest; 7.30 prayers; 8 conversed with ——; 8.45 at Mrs. Fox's, Mrs. Ford, etc., tea, singing; 10 prayer! 11.30 conversed with Mrs. Hamilton!! [these notes of admiration indicate great blessing], conversed with Patty Thurston and Betty Hughes; at Mr. Evans's, conversed, tea, singing, prayer; 3.15 at Mrs. Fox's, Shaw there, at Mr. Wells' with him, conversed; 5.30 prayers; 6 at Mr. Hughes', conversed, singing; 6.45 at Thomas Collins' with J. Mears, conversed, prayer; 7 at Mrs. Ford's, singing, etc.; 8 at Mrs. Stephen's, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at Mrs. Fox's, Patty Thurston and Betty Hughes, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.30.

Tuesday 6

6½ Drest, singing; 7 garden with Shaw and Metcalf, prayers; 8 at Mrs. Compton's, man tarried, talk, conversed, singing; 10.30 with Shaw and Metcalf, walked, went to Abbey, Mr. Gambold [Wytham Abbey is near Stanton Harcourt, of which parish Gambold was rector]; 1.45 at home, Mrs. Compton called us in, dinner, conversed, prayer, conversed, Mrs. Compton just[ified], singing! [this the 'woman' referred to in text]; 3.15 at home, conversed; 4 at the Castle, prayers, preached; 6 at home, tea, singing, etc.; 7.15 at Mrs. Compton's, singing, etc.; 8.15 at Mrs. Shrieve's!! singing, etc.; 10 at home, Betty Hughes, etc., prayer, singing; 11.15 Diary!! [a day of great blessing, as indicated by repeated notes of admiration].

Wednesday 7

6½ Singing, drest, conversed with James Mears; 7.30 Mrs. Matthew, conversed; 8.45 at Mr. Evans', conversed, tea, singing, prayer; 10.15 Castle, prayers, preached, communion, forty-seven there; 1 at home, on business; 1.30 singing, prayer; 2 at Mr. Banister's, Patty Pricket, etc., conversed, singing, prayer; 3 at Mrs. Compton's, Mrs. Bully, etc., tea, conversed, prayer; 5 prayers, read letters; 6 at home, on business, tea, prayer, Mr. Forest, etc., came, singing, prayer; 8 prayer with Nanny!! at Mr. Wells', Score, Shaw, Gambold there, conversed; 9.45 at home, Sarah Hurst, etc., singing, conversed, prayer; 11.45.

our request known to God than He sent her help from His holy place.

At my return from hence, I found Mr. Kinchin, just come from Dummer, who earnestly desired me, instead of setting out for London next morning (as I designed), to go to Dummer, and supply his church on *Sunday*. On *Friday* morning I set out, according to his desire, and in the evening came to Reading, where I found a young man [Mr. Cennick] who had in some measure 'known the powers of the world to come.' I spent the evening with him and a few of his serious friends; and it pleased God much to strengthen and comfort them.

Thursday 8

6½ Singing, drest, conversed; 7.30 prayers, at Mr. Score's, Gambold, Shaw, 9 Metcalf, prayer, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 at Mrs. Compton's, conversed, singing, prayer; 11 Washington and Gibs. He read Bishop Patrick against Faith; 12 he went, conversed [Bishop Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*, the book here referred to, was published in 1665. See his *Works*, issued by the Clarendon Press in 1858, in nine vols.]; 1 prayer; 1.30 at Mr. Score's, conversed with Gibs; 1 writ to George Whitefield [this probably the letter which brought Whitefield 'word of the flourishing of the gospel at Oxford,' and gave him 'unspeakable pleasure.' See Whitefield's Journal, March 22, 1739]; 3.30 at Mrs. Ford's, within; 4 at Mrs. Bully's, Washington, Watson, Mrs. Mears, etc., conversed, tea; 5.15 prayer, conversed with Mr. Hughes; 6 at Mrs. Ford's, singing, etc.; 7 at Mrs. Mears's, Washington there, disputed, he went, conversed, prayer; 8.30 at Mrs. Shrieve's, Mrs. Mears, etc.; 10 at home, Charles Kinchin, conversed, prayer, singing, conversed, prayer, 12 Diary.

Friday 9

6½ Singing, conversed, prayers; 8 at Mrs. Compton's, Metcalf, etc., singing, conversed, prayer; 10.30 at home, Charles [Kinchin] came [his brother Charles at this time was in London], read his sermon; 1 writ N. [? Narrative. This probably was the account of the work at Oxford and possibly a replica of the Whitefield letter begun March 8], tea, conversed; 2.30 set out with Mr. Fox, conversed, meditated; 5 prayed; 7 Reading, at Mr. Senwick's,[1] Kezzy, Sally, Mr. Laycock, etc., tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.45.

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[1] John Cennick was born at Reading in 1718 and baptized in St. Lawrence Church beside the municipal buildings. For two generations his family had been Quakers, and had suffered for their faith. More remotely the family of Cunik, altered later to Cennick, is said to have fled from Bohemia during the Thirty Years' War. John Cennick's earliest impression was at the death-bed of an aged aunt, who, in presence of the child, told her maid that 'the Lord had stood by her in the night, and invited her to drink of the fountain

Sat. 10.—In the afternoon I came to Dummer, and on *Sunday* morning had a large and attentive congregation. I was desired to expound in the evening at Basingstoke. The next day I returned to Reading, and thence on *Tuesday* to Oxford, where I found many more and more rejoicing in God their Saviour. *Wednesday* the 14th I had an opportunity of preaching once again to the poor prisoners in the Castle. *Thursday* the 15th I set out early in the morning, and in the afternoon came to London.

Saturday 10

6 Conversed, prayers; 7 conversed, prayer, tea, singing; 10 set out with Sennick, conversed; 12 prayer; 1 conversed; 3.30 at Dummer, Miss Kinchin and G. Field, in prayer, conversed; 4.30 tea, conversed, singing, conversed, singing; 7.15 prayer; 8 Miss Kinchin went to bed [this was Molly Kinchin, who was an invalid: see vol. i. p. 450]; 8.15 prayers; 8.30 supper, conversed with Mrs. Cleminger, prayer, singing; 10.15.

Sunday 11

6½ Prayer, singing, tea, singing; 9 Miss M[olly] came, conversed, singing, prayer; 11 prayers, preached; 1 singing, dinner, conversed, singing; 2.30 prayers; 3.30 conversed, singing, tea; 4.30 set out, meditated; 6 at Basingstoke, conversed; 6.15 singing, etc.; 8.15 set out with Sennick and John Field; 9 at home, singing, supper, prayer; 10.30.

Monday 12

7 Singing, prayer, prayers; 8 tea, conversed; 9 writ for Miss M[olly]; 10.30 prayer with Mrs. Cleminger, singing; 12 dinner with Miss M[olly], conversed, prayer, singing; 2 set out with Sennick, prayer,

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of life.' In youth he fell into frivolity and sin; but, walking along Cheapside, he was suddenly smitten one day by a sense of guilt, and sank 'from the height of mirth to the lowest depths of despair.' After a period of severe asceticism and church-going, his agony became so acute that he sat down in a lonely spot within sight of the mouldering walls of Reading Abbey and there abandoned himself to despair; but in September 1737, in the church of his baptism, as the words of the psalm were being read—'Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all'—'I was overwhelmed,' he writes, 'with joy, and I believed there was mercy. My heart danced for joy and my dying soul revived.' His first introduction to Methodism was through Kinchin, of whom he heard as 'a stupid, religious fellow in Oxford.' The story of his journey to Oxford and his interview with Kinchin is quite dramatic. Of course it was through Kinchin that Wesley, on this journey from Oxford to Dummer, met John Cennick, who was destined to play so important a part in early Methodism and the somewhat later Moravian movement. He was the spiritual father of John Montgomery, the father of James the poet. (*Christian Miscellany*, 1860, p. 164.) A sketch of John Cennick, by the Rev. J. E. Hutton, M.A., has been published at the Moravian Publication Office, 32 Fetter Lane, London.

singing; 6.15 Reading, Kezzy, Sally, lost G [G may be an error for J, or vice versa, and Field (Jo or G) may be the person referred to on Sat. 10, Sun. 11, and Mon. 12], meditation, conversed; 8 tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15.

Tuesday 13

5¾ Singing, conversed, tea, singing, prayer; 7.30 conversed with Kezzy and Sally; 8 set out, meditated, prayed, singing; 1.15 Oxford, at Mr. Fox's, conversed, tea, singing; 3 at Mrs. Compton's, conversed, singing, prayer; 4 at Mr. Hughes's, conversed, prayer; 4.30 at Mr. Score's, Gibs there, tea, conversed; 6 at Mrs. Fox's, singing, etc.; 7 at Mrs. Compton's, singing, etc.; 8 at Mrs. Fox's, within, supper; 9 with Mr. Fox's band, singing, prayer; 9.15 with Patty Thurston's band, singing, prayer; 9.30 with Charles Kinchin and Charles Graves,[1] conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15.

Wednesday 14

6½ Singing, prayer, writ; 8 at Mr. Score's, Charles Graves and Charles Kinchin, prayer, tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, writ [here follows cipher: satis]; 2 walked with Mr. Score, conversed; 3 at Mrs. Compton's, Charles Kinchin, etc., tea, conversed, prayer; 4 Castle, prayers, preached; at Patty Pricket's, conversed; 6 at Mrs. Fox's, tea, conversed, prayer; 7.30 at Mr. Gibs's, Washington, etc., conversed, prayer; 8.30 at Mr. Fox's, conversed, singing, prayer, conversed; 11.

Thursday 15

2½ Singing, conversed, tea; 3.30 in the coach, together (6) read [meaning that he read to the people in the coach]; 7.15 Tetsworth, tea; 8 set out, together read; 11 Wickham [Wycombe], dinner; 12.15 set out, conversed, read; 7 at Mr. Bray's, tea, conversed; 8 at James Hutton's, return, singing; 10 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

Friday 16

6 Singing within and with Charles; 7 prayers, chocolate, at Agutter's, conversed, tea [probably error for 'writ to'], Mrs. Fox, Perkins,

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[1] This, probably, is the Charles Graves referred to by Charles Wesley May 2, 1737, who, after his return from Georgia, breakfasted with him at Mr. Sarney's in Oxford, 'and owned with tears he had never felt any true joy but in religion.' July 4, 'in the evening young Graves came to me at Sarney's in an excellent temper. I encouraged him to go on in the narrow way, and strongly recommended stated hours of retirement.' On July 11 he met Graves in Bath, and was carried by him to see the quarries, 'where I narrowly missed being dashed to pieces.' Before the month closed he heard at Oxford that Charles Graves had been 'carried away by his friends as stark mad.' Afterwards he corresponded with him, and in September found him at Oxford 'still pressing forward.' Charles Wesley, who had a reputation at Westminster School as a fighter, took up the cudgels for his friend, and charged 'Dicky Graves,' on October 10, with 'making his brother mad.' See the new edition of Charles Wesley's Journal (Finsbury Library), p. 127. See also below, Aug. 20, 1742.

Compton, Patty Thurston, Charles Kinchin, sister Emilia,[1] Miss Simpson, bro. Hall, Diary; 1 writ to G. Whitefield,[2] at Mrs. Mills's,

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[1] From a letter written to her brother John (Nov. 24, 1738) it is evident that Emilia (Mrs. Harper) had no sympathy with her brother's present pursuits. She was in distressed circumstances, and upbraided him for spending his time and money in visiting Count Zinzendorf in Germany when, according to her ideas of brotherly affection, he ought to have come to her help and rescue in Gainsborough. No doubt John helped her financially, and it is certain, from the tone of her letter, that he did his utmost for her spiritually. He had tried to interest her in 'the state of the churches in Germany'; 'but,' she says, 'I am ready to give up the ghost with grief. How is it possible, in such extremities, to think of anybody's concerns but my own till this storm be blown over some way, or my head laid low in Gainsborough churchyard?' This glimpse into family affairs may suffice to remind us that John and Charles Wesley at this time were carrying, not merely 'the care of the churches,' but also the anxieties and sorrows of a large family circle. All their sisters, as well as their mother, were in circumstances of deep sorrow.

[2] In the Colman Collection is the original transcription of the letter which John Wesley wrote to George Whitefield, dated March 16, 1739. Though the transcription may be in another handwriting—probably Mr. Agutter's—the copy is endorsed both at the beginning and end by John Wesley himself. The letter was reprinted by Tyerman in his *Life of Wesley*, but it is of so much importance as practically a section of Wesley's Journal that we reproduce it here from the original transcription. If the two versions, this and Tyerman's, are compared, a few differences will be noticed. This version is strictly accurate, being copied from the Colman photographic plates.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

On Thursday (the 8th inst.) we breakfasted at Mr. Score's, who is patiently waiting for the salvation of God. Thence we went to Mrs. Compton's, who has set her face as a flint, and knows that she shall not be ashamed. After we had spent some time in prayer Mr. Washington came with Mr. Gibs, and read several passages out of Bishop Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*, to prove that we were all under a delution [delusion], and that we were to be justified by faith and works. Charles Metcalf withstood him to the face, and declared the simple truth of the gospel. When they were gone we again besought our Lord that He would maintain His own cause. Meeting with Mr. Gibs soon after, he was almost persuaded to seek salvation only in the blood of Jesus.

Meanwhile Mr. Washington and Watson were going about to all parts and confirming the unfaithful. At four we met them (without design), and withstood them again. From five to six we were confirming the brethren. At six I expounded at Mrs. Ford's, as I designed to do at Mrs. Compton's at seven; but Mr. Washington was got thither before me, and just beginning to read Bishop Bull's *Against the Witness of the Spirit*. He told me he was authorized by the minister of the parish so to do. I advised all that valued their souls to go away. And perceiving it to be the less evil of the two, that they who remained might not be perverted, I entered directly into the controversy, touching both the cause and the fruits of justification. In the midst of the dispute James Mears's wife began to be in pain. I prayed with her a little when Mr. Washington was gone, and then (having comforted the rest, as I was enabled) went down to Sister Thomas's. In the way Mrs. Mears's pains so increased that she could not avoid crying out aloud in the street. With much difficulty we got her to Mrs. Shrieve's (where also Mr. Washington had been before us). We made our request known to God, and He heard us, and sent her deliverance in the same hour. There was great power among us, and her husband also was set at liberty soon after. I felt such a damp strike into my soul (and so did Mrs. Compton and several others) as I do not remember to have ever found before. I believed the enemy was near us. We immediately cried to our Lord to stir up His power and come and help us. Presently Mrs. Shrieve fell into a strange agony both of body and mind. Her teeth gnashed together, her knees smote each other, and her whole body trembled exceedingly. We prayed on, and without an hour [he means in a little over an hour] the storm ceased. She now enjoys a sweet calm, having re-tea, prayer, singing; 6 at Wapping Room, singing, etc.; 9 at home, within, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

Saturday 17

6 Singing, prayer; 7 prayers, Mr. Boschis, tea, conversed; 8.15 at Agutter's, writ the Preface; 2 James Hutton, he read letters; 3.15

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mission of sins and knowing that her Redeemer liveth.

At my return to Mrs. Fox's I found our dear brother Kinchin just come from Dummer. We rejoiced and gave thanks, and prayed and took sweet counsel together, the result of which was that, instead of setting out for London (as I designed) on Friday morning, I should set out for Dummer, there being no person to supply that church on Sunday. On Friday accordingly I set out, and came in the evening to Reading, where I found a young man (Senwick by name) strong in the faith of our Lord Jesus. He had begun a society there the week before, but the minister of the parish had now well-nigh overturned it. Several of the members of it spent the evening with us, and it pleased God to strengthen and comfort them.

In the morning our brother Senwick rode with me, whom I found willing to suffer, yea to die for his Lord. We came to Dummer in the afternoon. Miss Molly was very weak in body, but strong in the Lord and in the power of His might. Surely her light ought not thus to be hid under a bushel. She has forgiveness, but not the witness of the Spirit. Perhaps for the conviction of our dear brother Hutchings, who seems to think them inseparable. [The Tyerman version reads: 'Perhaps because our dear brother Kinchin seems to think them inseparable.' This quite obscures Wesley's meaning.] On Sunday morning we had a large and attentive congregation. In the evening the room at Basingstoke was full, and my mouth was opened.

We expected much opposition; but found none at all. On Monday, Mrs. Cleminger being in pain and fear, we prayed, and our Lord gave her peace. About noon we spent an hour or two in conference and prayer with Miss Molly, and then set out in a glorious storm. But even I had a calm within. We had appointed the little society at Reading to meet us in the evening. But the enemy was too vigilant. Almost as soon as we went out of town the minister sent, or went, to each of the members, and being [*sic*] arguing and threatening, utterly confounded them, so that they were all scattered abroad. Mr. Senwick's own sister did not dare to see us, but was gone out on purpose to avoid it. I trust, however, our God will gather them together again, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against them.

About one in the afternoon on Tuesday I came to Oxford again, and from Mr. Fox's (where all were in peace) I went to Mrs. Compton's. I found the minister of the parish had been there before me, to whom she had plainly declared the thing as it was: 'That she never had a true faith in Christ till two in the afternoon on the Tuesday preceding.' After some other warm and sharp expressions he told her, 'Upon that word he must repel her from the Holy Communion.' Finding she was not convinced of her error, even by this argument, he left her calmly rejoicing in God her Saviour.

At six in the evening we were at Mr. Fox's society. About seven at Mrs. Compton's. The power of our Lord was present at both, and all our hearts were knit together in love. The next day we had an opportunity to confirm most, if not all, their souls which had been shaken. In the afternoon I preached at the Castle. We afterwards joined together in prayer, having now Charles Graves added to us, who is rooted and grounded in the faith. We then went to Mr. Gibs's room, where were Mr. Washington and Watson. Here an hour was spent in conference and prayer, but without any disputing. At four in the morning I left Oxford. God hath indeed planted and watered. Oh may He give the increase!

To G. W., *March* 16, 1739.

The original of the above letter, and probably the transcription also, was written in Mr. Agutter's room. The names in the letter and in the Diary correspond. If we had a complete set of letters written at this time by Wesley to Whitefield, to the mysterious 'N,' to his mother, to Clayton and others, we should have a new section of the Journal, covering a momentous period, about which we have hitherto known comparatively little, but which is now being partially illuminated by the Diary. To these two sources of information must be added the invaluable collection of letters in the Fetter Lane Archives, published, in part, in the Moravian *Messenger*, and fully described by the Rev. H. J. Foster in *W.H.S.* vol. v. pp. 1–13.

at home, within with Charles, tea; 4 at Mrs. Mason's, with a sick woman, prayer, conversed, 5.30; at Bro. Clark's, tea, shaved; 6 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 8 Exal's, singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Sunday 18

6 Singing, meditated, conversed; 6.45 Mrs. Hanson's, etc., prayer, singing (7.30) tea, conversed, prayer; 9.15 walked, Islington, prayer, preached, communion; 1 at Stonehouse's, singing, prayer, dinner; 3.15 prayers at S. Paul's; 5 Southwark, singing, etc.; 7 Fetter Lane, at women's [love]feast, singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, many tarried, supper, singing; 11.15.

Monday 19

6 Singing, prayer, conversed; 7 prayers, conversed, chocolate; 8.15 at Agutter's, writ Preface, read Luther; 2 Charles came, returned; 2.45 with Nanny, within at Mrs. May's, tea, conversed; 4.15 singing, etc.; 5 at Mrs. Hanson's band, conversed, singing; 6.15 at Mrs. West's, singing, etc., tea, conversed; 8 at Gravel Lane, singing, etc.; 10.30 at Jewke's, supper, conversed, prayer; 12.15.

Tuesday 20

6¾ Prayers, tea, conversed; 8 at home, with Charles, etc., within; 9 at Agutter's on business, writ to J. Hervey, to G. Whitefield,[1] Seward, Ingham; 2 at home, on business, Howe came, conversed; 3 at James Hutton's, conversed, tea; 4.15 at Mr. Hastings's, singing, etc.; 6 at Mrs. Wolfe's, tea, Thacker's, etc., conversed, singing; 7.15 at Mr. Exal's, tea, conversed; 8 singing, etc.; 10.30 conversed, prayer; 11.30 convinced [cipher sign which may mean 'many convinced'].

Wednesday 21

6 Singing, prayer; 7 prayers, chocolate, within; 8.30 at Agutter's; 8 writ to Cennick, to Mr. Clayton; 12 walked, meditation, prayer; 1 writ to Clayton; 3.30 at home, within; 4 at Mr. Everard's, conversed to; 5.30 at Mrs. West's; 6 band, tea, prayer, singing; 7 at home, the leaders; 8 Fetter Lane; 10.30 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.30 Diary.

Thursday 22

6 Singing, meditation, read; 7 prayers, chocolate; 8 Agutter's, Esther Hopson, writ to Dr. Doddridge, conversed with her; 9 prayer; 10.15 Brown, singing, prayer, he went for Lancashire, writ to Clayton [i.e. Brown went to Lancashire, and Wesley gave him a letter of introduction to Clayton]; 12 dinner; 12.30 at Mr. Easy's, within; 1 at Islington, at our house, in talk, singing; 2 at Mr. Wild's, Miss Crips there, ate, conversed, singing; 3.15 at Betty Hopson's, Esther there, tea, prayer; 4.15 at Mrs. Thacker's band, conversed, singing,

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[1] This letter is in *Works*, vol. xii. p. 156.

prayer; 5.15 at James Hutton's, tea, conversed, singing; 8 at the Savoy, singing, etc.; 10 at Mr. Gladman's, conversed, prayer; 12 at home.

Friday 23

6½ Singing, in talk, prayer; 7 prayers, chocolate; 8 Agutter's, writ Journal; 1 at Mrs. Sellar's, conversed, tea; 2 at Mrs. Herdson's, conversed, tea, singing; 4 at Mrs. Mills's band, tea, conversed; 5 at Mr. Harris's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 at the Room, singing, etc.; 9.30 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Saturday 24

5¾ Singing, prayer, within; 7 prayers, at James Hutton's, tea, conversed; 9 at the Bishop of London's with Charles, conversed; 10 at sister Wright's [Hetty], tea, g.t.n [a sign, may mean 'good time in prayer']; 11 at Agutter's, writ to [ ]; Fetter Lane, singing, etc., twenty-two there; 2 at Bro. Clark's, dinner; 3 Fetter Lane, singing, etc., forty there; 5 at home, Miss Clagget's there, conversed, tea, Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 7.15 at Mr. Exal's, tea, conversed; 8 singing, etc.; 11 at home, prayer; 11.15.

Sunday 25

5¾ Drest, St. Ann's; 8.30 at home, prayer, singing; 9.45 at St. Katherine's, meditated; 10.15 prayers, preached; 1 at Mr. Special's, conversed with Nanny, dinner; 2.45 at the Marshalsea, read prayers, preached; 4.30 tea; at Mr. Sims's, singing, etc.; 6.45 tea, conversed; 7.15 at Bro. Bell's, singing, etc.; 10 at home, prayer; 11.15.

Monday 26

5¾ Singing, prayer; 6.45 at Bro. Hopson's, Esther, etc.; singing, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, within; 10 on business; 11 with Exal at Islington, garden, in talk, on business, corrected G. Whitefield's sermon; 2.15 at Mrs. Metcalf's, dinner, at Mrs. Herdson's with her, tea, conversed; 4.30 at Mrs. May's, tea, singing, etc.; 5.15 at Mrs. Hanson's, band, conversed, prayer; at Mrs. West's, singing, etc.; 7.15 tea, conversed; 8 Gravel Lane, many angry!! singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.30.

Tuesday 27

6 Within with Okeley, tea, conversed, James Hutton, prayer, Okeley went; 8 at Agutter's, writ to Charles Kinchin, corrected G. Whitefield's sermon, on business; 12 at home! drest, within; 12.45 at Jewkes's, within, with Miss Kent, prayer, dinner, singing; 2.15 at Mrs. Mosley's, Mrs. Jenkin's, conversed; 3.15 at Bro. Williams', tea, conversed; 4.30 at Mr. Hastings', singing, etc., twenty there; 6 at Mrs. Soan's, conversed, prayer; 7.15 at M. Exal's, tea, conversed (8) singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, writ to Seward, within; 11 15.

John vii. 44; cap. viii. 45, 46.
Deut. xxxii. 49-52; cap. xxxiv. 7, etc.
Acts ix. 16; ch. viii. 2.

LIBRARY ST. MARY'S COLLEGE

During my stay here I was fully employed between our own society in Fetter Lane and many others, where I was continually desired to expound; so that I had no thought of leaving London, when I received, after several others, a letter from Mr. Whitefield,[1] and another from Mr. Seward, entreating me in the most pressing manner to come to Bristol without delay. This I was not at all forward to do; and perhaps a little the less inclined to it (though I trust I do not count my life dear unto myself, so I may finish my course with joy)[1] because of the remarkable scriptures which offered as often as we inquired touching the consequence of this removal: [though, whether this was permitted only for the trial of our faith, God knoweth, and the event will show. Till then, let me not be accounted superstitious if I barely recite them in the same order as they occurred.[2]] 'Get thee up into this mountain . . . and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered unto thy people' (Deut. xxxii. 49, 50). 'And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days' (Deut. xxxiv. 8). 'I will show him how great things he must suffer for My name's sake' (Acts ix. 16). 'And devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him' (Acts viii. 2).

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[1] Whitefield, who was holding evangelistic services and collecting money for the Orphan House in Georgia, arrived in Bristol on the evening of Feb. 14, 1739. With boundless daring (he was but twenty-five, younger by ten years than Wesley) he sought permission to preach in St. Mary's, Redcliffe. Refused the pulpit, he turned to the prison, to the Religious Societies of the city, and to the fields. In the bitter winter weeks of February 1739 he gathered out of doors a congregation of colliers on Kingswood Hill. The influence of his preaching opened for a brief interval certain of the churches in Bristol, but before the month of February closed he was again excluded from every church. He then preached in the upper room of the Baldwin Street society, in the meeting-place of the Nicholas Street society, in the room of the society without Lawford's Gate (which was connected with the parish poor-house), and at various villages around Bristol. He extended his labours to Wales, where he was associated with Howell Harris. Perhaps his most striking successes were won in the open air at Kingswood, including Hanham Mount, Rose Green, and the Fishponds. The services created so much interest that the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739 (p. 162) took notice of them: 'On Saturday, 18th inst., he preached at Hanham Mount to five or six thousand persons, and in the evening removed to the Common, about half a mile farther, where Three Mounts and the plains around were crowded with so great a multitude of coaches, foot and horsemen, that they covered three acres and were computed at twenty thousand people; and, at both places, he collected £14 10*s*. for the Orphan House in Georgia.' The letter to which Wesley refers in the text, in which George Whitefield rejoices in his friend's success at Oxford and elsewhere, and invites him to come to Bristol, is in the possession of Mr. George Stampe, of Grimsby, who lent it for publication in Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 193–4. He says:

> If the brethren, after prayerful direction, think proper, I wish you would be here the latter end of next week. Brother Hutchins [John Hutchings] sets out to-morrow for Dummer. Mr. Chapman brings a horse to London, which you may ride. I go away, God willing, next Monday se'enight. If you were here before my departure, it might be best. Many are ripe for bands. I leave that entirely to you.

In a postscript, dated March 23, he adds:

> I beseech you, come next week; it is advertised in this day's journal. . . . The people expect you much. . . . Our brethren advise you should go through Basingstoke and call at Dummer, and there take the horse Brother Hutchins rides thither. Whosoever you may appoint shall ride Brother Chapman's. The Lord direct us in all things!

The letter is addressed: 'The Rev. Mr. John Wesley, at Mr. John Bray's, a Brazier, in Little Britain, in Aldersgate Street, London,' an address which, coupled with the allusions and inferences of the Diary, seems to settle the question of Wesley's London lodgings at this time. He usually slept at Bray's, breakfasted, dined, &c., with friends, and wrote, corrected proofs, and studied at Mr. Agutter's, within the precincts of his old school.

Wed. 28.—My journey was proposed to our society in Fetter Lane.[3] But my brother Charles would scarce bear the mention of it; till, appealing to the oracles of God, he received those words as spoken to himself, and answered not again: 'Son of man, behold, I take from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke: yet shalt thou not mourn or weep, neither shall thy tears run down.'[1] Our other brethren, however, continuing the dispute, without any probability of their coming to one conclusion, we at length all agreed to decide it by lot. And by this it was determined I should go. Several afterwards desiring we might open the Bible concerning the issue of this, we did so on the several portions of Scripture, which I shall set down without any reflection upon them: 'Now there was long war between the house of Saul and the house of David: but David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker' (2 Sam. iii. 1). 'When wicked men have slain a righteous person in his own house upon his bed: shall I not now require his blood at your hands, and take you away from the earth?' (2 Sam. iv. 11). 'And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem' (2 Chron. xxviii. 27).

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[1] Moore (vol. i. p. 438) emphasizes the fact that Wesley accepted Whitefield's invitation to Bristol with great reluctance; 'and not till he had used every means he could, to know what was the will of the Lord concerning him.' He refers to his brother Charles, who was 'extremely averse' to his going there. But this was only one cause for his hesitation. 'Another,' writes Moore, recalling his own intimate conversations with Wesley, 'he himself has often mentioned. He thought much at this time on death; and as his constitution seemed to him not likely to support itself long under the great and continual labours he was engaged in, he judged it probable that his course was nearly finished. At this time those fine lines of his friend Mr. Gambold were almost continually in his mind:

Ere long, when Sov'reign wisdom wills,
 My soul an unknown path shall tread,
And strangely leave, who strangely fills
 This frame, and waft me to the dead.
Oh, what is death? 'Tis life's last shore,
Where vanities are vain no more;
Where all pursuits their goal obtain,
And life is all retouched again:
Where, in their bright results, shall rise
Thoughts, virtues, friendships, griefs, and
 joys.'

[2] In the first edition. The 'remarkable scriptures' are also given in the Diary, March 27. For most interesting details respecting the prolonged discussion at Fetter Lane, from March 17 to 28, with the final resort to the 'Lot,' and also for an able defence of the practice, see Wesley's second letter to Church, *Works*, vol. viii. pp. 448–51.

[3] The 'Orders of the Fetter Lane Society' are given by Wesley in a very much abbreviated form (vol. i. p. 458–9). The later and fuller form (*Memoirs of Hutton*, pp. 29, 32) consists of thirty-three rules. No. 19 reads: 'That any person who desires or designs to take any journey, shall first, if it be possible, have the approbation of the bands.' This rule was fulfilled by Wesley and the Fetter Lane band on the present occasion.

Wednesday 28

5¾ Singing, drest; 6 prayers, at Betty Hopson's, Mrs. West, Esther, conversed, tea, prayer; 9 at Agutter's, transcribed [letter] to Clayton, writ N.; 10.30 prayer, ✝ ¾ ⌒̇ !! 10.45 (cipher ⁖) !! [these devotional exclamations mark the extreme emotion and anxiety of these days immediately preceding his fateful journey to Bristol], prayer; 11 on business; 11.30 walked, meditated; 12 at Islington, within; 1.15 at Mrs. Sellar's, the new band, conversed, singing; 2 conversed with Patterson, prayer; 2.45 at Jewkes', with him at Mrs. May's, within; 3.15 Jewkes', Mason there, tea, conversed, prayer with Miss Kent;

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[1] Charles Wesley's note on this is indicative of the strong emotion which marked this crisis in the life of the Wesley brothers, and, as it proved, in the history of the Methodist movement. Under the same date he writes:

> We dissuaded my brother from going to Bristol, from an unaccountable fear that it would prove fatal to him. A great power was among us. He offered himself willingly to whatsoever the Lord should appoint. The next day he set out, commended by us to the grace of God. He left a blessing behind. I desired to die with him.

Perhaps justice has scarcely been done to the peculiarly strong affection that bound the two brothers together. They differed in personal character, and sometimes in their views; but of their more than brotherly love no one who reads their correspondence and their Journals and John Wesley's Diary can doubt. This affection influenced both, and played an important part in the development of Methodism. It is significant that the text which came oracularly to John Wesley in the great personal crisis of his life at Savannah was the text which also came to Charles in the same way when this crisis occurred. John was to Charles 'the desire of his eyes.' As the younger brother read the memorable words in the book of the prophet Ezekiel they came to him as a message from God. He it was who was taking away from him, as both thought for death, the brother who had always been so dear to him. 'Yet shalt thou not mourn or weep, neither shall thy tears run down.'

Perhaps it may be a satisfaction to some if, before I enter upon this new period of my life, I give the reasons why I preferred for so many years an University life before any other. Then especially, when I was earnestly pressed by my father to accept of a cure of souls. I have here, therefore, subjoined the letter I wrote several years ago on that occasion:

OXON, *December* 10, 1734.[1]

DEAR SIR,

1. The authority of a parent and the call of Providence are things of so sacred a nature that a question in which these are any way concerned deserves the most serious consideration. I am therefore greatly obliged to you for the pains you have taken to set our question in a clear light; which I now intend to consider more at large, with the utmost attention of which I am capable. And I shall the more cheerfully do it, as being assured of you joining with me in imploring His guidance who will not suffer those that trust in Him to seek death in the error of their life.

2. I entirely agree 'that the glory of God, and the different degrees of promoting it, are to be our sole consideration and direction in the choice of any course of life'; and, consequently, that it must wholly turn upon this single point—which I ought to prefer, a college life or that of rector of a parish. I do not say the glory of God is to be my first or my principal consideration, but my *only* one, since all that are not implied in this are absolutely of no weight. In presence of this they all vanish away. They are less than the small dust of the balance.

3. And indeed, till all other considerations were set aside, I could never come to any clear determination. Till my eye was single my whole mind was full of darkness. Whereas, so long as it is fixed on

5.15 at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 at home, on business; 7 the leaders, prayer, etc.; 8 Fetter Lane, talked of my going to Bristol, lots [this was the point at which they determined the question by lot]. I go, prayer; 10.30 at home, supper, within, prayer, 2 Sam^{l}. 4. 11. c. iii. 1; 2 Chron. c. 28. v. 27, c. 29. v. 30.

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[1] The student of this critical period in Wesley's life should read the correspondence between himself and his brother Samuel (see vol. i. p. 29), and especially Moore's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 210–13, which gives a review of the whole case, and of the letters which passed between John Wesley and his father and brother. He publishes this letter, which was sent also to his brother Samuel, Jan. 15, 1735, and shows how Samuel answered the letter paragraph by paragraph. John closed the debate in the letter dated March 4, 1735, beginning with the well-known words: 'I had rather dispute with you, if I must dispute, than with any man living; because it may be done with so little expense of time and words.' The whole correspondence—much too voluminous for insertion here—may be found in the *Works*, vol. xii. pp. 24–6, and Priestley's *Original Letters*.

the glory of God, without any other consideration, I have no more doubt of the way wherein I should go than of the shining of the midday sun.

4. Now, that life tends most to the glory of God wherein we most promote holiness in ourselves and others—I say in ourselves and others, as being fully persuaded that these can never be put asunder. And if not, then whatever state is best on either of these accounts is so on the other likewise. If it be in the whole best for others, so it is for ourselves. If it be best for ourselves, it is so for them.

5. However, when two ways of life are proposed, I would choose to consider first, Which have I reason to believe will be best for *my own soul*; will most forward me in holiness? By holiness meaning, not fasting (as you seem to suppose), or bodily austerities, but the mind that was in Christ: a renewal of soul in the image of God. And I believe the state wherein I am will most forward me in this, because of the peculiar advantages I now enjoy.

6. The first of these is, daily converse with my friends. I know no other place under heaven where I can have some always at hand of the same judgement and engaged in the same studies: persons who are awakened into a full conviction that they have but one work to do upon earth; who see at a distance what that one work is, even the recovery of a single eye and a clean heart; who, in order to this, have, according to their power, absolutely devoted themselves to God, and follow after their Lord, denying themselves and taking up their cross daily. To have even a small number of such friends constantly watching over my soul, and administering, as need is, reproof or advice with all plainness and gentleness, is a blessing I know not where to find in any other part of the kingdom.

7. Another blessing which I enjoy here in a greater degree than I could expect elsewhere is retirement. I have not only as much, but as little, company as I please. Trifling visitants I have none. No one takes it into his head to come within my doors unless I desire him or he has business with me. And even then, as soon as his business is done, he immediately goes away.

8. Both these blessings are greatly endeared to me when I spend but one week out of this place. The far greatest part of the conversation I meet with abroad, even with the better sort of men, turns on points that are quite wide of *my* purpose, that no way forward the end of *my* life. Now, if they have time to spare, I have not. It is absolutely needful for such a one as me to follow with all possible care and vigilance that wise advice of Mr. Herbert:

> Still let thy mind be bent; still plotting how,
> And when, and where, the business may be done.[1]

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[1] The first two lines of the fifty-seventh stanza of George Herbert's *Church Porch*, incorrectly quoted (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 111).

And this, I bless God, I can in some measure do, while I avoid that bane of all religion, the company of *good sort of men*, as they are called; persons who have a *liking to*, but no *sense of*, religion. But these insensibly undermine all my resolution and steal away what little zeal I have. So that I never come from among these 'saints of the world' (as John Valdesso terms them) faint, dissipated, and shorn of all my strength, but I say, 'God deliver me from a half-Christian.'

9. Freedom from care is yet another invaluable blessing. And where could I enjoy this as I do now? I *hear* of such a thing as the cares of the world; but I *feel* them not. My income is ready for me on so many stated days: all I have to do is to carry it home. The grand article of my expense is food. And this, too, is provided without any care of mine. The servants I employ are always ready at quarter-day; so I have no trouble on their account. And what I occasionally need to buy, I can immediately have, without any expense of thought. Here, therefore, I can be 'without carefulness.' I can 'attend upon the Lord without distraction.' And I know what a help this is to the being holy both in body and spirit.

10. To quicken me in making a diligent and thankful use of these peculiar advantages, I have the opportunity of communicating weekly, and of public prayer twice a day. It would be easy to mention many more; as well as to show many disadvantages, which one of greater courage and skill than me could scarce separate from the way of life you speak of. But whatever others could do, I could not. I could not stand my ground one month against intemperance in sleep, self-indulgence in food, irregularity in study; against a general lukewarmness in my affections and remissness in my actions; against a softness directly opposite to the character of a good soldier of Jesus Christ. And then, when my spirit was thus dissolved, I should be an easy prey to every temptation. Then might the cares of the world, and the desire of other things, roll back with a full tide upon me: and it would be no wonder, if while I preached to others, I myself should be a castaway. I cannot, therefore, but observe that the question does not relate barely to the *degrees* of holiness, but to the very *being of it*:

> Agitur de vita et sanguine Turni.[1]

The point is, whether I shall or shall not work out my salvation—whether I shall serve Christ or Belial.

11. What still heightens my fear of this untried state is, that

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[1] Mr. Lawrence Ford gives the following note: 'Altered from Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 765: "Turni de vita et sanguine certant" ("They are contending about the life and blood of Turnus"). The context in the Latin gives the contrast, as here, and this Virgilian passage is utilized, for the contrast, by Liddon in his Bampton Lectures, v. p. 210 (17th ed.).'

when I am once entered into it, I am entered irrecoverably—once for all:

Vestigia nulla retrorsum.[1]

If I should ever be weary of the way of life I am now in, I have frequent opportunities of quitting it; but whatever difficulties occur in that, foreseen or unforeseen, there is no return, any more than from the grave. When I have once launched out into the unknown sea, there is no recovering my harbour. I must go on, through whatever whirlpools, or rocks, or sands, though all the waves and storms go over me.

12. Thus much as to myself. But I cannot deny that 'we are not to consider ourselves alone; seeing God made us all for a social life, to which academical studies are only preparatory.' I allow, too, that 'He will take an exact account of every talent which He has lent us, not to bury them, but to employ every mite we have received according to His will, whose stewards we are.' I own also that 'every follower of Christ is, in his proportion, the light of the world; that whosoever is such can no more be concealed than the sun in the midst of heaven; that if he is set as a light in a dark place his shining must be the more conspicuous; that to this very end was his light given, even to shine on all around him'; and, indeed, that 'there is only one way to hide it, which is to put it out.' I am obliged, likewise, unless I will lie against the truth, to grant that 'there is not a more contemptible animal upon earth than one that drones away life without ever labouring to promote either the glory of God or the good of man; and that, whether he be young or old, learned or unlearned, *in* a college, or *out* of it'; yet granting 'the superlative degree of contempt to be on all accounts due to a college drone,' a wretch who has received ten talents and employs none, that is not only promised a reward hereafter but is also paid beforehand for his work, and yet works not at all. But allowing all this, and whatever else you can say (for I own you can never say enough) against the drowsy ingratitude, the lazy perjury, of those who are commonly called *harmless men*, a fair proportion of whom I must, to our shame, confess are to be found in colleges; allowing this, I say, I do not apprehend it concludes against a college life in general. For the abuse of it

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[1] Note by Mr. Lawrence Ford: The source is the well-known fable of Aesop, 'The Fox and the Sick Lion.' Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 74, reads thus:

Olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni
Respondit referam: Quia me vestigia terrent.
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

King renders: '"No stepping back again; retreat is impossible." Motto of Hampden and others' (*Dictionary of Classical and Foreign Quotations*).

does not destroy the use. Though there are some here who are the mere lumber of the creation, it does not follow that others may not be of more service to the world in this station than they could be in any other.

13. That I in particular could, might (it seems) be inferred from what has been shown already—viz. that I may myself be holier here than anywhere else, if I faithfully use the blessings I enjoy. But to waive this, I have other reasons so to judge; and the first is, the plenteousness of the harvest. Here is indeed a large scene of various action: here is room for charity in all its forms; there is scarce any possible way of doing good for which here is not daily occasion. I can now only touch on the several heads. Here are poor families to be relieved; here are children to be educated; here are workhouses, wherein both young and old gladly receive the word of exhortation; here are prisons, and therein a complication of all human wants; and lastly, here are the Schools of the Prophets. Of these, in particular, we must observe that he who gains one does thereby do as much service to the world as he could do in a parish in his whole life; for his name is Legion: in him are contained all those who shall be converted to God by him. He is not a single drop of the dew of heaven, but a river to make glad the city of God.

14. But 'Epworth,' you say, 'is a larger sphere of action than this: there I should have the care of two thousand souls.' Two thousand souls! I see not how it is possible for such a one as me to take care of one hundred. Because the weight that is now upon me is almost more than I can bear, shall I increase it tenfold?

Imponere Pelio Ossam
Scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum.[1]

Would this be the way to help either myself or others up to heaven? Nay, the mountains I reared would only crush my own soul, and so make me utterly useless to others.

15. I need but just glance on several other reasons why I am more likely to be useful here than elsewhere: as, because I have the advice of many friends in any difficulty, and their encouragement in any danger; because we have the eyes of multitudes upon us, who, even without designing it, perform the most substantial office of friendship,

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[1] Ford says: 'The passage quoted from Virgil, *Georg.* i. 281–2, reads thus:

Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio, &c.

"Thrice, forsooth, they strove to heap Ossa upon Pelion, and to roll leafy Olympus up the sides of Ossa." See Conington's note. The footnote in Jackson's edition of the *Works* does not translate, but it gives the right reference to the attempted scaling of heaven by the Giants, which suggested the last line of the short hymn 265 (*Wesley's Hymns*, 1876), and the last line of hymn 333 (2), "And scale the mount of God," still kept as hymn 471 (2).'

apprising us if we have already done anything wrong, and guarding us against doing so again; lastly, because we have a constant fund to supply the bodily wants of the poor, and thereby open a way for their souls to receive instruction.

16. If you say, 'the love of the people of Epworth to me may balance these advantages,' I ask, How long will it last? Only till I come to tell them plainly that their deeds are evil; and particularly to apply that general sentence, to say to each, 'Thou art the man!' Alas, sir, do not I know what love they had to you once? And how have many of them used you since? Why, just as every one will be used whose business it is to bring light to them that love darkness.

17. Notwithstanding, therefore, their present prejudice in my favour, I cannot see that I am likely to do that good, either at Epworth or any other place, which I may hope to do in Oxford. And yet one terrible objection lies in the way: 'Have you found it so in fact? What have you done there in fourteen years? Have not your very attempts to do good there, for want either of a particular turn of mind for the business you engaged in, or of prudence to direct you in the right method of doing it, been always unsuccessful? Nay, and brought such contempt upon you as has, in some measure, disqualified you for any future success? And are there not men in Oxford who are not only better and holier than you, but who, having preserved their reputation, and being universally esteemed, are every way fitter to promote the glory of God in that place?'

18. I am not careful to answer in this matter. It is not my part to say whether God hath done good by my hands; whether I have a particular turn of mind for this or not; and whether want of success (where our attempts did not succeed) was owing to imprudence or to other causes. But the latter part of the objection, 'that one who is despised can do no good; that without reputation a man cannot be useful,' being the stronghold of all the unbelieving, the vain-glorious, the cowardly Christians (so called), I will, by the grace of God, see what reason there is for this thus continually to exalt itself against the gospel of Christ.

19. With regard to contempt, then (under which word I include all the passions that border upon it, as hate, envy, &c.; and all the fruits that spring from it, such as calumny and persecution in all its forms), my first position, in defiance of worldly wisdom, is, Every true Christian is contemned, wherever he lives, by those who are not so, and who know him to be such; that is, in effect, by all with whom he converses; since it is impossible for light not to shine. This position I prove, both from the example of our Lord and from

His express assertion. First, from His example: If 'the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord,' then, as our Master was 'despised and rejected of men,' so will every one of His true disciples [be]. But 'the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord'; therefore, the consequence will not fail him an hair's-breadth. I prove this, secondly, from His own express assertion of this consequence: 'If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of His household? Remember' (ye that would fain forget or evade this) 'the word which I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord: if they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you.' And as for that vain hope that this belongs only to the first followers of Christ, hear ye Him: 'All these things they will do unto you, because they know not Him that sent Me.' And again, 'Because ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you.' Both the persons who are hated, the persons who hate them, and the cause of their hating them, are here set down. The hated are all that are not of the world, that know and love God; the haters are all that are of the world, that know not, love not, God: the cause of their hatred is the entire, irreconcilable difference between their designs, judgements, and affections; because these know not God, and those are determined to know and pursue nothing beside Him; these esteem and love the world, and those count it dung and dross, and singly desire the love of Christ.

20. My next position is this: Till he is thus despised, no man is in a state of salvation. And this is a plain consequence of the former; for if all that are 'not of the world' are therefore despised by those that are, then, till a man is despised, he is 'of the world'; that is, out of a state of salvation. Nor is it possible for all the trimmers between God and the world to elude the consequence; unless they can prove that a man may 'be of the world,' and yet be in a state of salvation. I must therefore, with or without the consent of these, keep close to my Saviour's judgement, and maintain that contempt is a part of the cross which every man bears who follows Him; that it is the badge of his discipleship, the stamp of his profession, the constant seal of his calling; insomuch that, though a man may be despised without being saved, yet he cannot be saved without being despised.

21. I should not spend any more words on this great truth, but that it is at present voted out of the world. The masters in Israel, learned men, men of renown, seem absolutely to have forgotten it: nay, and censure those who have not forgotten the words of their Lord, as 'setters-forth of strange doctrine.' Yet they who hearken to God rather than man must lay down one strange position more—

that the being despised is absolutely necessary to our doing good in the world: if not to our doing *some* good (for God *may* work by Judas), yet to our doing *so much* good as we otherwise might; seeing we must know God, if we would fully teach others to know Him. But if we do, we must be despised of them that know Him not. 'Where, then, is the scribe? Where is the wise? Where is the disputer of this world?' Where is the replier against God with his sage maxims, 'He that is despised can do no good in the world; to be useful a man must be esteemed; to advance the glory of God you must have a fair reputation.' Saith the world so? Well, what saith the Scripture? Why, that God 'hath laughed' all this heathen wisdom 'to scorn.' It saith that twelve despised followers of a despised Master, all of whom were esteemed 'as the filth and offscouring of the world,' did more good in it than all the twelve tribes of Israel. It saith that their despised Master left an express declaration to us and to our children: 'Blessed are ye' (not accursed with the heavy curse of doing no good, of being useless in the world) 'when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil of you falsely for My name's sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven.'

22. These are a part of my reasons for choosing to abide as yet in the station wherein I now am. As to the flock committed to your care, whom you have many years fed with the sincere milk of the word, I trust in God your labour shall not be in vain. Some of them you have seen gathered into the garner. And for yourself, I doubt not, when 'your warfare is accomplished,' when you are 'made perfect through sufferings,' you shall follow the children whom God hath given you, full of years and victories. And He that took care of those poor sheep before you was born will not forget them when you are dead.

Thur. 29.—I left London,[1] and in the evening expounded to a small company at Basingstoke.[2]

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[1] Having for his companions 'Brother Easy and the father of Victor Purdy.' In a letter to the son (Feb. 1, 1784) Wesley wrote:

> Your father was one of our first society, which met at Fetter Lane; and one of the first that found peace with God. When it was thought best that I should go to Bristol, we spent a considerable time in prayer, and then cast lots who should accompany me thither. The lot fell upon him; and he was with me day and night till he judged it proper to marry. But I had no curiosity; so that I scarce ever asked him a question concerning his birth, parents, or former way of life. I first saw him when he came to the Foundery [this surely is an error for Fetter Lane] and desired to be admitted into the society. He was a man of eminent integrity and simplicity; "fervent in zeal and warm in charity"; both in his spirit and behaviour greatly resembling Joseph Bradford' (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 113; Cennick, Moravian Letter; and *Messenger*, March 20, 1906).

[2] In the Provincial Archives at Fetter Lane are preserved letters from this point onwards until March 21, 1740. The letters are those which Wesley wrote to

Sat. 31.—In the evening I reached Bristol, and met Mr. Whitefield there. I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields, of which he set me an example on Sunday; having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin if it had not been done in a church.

Thursday 29

5¼ Singing, within, on business; 6.45 at Mrs. Stover's, Mrs. West, etc., prayer; 7.15 at James Hutton's, tea, conversed, Betty and Esther, Reed, Bray, etc., singing, prayer; 9.15 set out with Charles, etc.; 10 they went, prayer; 11 meditated, read, met a man, I conversed; 1 at Egham, dinner, conversed; 2.30 set out, conversed; 8.30 at Basingstoke, Mr. Knight's, Clive, Cowdry, etc., conversed, tea; 9.30 prayer, Bible, singing; 11.

Friday 30

5 Conversed; 5.45 set out; 6.45 Dummer, conversed with Hutch[ing]s, tea, prayer, singing; 9 set out, singing, conversed with Hutc[hings]; 10 he went, meditated, prayed; 1 Newbury, dinner, conversed; 2 set out, prayer, reading; 3 together; 3.45 at Hungerford, tea; 4.30 set out, conversed; 7 Marlborough, meditation, supper, Diary, they good time; 9 conversed, 11.

Saturday 31

5 In talk, meditated; 5.45 set out, meditated, prayer; 8.45 at Caln, tea, man swore, reproved him; 9.45 set out, meditated; 12 prayed; 1.30 at Mashfield, dinner; 3 set out; 6 prayed, horse quite tired; 7 at Bristol, at Mrs. Grevil's, G. Whitefield, etc., prayer, singing, etc.; 8 at Weavers' Hall, G. Whitefield preached, singing, prayer; 9.45 at home, conversed, supper, prayer, conversed, singing; 11.30 conversed, 12. [Whitefield wrote: 'I was much refreshed with the sight of my honoured friend, Mr. John Wesley, whom God's providence has sent to Bristol. "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace."']

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the Fetter Lane society, reporting in great detail his early work in Bristol, and including an interesting account of the journey via Basingstoke. They were mostly written on a Monday morning, and were often in the closest verbal parallelism with those briefer narratives in the Journal. Many of the letters were reprinted in the Moravian *Messenger* for 1877. The Rev. H. J. Foster was courteously allowed to see them, and to copy unpublished letters, or such extracts as might assist his purpose as an historian of early Methodism. An account of his examination, with considerable extracts, will be found in the *W.H.S. Proceedings*, vol. v. pp. 1–13. The Diary, which is here published for the first time *in extenso*, records the writing of these and other important letters.

APRIL 1, *Sun.*—In the evening, Mr. Whitefield being gone, I begun expounding our Lord's Sermon on the Mount (one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching, though I suppose there were churches at that time also) to a little society which was accustomed to meet once or twice a week in Nicholas Street.[1]

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[1] The sequence of events has been a little obscured by Wesley's phrase, 'Mr. Whitefield being gone.' Wesley arrived in Bristol on the evening of Saturday, March 31, saw Whitefield at Mrs. Grevil's, and heard Whitefield preach at Weavers' Hall. On Sunday morning, April 1, he again heard Whitefield, at the Bowling Green, and later the same morning at Hanham Mount and Rose Green; in the evening he visited the Nicholas Street society, whilst Whitefield paid his farewell visit to the Baldwin Street society. On Monday, April 2, Whitefield left Bristol for South Wales, taking Kingswood and Thornbury on his way. These details agree with all the authorities—Wesley's Journal, Whitefield's Journal, the Diary, and the Moravian Letters.

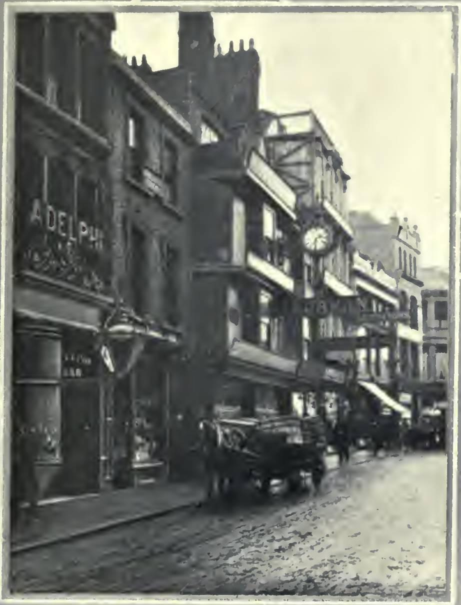
The period at which Wesley had arrived is so critical, and—because of the intense excitement under which everything was said and written during these days—so liable to misapprehension, that it seems desirable to concentrate all possible light upon the narrative. The following condensed extracts from Whitefield's Journal will help the reader to realize what was happening from day to day:

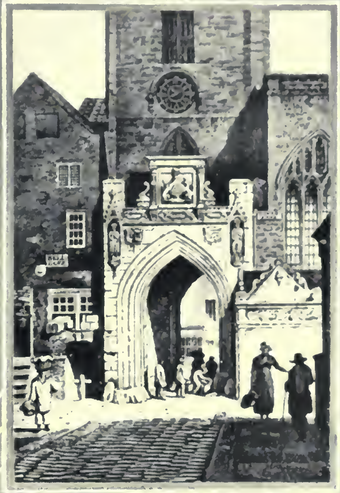
> APRIL 1, *Sun.*—Preached at the Bowling Green, Hannam, and Rose Green; at all which places the congregations were much enlarged, especially at the latter. There were twenty-four coaches, and an exceeding great number of other people, both on foot and on horseback. [This agrees with the report in the *Gentleman's Magazine.*] The wind was not so well set to carry the voice as usual; but, however, I was strengthened to cry aloud, and take my last farewell. As I was returning home, it comforted me exceedingly to hear almost every one blessing me, and wishing me a good voyage. . . . At seven I went and took my leave of Baldwin Street society; but the yard and entry to it was so exceedingly crowded that I was obliged to climb up by a ladder, and go over the tiling of another house near adjoining, before I could get to the door.
>
> APRIL 2, *Mon.*—Spent a good part of the morning in talking with those who came to take their leave; and tongue cannot express what a sorrowful parting we had. Floods of tears flowed plentifully; and my heart was so melted down that I prayed for them with strong cryings and many tears. The scene was very affecting, and, I think, must have made an impression upon the most hardened heart. About one I was obliged to force myself away. Crowds were waiting at the door to give me a last farewell, and near twenty friends accompanied me on horseback. Blessed be God for the marvellous great kindness He hath shown me in this city. Many sinners, I believe, have been effectually converted. It is unknown what numbers have come to me under convictions, and all the children of God have been exceedingly comforted.

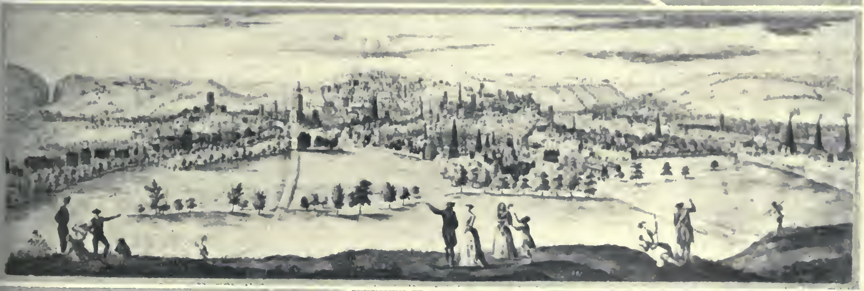
He then writes of gifts of books and money for the Orphan House sent to him, and of the poor families relieved by Mr. Seward, continuing:

> And what gives me the greatest comfort is the consideration that my dear and honoured friend Mr. Wesley is left behind to confirm those that are awakened.

Southey was impressed by the fact that the more striking psychological manifestations took place, not under the emotional and overwhelmingly eloquent preaching of Whitefield, but under the logical, expository, and eminently theological discourses of John Wesley. He cannot account for it. It is noteworthy also that not only the spoken, but even the printed word of Wesley was liable to produce these effects. See the story of John Haydon (p. 189). Whitefield called Wesley to his help, and left him in Bristol, with







1. SOUTHEY'S BIRTHPLACE, BRISTOL. 2. OLD ST. JOHN'S GATE, BRISTOL.
3. BRISTOL IN WESLEY'S DAY: SOUTH-EAST PROSPECT.

1. VIEW OF HANHAM MOUNT, BRISTOL.

2. OLD POORHOUSE 'WITHOUT LAWFORD'S GATE.' 3. THE OLD DUTCH HOUSE.

APRIL 1, *Sunday*

7 Drest, conversed, singing; 8 at the Bowling Green, G. Whitefield preached! 10 at home, singing, tea, conversed; 12.30 at Hannam Mount [Hanham is the proper spelling. Wesley always uses the popular Hannam and Connam], G. Whitefield preached; 1.45 at home, dinner; 2 at St. Peter's, prayers, sermon; 3.45 Diary, conversed; 4.15 set out, G. Whitefield preached at Rose Green; 6.45 at Mr. Allen's, tea, singing, prayer; 7.30 at Nicholas St. society, singing, etc.; 9.30 at home, conversed, supper; 11 at Mr. Deschamps', thirty there, communion, prayer, singing; 1.

the thought that he would confirm those who had been already awakened. It is doubtful whether he anticipated that such overwhelming awakenings, convictions, and conversions would follow the preaching of his scholarly friend.

Whitefield's way lay through Kingswood and Thornbury. He writes (still on Monday, April 2):

> I came about two to Kingswood, where the colliers, unknown to me, had prepared an hospitable entertainment, and were very forward for me to lay the first stone of their school. At length I complied, and a man giving me a piece of ground, in case Mr. C[reswick] should refuse to grant them any, I laid a stone, and then kneeled down on it, and prayed God that the gates of hell might not prevail against our design. The colliers said a hearty Amen; and, after I had given them a word of exhortation suitable for the occasion, I took my leave, promising that I would come amongst them again, if ever God should bring me back to England. They seemed much pleased at this, and indeed they seemed to have such an uncommon affection for me that I hope a reformation will be carried on amongst them.

A comparison of the Whitefield and Wesley records shows that at this very time John Wesley was doing two notable things: at half-past two, whilst Whitefield was being entertained by the colliers, he was writing to the brethren the first of the Fetter Lane letters—those letters which were destined to fire the zeal of the London Religious Societies; and at four o'clock, for the first time, he was submitting to the 'vileness' of preaching in the highways the glad tidings of salvation.

To continue the narrative:

> About five I [Whitefield] and my friends got safe to Thornbury, where I had appointed to preach as on this day, when I was there last. The minister, I find, was offended at my doctrine, and therefore would not lend me the pulpit again. However, there being about a thousand people waiting to hear the word. . . .

But here it may be interesting to reproduce the short letter which Whitefield wrote the next morning to his 'dear and honoured friend,' in which he describes the scene. (See facsimile, p. 209.) The letter was found in tatters, in the Colman Collection, as though it had been read and handled many times during many years:

> APRIL 3, 1739.
>
> HONOURED SIR,
>
> Yesterday I began to play the madman in Gloucestershire by preaching on a table in Thornbury Street. To-day I have exhorted twice, and by and by shall begin a third time—not[hing] like doing good by the way. I suppose you have heard of my proceedings in Kingswood. [I was] pleased to go thither and forward the good work as much as possible. I desire you would open any letters that come directed for me (if you judge me worthy); send me a line to Gloucester. I wish you all the success imaginable in your ministry, and I pray God my dear Bristol friends may grow in grace under your ministry. Parting from them has struck a little damp upon my joy. But God will quickly revisit.
>
> Honoured sir,
> Your unworthy son and servant,
> G. W.
>
> My hearty love to the brethren.

It is significant that Wesley should have opened his pastoral commission in Bristol precisely as he opened his pastoral commission on board the *Simmonds* during his voyage to Georgia—by beginning the exposition of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount.

Mon. 2.—At four in the afternoon I submitted to be more vile,[1] and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence[2] in a ground adjoining to the city, to about three thousand people. The scripture on which I spoke was this (is it possible any one should be ignorant that it is fulfilled in every true minister of Christ?), 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor. He hath sent Me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.'

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[1] 2 Sam. vi. 22. The phrase was, and long continued to be, current in Methodist circles. Whitefield uses it in a letter, May 13, 1739, imagining 'the scorn of the self-righteous bigots to see a clergyman in his gown and cassock venting his enthusiastic ravings upon a common . . . but if this is to be vile, Lord grant that I may be more vile. . . . Ye Pharisees, mock on.' Madan uses it in a letter to J. Wesley *re* the Dartmouths at Cheltenham (*Countess of Huntingdon's Life*, vol. i. p. 433). Mrs. Fletcher uses it in like connexion, Oct. 8, 1766. See in Wesley's letter to Hervey on p. 216.

[2] 'At four in the afternoon I went to a brickyard [the Diary says 'at the Glass-house'] adjoining the city, where I had an opportunity of preaching the gospel . . . from a little eminence to three or four thousand people' (Moravian letter, April 9, 1739). One of his hearers, William Webb, says explicitly, 'the brickyard at the farther end of St. Philip's plain' (*W. M. Mag.* 1862, p. 1111). For a full investigation of the locality thus indicated see *W.H.S.* vol. ii. pp. 3–8. In a later number of the *W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 32, 99, Mr. Foster publishes additional notes which clearly define persons and places. In the *Meth. Mag.* for 1807, p. 416, is an earlier version of Webb's story, contributed in a *Memoir of Mr. William Webb, of Bristol.* The old man died on Jan. 29, 1806, aged ninety-seven years, having been a member of the Methodist Society upwards of sixty years. He must have been one of the earliest members of Mr. Wesley's society. The account was written by himself. 'At the door Mr. Wesley took me by the hand, and in a very kind and *respectful* manner took his leave of me.' In the MS. Bristol Roll of 1783, in Wesley's own handwriting, is the following entry:

William }
Mary } Webb m. clerk Clifton.

A brickyard, there can now be no doubt, was the place in which Wesley preached for the first time in the open air. Mr. Foster thus describes its position: 'If any curious inquirer is interested enough to penetrate into the unattractive region of St. Philip's Marsh, and, standing at the point where Old Bread Street comes into Cheese Lane, will turn his face to the south-west, he will have, on his right hand, at some eighty or eighty-five yards along the former thoroughfare, the centre of "The Brickyard"—now entirely built over; and on his left a large, roughly triangular area, now mainly occupied by the goods-yard of the Midland Railway, but which is "The Brickfields" of the maps of Wesley's day.'

The following is Mr. Foster's last note on a question which he made his own by painstaking research, written shortly before his death:

> The all-memorable spot is pretty certainly within 'The Brickfields' of our maps. The Moravian Letter of April 30 shows that he removed on the 23rd to another brickyard 'nearer to the city,' the owner of that first occupied having refused the use of 'The Brickfields' any longer. 'The Brickyard' of the maps answers to this description, and will be 'the brickyard' in which Charles Wesley is found preaching regularly on Mondays—e.g. Sept. 3, 10, 17, 24.
>
> This second may have belonged to the husband of Charles Wesley's friend, Mrs. Norman (for whom see fully, *W.H.S.* vol. vi. pp. 106–7).

See also the *Methodist Recorder*, Winter No., 1901, where all this and much else connected with early Bristol Methodism is popularly but very accurately described by Mr. Foster himself. In a scurrilous but plainly well-informed (very scarce) pamphlet, *The Progress of Methodism in Bristol*, 1743, on p. 6 are the lines:

To whom they preached soon and late;
The fields,[1] and woods, their soul-sick state.

[1] St. Philip's Plain, Rose Green, Kingswood, &c.

At seven I began expounding the Acts of the Apostles to a society meeting in Baldwin Street; and the next day the Gospel of St. John in the chapel at Newgate,[1] where I also daily read the Morning Service of the Church.

Monday 2

7 Singing, within; 8.45 at Mrs. —— [blank possibly because he was not sure of the name], tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 10 at home, G. Whitefield read letters; 12 dinner, prayer; 1 G. Whitefield went, singing, within; 2 meditation, Diary, 2.30 writ to the brethren [the first of the letters now in the Fetter Lane Provincial Archives]; 4 at the Glasshouse, 3 or 4,000; 6 at Mrs. Norman's [Mr. Norman owned a brickyard, or possibly 'The Brickfields'], tea, conversed, singing; 7 at Baldwin St. society; singing, etc.; 9.15 at home, Easy there, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.45.

Tuesday 3

5¾ Singing, drest, writ 'orders' for the bands [it will be remembered that Whitefield, in his letter March 23, suggested that the society was ripe for bands, and left the arrangements with Wesley]; 8 tea, conversed, writ 'orders'; 10.30 Newgate, read prayers, preached, St. John, c. i.; 12.30 at home, ended 'orders'; 3 Diary, tea, conversed; 4.30 visited a sick man [a space is left underneath as though he intended to insert the name] at Mrs. Padmore's, singing, tea, conversed, prayer; 7 at Nicholas St., singing, etc.; 9 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] Abel Dagge, the keeper of Newgate, had already become a convert of Whitefield (*Countess of Huntingdon's Life*, vol. ii. pp. 357, 367–9). Dr. Johnson has immortalized Mr. Dagge in his life of the poet Savage. He cared for the unhappy poet with great humanity during his detention in Newgate, Bristol, and at his death defrayed the expense of burying him in the churchyard of St. Peter's. Dagge was amongst the first-fruits of Whitefield's ministry in Bristol prison in 1737. When Whitefield failed in his application for a pulpit to Vicar and Chancellor and Dean, the 'Keeper,' or 'Ordinary,' as he is elsewhere called, admitted him to Newgate, where he preached a sermon on the 'penitent thief,' and collected 15*s*. for the poor prisoners. (Johnson's *Life of Savage*.)

Wed. 4.—At Baptist Mills[1] (a sort of a suburb or village about half a mile from Bristol) I offered the grace of God to about fifteen hundred persons from these words: 'I will heal their backsliding; I will love them freely.'

In the evening three women[2] agreed to meet together weekly, with the same intention as those at London—viz. 'to confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another, that they may be healed.'[3] At eight four young men agreed to meet, in pursuance of the same design. How dare any man deny this to be (as to the substance of it) a means of grace, ordained by God? Unless he will affirm (with Luther in the fury of his Solifidianism) that St. James's Epistle is an epistle of straw.

Wednesday 4

6 Singing, prayed; 6.30 writ to Charles; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, writ to sister Emilia, Simpson, bro. Hall [Westley Hall], writ to Mrs. Vaughan; 10.45 Newgate, prayers, preached; 12.15 at home, conversed to Wathen [the surgeon]; 12.30 prayed; 1 writ to brother Samuel; 2 conversed; 3 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 4 at Baptist Mills, preached, 1,500 there; ! 6 at home, conversed, tea, writ to brother Samuel; 6.45 the band met (8.30) at Mr. Collett's; ! conversed, supper, prayer; 10 at home, conversed, prayer; 10.45.

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[1] Moravian Letter: 'At four in the afternoon . . . to about fifteen hundred in a plain near Baptist Mills . . . where many, if not most, of the inhabitants are Papists' (cf. an interesting incident in Charles Wesley's Journal, 1746. A child of a Papist displeased his father by saying, 'I believe it will be fair because Mr. Wesley is to preach here.' About five the rain ceased, and the child's prophecy was fulfilled). The spot is well known: a triangular space in the rear of Wesley Chapel, between the Sunday schools and the Mina Road Bridge over the Frome. The stone slab, forming the top of a horse-block, from which it was traditionally reported that Wesley habitually preached, was laid upon the foundation-stone of Wesley Chapel by Miss Hall, the aunt of the Rev. S. Romilly Hall, and the representative of a family whose earlier members were amongst the first converts in Bristol. (Cf. Journal, Oct. 23, 1779; Oct. 1, 1780.)

[2] The Moravian Letter gives the names: Mrs. Norman, Mrs. Grevil, Mrs. Panou; and the men: 'Samuel Wathen, surgeon; Richard Cross, upholsterer; Charles Bonner, distiller; Thomas Westall, carpenter.' These were two distinct meetings. The Diary shows that neither of the two meetings was held at Baptist Mills. After the open-air preaching he went home—i.e. to Mrs. Grevil's in Wine Street. She was Whitefield's sister. There he drank tea and wrote to his brother Samuel. At 6.45 the band met, consisting of the three women whose names he inserted in the letter written five days later. (For what is known of these first Bristol members, see *W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 40, 41, combined with vol. iv. p. 97, and vol. vi. pp. 106–7.)

[3] Cf. No. 1 of 'The Orders,' vol. i. p. 458.

Thur. 5.—At five in the evening I began at a society in Castle Street expounding the Epistle to the Romans; and the next evening, at a society in Gloucester Lane, the first Epistle of St. John. On Saturday evening, at Weavers' Hall[1] also I begun expounding the Epistle to the Romans; and declared that gospel to all which is the 'power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.'

Sun. 8.—At seven in the morning[2] I preached to about a thousand persons at Bristol, and afterwards to about fifteen hundred on the top of Hanham Mount[3] in Kingswood. I

Thursday 5

5¾ Prayed, singing; 6.30 corrected, read; 8 coffee, conversed; 9.30 drest, read; 10.30 Newgate, prayers, preached; 12.15 at home, return [or conversation]; 12.30 Diary, prayed; 1 writ to Esther Hopson, conversed with many; 3 at Mrs. Woodward's, Mrs. Greville, etc., tea, conversed; 4 at Mrs. Archer's, tea, conversed; 5 at Castle St. society, singing, etc.; 7 at Nicholas St., singing, etc.; 9 at home, supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 10.30.

Friday 6

5¾ Prayed, singing; 6.30 writ N.; 7.30 read *History of the Quakers*; 8 tea, conversed; 9.15 read; 10 Newgate; 12 in talk; 12.15 Diary, singing, prayed, conversed with a man, visited; 3 at Williams', man tarried, communion, tea, conversed, prayer, visited; 5 at home, writ Journal; 6 at Baldwin St., etc.; 8 at Mrs. England's, singing, etc.; 9.45 at home, supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15.

S. Matthew xxvi. 47, 59; 2 Cor. v. 10; vi. 2, etc. [These appear to be texts on which his eye alighted when he opened his Greek Testament—oracular indications, as he then believed, of providential direction.]

Saturday 7

5¾ Singing, Greek Testament, prayed; 6.30 writ Journal; 8 tea, conversed; 9 Journal; 10.15 Newgate; 12.30 Diary, at Baptist Mills, visited; 1.15 at home, read, Journal; 3 at Mrs. Smith's, conversed, prayer, tea; 4.15 at home, Journal; 5 at Mr. Steder's, conversed, prayer; 6.30 at home, conversed; 7 Weavers' Hall, singing, etc.; 9 at home, supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15.

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[1] The old Hall of the Weavers' Guild in Temple Street, now entirely gone, having been swept away in the opening of Victoria Street.

[2] 'An hour earlier than usual' (Moravian Letter).

[3] The Moravian Letter says: 'Hannam Mount, which is at least four miles distant from the town. Between 10 and 11 I began preaching . . . in a meadow on the top of the hill.' Toward the end of the month he removed, at the desire of the neighbours, 'to a little plain near Hannam Mount' (see *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 38; *Methodist Recorder* Winter No., 1901).

called to them in the words of the Evangelical Prophet, 'Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; come and buy wine and milk, without money and without price.' About five thousand were in the afternoon at Rose Green[1] (on the other side of Kingswood); among whom I stood and cried, in the name of the Lord, 'If any man thirst, let him come

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MORAVIAN LETTER[2]

Dear Brethren,

April 8, *Sunday*, about eight in the evening, Mr. Wathen and his brethren met and received several persons into their little society.

After prayer their leaders were chosen and the band fixed by lot in the order following:

I. Band. Richard Leg (haberdasher), leader, Thomas Mitchell, Charles Bonner, William Wynne, Richard Cross.

II. Band. John Palmer, leader, James Lewis, John Davis, James Smith, William Waters.

III. Band. Henry Crawley (barber), leader, Thomas Harding, John Wiggins, Samuel Wathen, Thomas Westal.

April 9, *Mon.*—At two in the afternoon Mrs. Panou and Mrs. Grevil met, together with Esther Deschamps and Mary Ann Page (Mrs. Panou's sister), whom they then received as a sister, and Esther Deschamps was by lot chosen leader of the Band, which stood as follows:

Esther Deschamps, J. Panou, M. Page, Eliz. Davis (then proposed and admitted), and Eliza. Grevil.

At five in the evening Ann Williams, Mary Reynolds, Eliz. Ryan, Esther Highnan, Frances Wilds, and Rachel England met together and agreed to meet every Sunday. Ann Williams was chosen their leader.

At eight the bands of men at the Society Room in Baldwin Street met and received into fellowship with them William Lewis, James Robins, Kenelm Chandler, Anthony Williams, and Thomas Robins.

[The rest of the letter is published in the Moravian *Messenger* for 1877.]

Sunday 8

6¼ Singing, drest; 7 at the Bowling Green, preached; 8 at home, tea, conversed, Diary, drest; 9.30 set out with Mr. Deschamps; 10.30 at Hannam, preached; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps, dinner, conversed; 2 at S. Peter's, prayers, sermon; 4.15 at Rose Green, preached, prayer; 6.15 at Baldwin Street, singing, etc.; 8 at home, supper, with the bands, lots, prayer [this means the appointment of leaders by lot].

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[1] Moravian Letter: 'On Rose Green, which is a plain upon the top of a high hill, are several small hills where the old coal-pits were. On the edge of one of these I stood in the afternoon.' The small hills were the heaps of spoil from the coal-pits. See *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 38, for the precise location of these spots. A Mrs. Blewitt heard one of his early sermons at Rose Green (*Arm. Mag.* 1793, p. 43).

[2] A Moravian Letter gives vivid descriptions of the crowd in the evening at Baldwin Street.

unto Me and drink. He that believeth on Me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.'[1]

Tues. 10.—I was desired to go to Bath; where[2] I offered to about a thousand souls the free grace of God to 'heal their backsliding'; and in the morning to (I believe) more than two thousand. I preached to about the same number at Baptist Mills in the afternoon on, 'Christ, made of God unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.'

Monday 9

6 Singing, prayed; 6.30 writ to Fetter Lane; 8 tea, conversed, singing; 9 writ; 10.30 at Newgate; 12.15 at home, prayed, on business; 1 writ to James Hutton, Edmonds, to Charles; 2 dinner, Mrs. Deschamps' band, within, prayer; 3 conversed with soldiers, prayer; 3.30 at Mr. Vauthry's, conversed; 4 at The Brickyard, preached, 4,000; 5 at Mrs. Williams' band, within, prayer; 6.45 ate, conversed; 6.15 visited; 6.30 at home, writ; 7 at Nicholas St., singing, etc.; 9 at home, writ; 9 30 supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.

Tuesday 10

6 Prayed, singing; 6.30 Journal; 8 tea, within; 9 Journal; 10 Newgate; 12 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 1 set out with Mrs. Grevile, Mr. Desch[amp]s; 4 at Bath, the Three Cups, John Feachem, tea, conversed; 5 in the Meadow, preached, 2,000 [in the text 'about a thousand']; 6.30 at Jo's [i.e. John Feachem's], conversed, singing; 7 preached in Gracious St. [the steps upon which he stood are still to be seen in Walcot Street], prayer; 8.30 at the inn, conversed, Gr. Jones, supper, conversed, read Journal; 11 prayer; 11.15.

Wednesday 11

6 Together, singing, prayer; 8.15 Mr. Chapman [probably Rev. William Chapman, one of the Oxford Methodists, friend of Hervey, in Bath from 1736: see a letter from Hervey (Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 208). It was his horse Wesley was to ride as far as Dummer on this first visit to Bristol. On Wednesday the 11th he went with Wesley to the Meadow and rode with him out of the city], tea, conversed, he went; (10) in the Meadow, preached, prayer, (12.15) set out

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[1] Reference has previously been made in a footnote to these letters (see p. 166), some of which are now given more fully.

[2] In 'a meadow on the side of a hill close to the town; so that they could see us from Lady Cox's in the [Queen] Square very plainly' (Moravian Letter, April 16, 1739, which adds many more details of great interest). Later on he preached (e.g. July 17) in Richard Merchant's field. The 'meadow' is now covered by The Circus and The Park (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 9).

Sat. 14.—I preached at the Poor-house[1]; three or four hundred were within, and more than twice that number without: to whom I explained those comfortable words, 'When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both.'

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with him, horse fell; 3.30 at Mrs. England's, conversed, tea; 4 Baptist Mills, preached, prayer; 5.30 visited; 6 at Mr. Walrin's, tea, together, prayed; 7 at home, the female bands, conversed, prayer; 8 Baldwin St., the male bands; 9 at home, supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15.

Thursday 12

Prayed, singing; 6.30 writ account of the bands; 8 tea, Mrs. Norman, Mrs. Woodward, Mr. Sadire, within; 12.15 walked; 12.45 at Mr. Willis's, singing, conversed; 1.30 dinner; 2.30 walked to Rose Green; 3.45 at home, at Mr. Thomas', Mr. Collet, etc., conversed, tea; 5.30 Castle St. society; 7.15 Nicholas St. society, singing, prayer: Λ [cipher signs: probable meaning, 'twelve convinced']; 9 at home, Diary, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Friday 13

5¾ Drest, prayers; 6.30 at Mr. Tucker's [Dean Tucker: see below, p. 245], within; 2 at home, tea, conversed, Journal, prayed, read; 1 Mrs. Thornhill [wife of Dr. Thornhill, of Bristol Infirmary: see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 11, and Journal, July 1, 1739] and six more, conversed to each [this means that he talked seriously to each: spelt out literally it would be 'sat to each']; 3 at Mrs. Iscock's, tea, conversed; 4.15 at Mr. Labbe's, Mr. Badshaw [*sic*], etc., conversed, tea; 5.45 Baldwin St., singing, etc. . . [. . this may mean that 'two' were seriously affected. At the end of the line he repeats the sign, adding a cross +]; 7.45 at Mrs. England's, singing, etc.; 9.15 at home, supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.45.

Saturday 14

5¾ Drest; 6 prayers; 6.45 writ to Mr. Tucker; 8 tea, conversed; 9 Journal; 11 Mr. Taylor, etc.; 12.15 at Mrs. Thornhill's, conversed with Misses; 12 at home, conversed with Wathen, he convinced; conversed with Mrs. ——, Diary; ! 2 dinner, conversed with many;

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[1] The Moravian Letters show more clearly than the Journal that he preached frequently, on Saturdays, at 'the Poor-house without Lawford's Gate,' the battered remains of which are shown in a illustration on p. 170. An isolated visit to it is noted in the Journal under Oct. 3, 1778. Whitefield had begun this Saturday workhouse preaching on Feb. 24 (see *W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 39–40). For want of local knowledge Tyerman goes astray as to this Poor-house preaching (Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 183).

Sun. 15.—I explained at seven to five or six thousand persons the story of the Pharisee and the Publican. About three thousand were present at Hanham Mount.[1] I preached at Newgate after dinner to a crowded congregation. Between five and six we went to Rose Green: it rained hard at Bristol, but not a drop fell upon us, while I declared to about five thousand, 'Christ, our wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.' I concluded the day by showing at the society in Baldwin Street that 'His blood cleanseth us from all sin.'

Tues. 17.[2]—At five in the afternoon I was at a little society in the Back Lane.[3] The room in which we were was propped

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3 at Mrs. Gibs' [Mr. Gibbs, the Rector of St. Mary's, Redcliffe], he will not let me preach [in his church]; 4 at the Poor-house, preached, prayer; 5.15 at John Williams', tea, conversed, singing; 7 at Weavers' Hall, singing, etc.; 9 at home, conversed, supper, prayer, 11.30.

Sunday 15

7 At the Bowling Green; 8.30 tea, conversed; 9.30 set out with Deschamps; 10.30 Hannam; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner, conversed, singing; 1.30 at home, within; 2 Newgate, read prayers, preached; 3.45 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 4 set out; 4.30 Rose Green; 6 at Mrs. England's, singing, etc.; 8.45 at Mr. Allen's, conversed; 8 at home, the women's (9) lovefeast; nine there, prayer, singing, etc., singing, prayer; 11.

Monday 16

6 Prayer, Journal; conversed with Quaker; 11.15 writ to Fetter Lane; 1.45 spoke to many; 3.30 within; 4 at the Brickyard; 5.30 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed, singing; 6 at Mrs. England's, tea, the new band; 7 at Nicholas St.; 9 Diary; 9.30 Mrs. Page, etc., ate, singing, prayer, singing; 12.

Tuesday 17

6 Prayer, Journal; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 Journal; 10 ⋔ Newgate, christened Lucretia Smith; 12.30 prayer with the condemned men; 1 at home, prayer with Lucretia Smith, conversed with her, with many; 3 the new female band, conversed, prayer; 3.45

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[1] It rained heavily, 'therefore I stood near the door of the house, in which we put the women' (Moravian Letter).

[2] 'At three in the afternoon eleven unmarried women met at Mrs. Grevil's and desired three others might be admitted among them. They were then divided into three bands' (Moravian Letter).

[3] 'Where I had not been before' (Moravian Letter). Now the Old Market Street end of Jacob Street. John Haydon lived in Back Lane.

beneath, but the weight of people made the floor give way; so that in the beginning of the expounding the post which propped it fell down with a great noise. But the floor sank no further; so that, after a little surprise at first, they quietly attended to the things that were spoken.

Thence I went to Baldwin Street and expounded, as it came in course, the fourth chapter of the Acts. We then called upon God to confirm His word. Immediately one that stood by[1] (to our no small surprise) cried out aloud, with the utmost vehemence, even as in the agonies of death. But we continued in prayer till 'a new song was put in her mouth, a thanksgiving unto our God.' Soon after, two other persons[2] (well known in this place, as labouring to live in all good conscience towards all men) were seized with strong pain, and constrained to 'roar for the disquietness of their heart.' But it was not long before they likewise burst forth into praise to God their Saviour. The last who called upon God, as out of the belly of hell, was J[ohn] E[llis], a stranger in Bristol. And in a short space he also was overwhelmed with joy and love, knowing that God had healed his backslidings. So many living witnesses hath God given that His hand is still 'stretched out to heal,' and that 'signs and wonders are even now wrought by His holy child Jesus.'

Wed. 18.—In the evening L[ucretia] S[mith][3] (late a Quaker, but baptized the day before), R—a M——,[4] and a few others,

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tea; 4 prayer with them, lots; 5 at a society in the Lane [? Back Lane]; 7 Baldwin St., singing, etc.; 9 Miss Cornish and three more, prayer, singing; 10 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.30. !

Wednesday 18

5½ Singing, drest; 6 prayers, conversed with two; 7 Journal; 8.15 tea, Miss Cornish, etc., singing, conversed; 9 writ to G. Whitefield, were admitted into the society. But R—a M—— was scarcely able either to speak or look up. 'The sorrows of death compassed' her 'about, the pains of hell got hold upon' her. We poured out our complaints before God, and showed Him of her trouble. And He soon showed He is a God 'that heareth prayer.' She felt in herself that, 'being justified freely, she had peace with God, through Jesus Christ.' She 'rejoiced in hope of the glory of God,' and 'the love of God was shed abroad in her heart.'

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[1] 'A young woman named Cornish.'

[2] 'Elizabeth Holder' and 'one James Worlock.'

[3] 'A Quaker gentlewoman' (Cennick). Charles Wesley was greatly interested in her case. 'Poor, despairing Lucretia' (Sept. 4, 1739). He mentions her again, Sept. 16, 1739. John Wesley also mentions her in letters to Miss Furley, Oct. 21, 1757; to Miss E. Baker, Sept. 16, 1788: 'Lucretia Smith, a young gentlewoman of our society here' (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 121). See her return of distress and unbelief, below, p. 410.

[4] Perhaps Rebecca Mann, from whom a letter to John Wesley appears in an early number of the *Arm. Mag.*

Fri. 20.—Being Good Friday, E—th R—n, T[amagel] W[illiam]s, and one or two others first knew they had redemption in the blood of Christ, the remission of their sins.

Sat. 21.—At Weavers' Hall a young man was suddenly

Seward, Mitchell; 10 Newgate; 12.15 prayed, conversed to many; 3.15 tea, conversed; 4 Baptist Mills, 2,500; 5.15 at Mr. Evans', in talk, tea; 6 at home, with the women; 7 with their bands, one received! [i.e. one received the witness]; 8 Baldwin Street, at the bands; 10 at home, supper, prayer; 11.15.

Thursday 19

6¾ Singing, writ answer to Mr. Tucker's *Queries*; 8 tea, answer; 10 Newgate; 12 at home, meditation, prayer; 12.30 conversed to one [spoke seriously to one], prayer; 12.45 prayed; 1 Anthony Purvor, conversed; 1.30 visited one sick; 2 Diary, conversed with many; 3 tea, conversed with the condemned; 4.30 writ, Grif[fith] Jones, at Castle St.; 7 Nicholas St.; 9 at home, supper, conversed, in prayer; 11.

Good Friday [20]

6 Prayed; 6.30 ended [letter] to Mr. Tucker; 8 writ N.; 9 singing, prayer; 10 All Saints', prayers, sermon, communion; 1.15 at home, singing, prayer; 2 St. Philip's, prayers, sermon; 3.30 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, within, singing; 5 Baldwin St., Mrs. Thornhill; 7 Lawford's Gate, Samuel Goodson, Ann Holton; 9 at home, singing, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Easter Eve, 21

6 Prayed; 6.30 writ to Charles, James Hutton, West; 8 tea, writ to Mrs. Stover, on business; 10.45 at Mrs. Thornhill's; 11 at our society, read letters, etc.; 1 at Madame Deschamps', within to Mr. and Mrs. Elliot; 2 Baldwin St.; 4 at the Poor-house; 5 at Anthony Williams's, tea; 5.30 at our society; 7.30 Weavers' Hall; 9.30 at home, conversed, supper, singing, prayer; 10.30.

seized with a violent trembling all over, and in a few minutes, the sorrows of his heart being enlarged, sunk down to the ground. But we ceased not calling upon God, till He raised him up full of 'peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.'

On Easter Day, it being a thorough rain, I could only preach at Newgate at eight in the morning and two in the afternoon, in a house near Hanham Mount at eleven, and in one near Rose Green at five. At the society in the evening many were cut to the heart, and many comforted.

Mon. 23.—On a repeated invitation, I went to Pensford, about five miles from Bristol. I sent to the minister to ask leave to preach in the church; but, having waited some time and received no answer,[1] I called on many of the people who were gathered together in an open place, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.' At four in the afternoon there were above three thousand, in a convenient place near Bristol,[2] to whom I declared, 'The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.'

Easter Day, 22

6½ Drest, meditation; 7.15 Newgate; 8.30 at home, tea, conversed; 9 set out with Mr. Deschamps; 10.30 Hannam; 1 at Mr. Deschamps, dinner; 2 Newgate; 4.45 at Mr. Willis's, rain, preached, prayer; 6.30 Nicholas St. . . +; 9 at home, supper; 10 conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Monday 23

5¾ Drest; 6 prayers, at Oldfield's, tea, singing, conversed; 8 set out with Wathen and twenty, singing, conversed; 10.30 at Pensford, singing in the street; in the house, singing; 11.30 in the market-place, singing, prayer, preached; 1.15 set out, conversed; 3.15 at home, drest, at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; at his Brickyard [Mr. Norman's], preached, 4,000, conversed with one at Mrs. England's lovefeast, tea, conversed, singing; 7.15 Nicholas St. . . +; 9 at home, supper, singing, prayer; 10.30.

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[1] 'Being neither able to get into the church nor the churchyard, we began singing praise to God in the street. Much people gathered about us, with whom we removed to the market-place, where from the top of a wall I called to them in the name of our Master, "If any man . . ."' (Moravian Letter).

[2] 'Another brickyard, and a little nearer the city' (Moravian Letter).

I preached at Bath to about a thousand[1] on *Tuesday* morning, and at four in the afternoon to the poor colliers, at a place about the middle of Kingswood, called Two-Mile-Hill.[2] In the evening, at Baldwin Street, a young man,[3] after a sharp (though short) agony, both of body and mind, found his soul filled with peace, knowing in whom he had believed.

Wed. 25.—To above two thousand at Baptist Mills I explained that glorious scripture (describing the state of every true believer in Christ—every one who by faith is born of God), 'Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again unto fear, but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.'

Tuesday 24

4½ Drest, at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 5.45 set out with him, meditation; 7.45 Bath, at Mr. Dibble's, tea, conversed; 9 in the field, preached, prayer; 10.15 at Jo's [John Feachem's], conversed, settled the bands; 11.30 at Mr. Dibble's,[4] preached; 12.30 ate, conversed; 1.15 set out; 3.30 at Two-Mile-Hill, within; 4 preached, at the place [i.e. on the site] of the School; 6.45 at home; 7 at Mrs. Thornhill's, conversed with Becky; 7.15 Baldwin St. Λ, Bush received! 9.30 at home; 10 supper, prayer; 11.

Wednesday 25

6 Singing, writ upon Predestination; 8 tea, writ; 10.30 Newgate; 12½ walked with Purdy [with him as assistant, secretary, etc.] and Anthony Williams, within; 1.45 French-Hay [Frenchay], at Anthony Purvor's, dinner, conversed; 3 he walked with us, conversed; 4 Baptist Mills; 5.30 at home, conversed with many; 6.30 tea; 7 with the women, prayer, singing, at Mrs. Thornhill's, conversed at our society; 9.15 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] 'In the meanwhile the rain kept the congregation small. After preaching we read over the Rules [see vol. i. pp. 458–9] and fixed two bands, one of men and one of women.'

[2] 'After preaching we went to the stone which our brother Whitefield laid [April 2]. I think it cannot be better placed; 'tis just in the middle of the Wood, two miles every way from either church or school. I wish he would write to me positively and decisively that for this reason he would have the first school there, or as near it as possible' (Moravian Letter).

[3] John Bush.

[4] 'A grey-headed old man, one Dibble, a silversmith, at eleven, gladly received me into his house, where I preached . . . at the window of an upper room, to those in the yard and street as well as the household' (Moravian Letter).

Thur. 26.—While I was preaching at Newgate on these words, 'He that believeth hath everlasting life,' I was insensibly led, without any previous design, to declare strongly and explicitly that God willeth 'all men to be' thus 'saved'; and to pray that, 'if this were not the truth of God, He would not suffer the blind to go out of the way; but, if it were, He would bear witness to His word.'[1] Immediately one, and another, and another sunk to the earth; they dropped on every side as thunderstruck. One of them cried aloud. We besought God in her behalf, and He turned her heaviness into joy. A second being in the same agony, we called upon God for her also; and He spoke peace unto her soul. In the evening I was again pressed in spirit to declare that 'Christ gave Himself a ransom for all.' And almost before we called upon Him to set His seal, He answered. One was so wounded by the sword of the Spirit that you would have imagined she could not live a moment. But immediately His abundant kindness was showed, and she loudly sang of His righteousness.

Thursday 26

6 Prayed; 6.30 writ to Fetter Lane; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 writ; 10.30 Newgate; 12 appealed to G[od] concerning Predestination, Ann Davis; ! 1 at home, conversed, Diary, dinner, conversed with many; 3.30 at Mr. Page's, Mrs. Iscock, conversed, tea; 4.30 at Mrs. Rian's, conversed, prayer; 5 Castle St. ∧; 7 Nicholas St., Hannah Cox; 9.15 at home, conversed with Miss Gregory, with them, ! conversed, prayer; 11 slept; 12 the Fire, singing; 12.15.

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[1] See Whitefield's letters as to this Arminian and 'free grace' teaching and sermon, June 25, 1739, and July 2, 1739; Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 252; *Wesley*, vol. i. p. 312.

I was now in some doubt how to proceed. Our dear brethren, before I left London, and our brother Whitefield here, and our brother Chapman since, had conjured me to enter into no disputes—least of all concerning 'Predestination,' because his people were so deeply prejudiced for it. The same was my own inclination. But this evening (the 26th) I received a long letter, almost a month after date, charging me roundly with 'resisting and perverting' the truth as it is in Jesus, by preaching against God's decree of Predestination. I had not done so yet; but I question whether I ought not now to declare the whole counsel of God, especially since the letter had long been handed about in Bristol before it was sealed and brought to me, together with another wherein also the writer exhorts his friends to avoid me as a false teacher [below, May 2]. However, I thought it best to walk gently, and so said nothing this day. But 'the lot' on the 25th said 'Preach and Print,' and the sermon on 'free grace' was published.—Letter to James Hutton, May 8, 1739 (*Messenger*, 1877, p. 99).

An earlier letter, April 30, says that Purdy had pressed for an anti-Calvinist declaration, and his persistency led to the use of the lot on this occasion.

Fri. 27.—All Newgate rang with the cries of those whom the word of God cut to the heart; two of whom were in a moment filled with joy, to the astonishment of those that beheld them.

Sun. 29.—I declared the free grace of God to about four thousand people from those words, 'He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?' At that hour it was that one who had long continued in sin, from a despair of finding mercy, received a full, clear sense of His pardoning love, and power to sin no more. I then went to Clifton, a mile from Bristol, at the minister's desire,[1] who was dangerously ill, and thence returned to a little plain, near Hanham Mount, where about three thousand were present. After dinner I went to Clifton again. The church was quite full at the prayers and sermon, as was the churchyard at the burial

Friday 27

6 Prayed; 6.30 writ to Bro. Bray, Nowers, G. Chapman; 8 tea, conversed, writ to Newman, Waldron, Park, Oxlee; 10.15 Newgate, Mary Robinson, and [blank], visited; 2 at home, conversed to many; 3.15 tea, conversed; 4 at Mrs. Hodges' [the wife of the Rev. Mr. Hodges, who was buried on May 24], tea, conversed, prayer; 5 at Baldwin St. ∧ [con]; 7 at Lawford's Gate; 9 at Mrs. Labbe's, supper, conversed, tea; 10.45 at home, conversed to Mrs. Grevil; 12.

Saturday 28

6 Prayers, prayed; 6.30 sermon upon Predestination; 8 tea, conversed, sermon; 10.15 Newgate; 12.30 at home, meditation, prayer; 1 dinner, conversed with many; 2.15 sermon; 3 at Mrs. Williams's, many tarried, communion; 4 at the Poor-house; 5.15 visited; 5.30 at home, sermon; 6 at Mr. Jones's, tea, conversed; 7 Weavers' Hall; 9 at home, supper, conversed, writ sermon; 11.

Sunday 29

5½ Prayed, writ; 7 Bowling Green, 'Free Grace,' 4,000; 8 tea at Clifton, married four; 10.30 Hannam, 3,000; 12 visited; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner, Clifton, read prayers, preached; 4.30 Rose Green, Gal. iii. 22, 7,000; 6 at Mrs. England's, tea, conversed; 7.30 singing, etc.; 8.30 at our lovefeast; 10 at home, conversed; 11.

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[1] The minister (see *W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 153-4) was the Rev. John Hodges (not he of Wenvoe). 'By all I have heard, I think Mrs. Hodges would be a useful acquaintance to you, as she has been an inhabitant of the place for a great while' (Mrs. Delany to her sister Anne—Mrs. Dewes—who was staying at Clifton in Dec. 1760). Mr. Hodges died on May 21, 1739.

which followed. From Clifton we went to Rose Green, where were, by computation, near seven thousand, and thence to Gloucester Lane society. After which was our first lovefeast in Baldwin Street. Oh how has God renewed my strength! who used ten years ago to be so faint and weary with preaching *twice* in one day!

Mon. 30.—We understood that many[1] were offended at the cries of those on whom the power of God came; among whom was a physician,[2] who was much afraid there might be fraud or imposture in the case. To-day one whom he had known many years was the first (while I was preaching in Newgate) who broke out 'into strong cries and tears.' He could hardly believe his own eyes and ears. He went and stood close to her, and observed every symptom, till great drops of sweat ran down her face and all her bones shook. He then knew not what to think, being clearly convinced it was not fraud nor yet any natural disorder. But when both her soul and body were healed in a moment, he acknowledged the finger of God.

MAY 1, *Tues.*—Many were offended again, and, indeed, much more than before. For at Baldwin Street my voice could scarce be heard amidst the groanings of some and the

Monday 30

6¼ Prayed; 6.30 writ to Fetter Lane; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 writ; 10.15 Newgate, Mary Robinson and Mrs. Davis; 12.15 writ, conversed; 12.30 prayed; 1 at Mr. Farley's [his Bristol printer], in talk; 2 dinner; 2.45 at home, conversed to many; 4 Brickyard, Tree Green, two struck, one comforted; 5.30 visited two; 6.15 at home ! writ to Edmonds, Hodges; 7 Nicholas St.; 9 at Mr. Bull's, Labbe there, conversed, supper, prayer; 10.30 at home, Mrs. Norman, etc., prayer, singing; 11.15.

MAY 1, *Tuesday*

6½ Prayer, writ to Mrs. Fox, Compton; 8 tea, (8.45) writ to Mears, Sarah Hurst, Mrs. Robinson, Mills; 10.15 Newgate, prayer; 12.30 writ to Bro. Thompson; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 conversed; 2.15 walked, read Vau[ghan] Powell; 3.30 at Two-Mile-Hill, prayers; 4 walked, visited, Vau. Powell; 5 at the Back Lane, singing, etc.; 7 at Baldwin Street, ten received; 9.30 supper, conversed, singing; 11. !

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[1] Including Abel Dagge, the Keeper (see Moravian Letter on next page).

[2] 'Who wishes well to the cause of God.' Perhaps the well-known Dr. Middleton, of Charles Wesley's Journal. (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 14.)

cries of others, calling aloud to Him that is 'mighty to save.' I desired all that were sincere of heart to beseech with me the Prince exalted for us, that He would 'proclaim deliverance to the captives.' And He soon showed that He heard our voice. Many of those who had been long in darkness saw the dawn of a great light; and ten persons, I afterwards found, then began to say in faith, 'My Lord and my God.'

A Quaker, who stood by, was not a little displeased at the dissimulation of those creatures, and was biting his lips and knitting his brows, when he dropped down as thunderstruck. The agony he was in was even terrible to behold. We besought God not to lay folly to his charge. And he soon lifted up his head, and cried aloud, 'Now I know thou art a prophet of the Lord.'

MORAVIAN LETTER

Mr. James Hutton, Bookseller, near Temple Bar, London

BRISTOL,
May 7, 1739.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,

We understood on Monday that the Keeper of Newgate was much offended at the cries of the people on whom the power of God came; and so was a physician who wishes well to the cause of God, but feared there might be some fraud or delusion in the case. To-day one who had been his patient and his acquaintance for many years was seized in the same manner. At first he would hardly believe his own eyes and ears; but when her pangs redoubled, so that all her bones shook, he knew not what to think; and when she recovered in a moment and sang praise, he owned it was the finger of God.

Another that sat close to Mr. Dagge, a middle-aged woman, was seized at the same time. Many observed the tears trickle down his cheeks; and I trust he will be no more offended.

MAY 1, *Tues.*—I went to the colliers in the middle of Kingswood, and prayed with them (several being in tears) in a place formerly a cock-pit: near which it was agreed to build the School-house, being close to the place where the stone was laid by our brother Whitefield. Many were offended at Baldwin Street in the evening; for the power of God came mightily upon us. Many who were in heaviness received the comforts of the Holy One, and ten persons remission of sins. A Quaker who stood by me was very angry, and was biting his lips and knitting his brows, when the Spirit of God came upon him also, so that he fell down as one dead. We prayed over him, and he soon lifted up his head with joy, and joined with us in thanksgiving.

Wed. 2.—Another mourner received comfort at Newgate. We afterwards went to a neighbouring house to read a letter wrote against me as a false teacher, for opposing predestination. A rigid asserter of it was present when a young woman came in (who had received remission of sins) all in tears, and in deep anguish of spirit. She said she had been in torment all night by reasoning, and verily believed the devil had possession of her again. In the midst of our prayers she cried out, 'He is gone; he is gone. I again rejoice in God my Saviour.' Just as we rose from giving

Wed. 2.—At Newgate another mourner was comforted. I was desired to step thence to a neighbouring house, to see a letter wrote against me, as a 'deceiver of the people,' by teaching that God 'willeth *all men* to be saved.' One who

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thanks, another young woman reeled four or five steps, and then dropped down. We prayed with her. She is now in deep poverty of spirit groaning day and night for a new heart.

I did not mention that one, John Haydon, a weaver, was quite enraged with what had occurred at Baldwin Street. [Then follows substantially and very closely the account in printed Journal.]

The female bands met at seven, and a young woman complaining of blasphemous thoughts and an inability to pray, we began praying for her. During which another young woman (Miss Cutler) fell into a strong agony, and received power, in a few minutes, to cry out 'My Lord and my God.'

The next day I visited Anthony Purver (a Quaker) at French-hay,[1] with whom was a Dutchman, lately arrived from Ireland, who, I verily think, is full of the Spirit, and breathes nothing but Jesus Christ.

On Friday evening, at Gloucester Lane society, a woman received remission of sins.

Sat. 5.—Six Quakers, three from Ireland, one from the north, and two from French-hay, met six of us by appointment. We prayed together, and our hearts were much enlarged toward one another. At four (being forbid to preach any more at the Poor-house), I preached at the Bowling [Green] to about 2,000 (at the request of an unknown friend): 'Be still, and know that I am God.'

[Sunday follows the Journals closely, and the letter concludes, 'O my dear, dear Brethren, pray that when I have preached to others, I may not myself be a castaway.']

Wednesday 2

6 Prayer; 6.30 writ sermon; 8 tea, conversed; 8.45 sermon; 9.30 within; 10.15 Newgate, one comforted; 12.30 at Mrs. Page's, Jenny Worlock comforted, prayer, singing; 1.30 at John Haydon's, he very ill, prayer, he well; ! 3.30 Baptist Mills, at Mrs. Shell's, tea, conversed; 4

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[1] French-hay was, and still is, a place of resort for the Quakers of Bristol. It was the home of Anthony Purver, for whom see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* and *W.H.S.* vol. iv. pp. 49, 50. Anthony Purver published *A New and Literal Translation of all the Books of the Old and New Testaments, with notes critical and explanatory* (London, 1764, 2 vols. folio). Information respecting him may be found in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ix. p. 739. In a Fetter Lane letter, dated April 30, Wesley says: 'Wed. 24, I dined at French-hay, about four miles from Bristol, at Anthony Purver's, one of much experience in the ways of God.' It was Purver's custom, when dealing with a difficult passage, to shut himself up for several days until, after prayer and fasting, he believed himself to have received a divinely-given interpretation. When Wesley visited him he had recently settled in French-hay, having married, in 1739, Rachel Cotterill, the mistress of a girls' boarding-school in the village. The Dutch Quaker was probably Garrett van Hassen. Charles Wesley met him in Dublin, Oct. 7, 1748. (*Friends' Hist. Soc.*, July 1906, and perhaps also Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 123; see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 254.)

long had asserted the contrary was there, when a young woman [Jenny Worlock] came in (who could say before, 'I know that *my* Redeemer liveth') all in tears, and in deep anguish of spirit. She said she had been reasoning with herself how these things could be, till she was perplexed more and more; and she now found the Spirit of God was departed from her. We began to pray, and she cried out, 'He is come! He is come! I again rejoice in God *my* Saviour.' Just as we rose from giving thanks, another person reeled four or five steps, and then dropped down. We prayed with her, and left her strongly convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for deliverance.

I did not mention one J[oh]n H[aydo]n,[1] a weaver, who was

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preached, 2,000, rain; 5 at J. Haydon's, prayer; 4.30 at Mr. Whiteh[ead]'s, conversed, singing, tea, Mrs. Thornhill, etc.; 7 at the female bands, singing, prayer, Miss Cutler, rd [probably 'received,' i.e. 'pardon,' or 'justification,' or 'the witness']; 8.15 visited; 8.30 Baldwin St.; 9.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11 rtn ['return' or 'conversation'] to Mrs. Grevil's; 11.45.

[The signs 'rtn' appear to have a double meaning: in some instances 'return' best fits into the context; in others 'conversation.']

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[1] Without attempting to account for such cases as that of John Haydon and others, it may be remarked: (1) They were not 'extravagances of the Methodists,' as Southey styled them. The first Methodist society was not then formed; and of the three Methodist clergymen then acting in concert, the ministry of Whitefield and Charles Wesley was, as Southey himself points out, free from these extraordinary results. The subjects of violent paroxysms were in part members of the Religious Societies of Bristol, who, as such, were members of the Church of England; and, in part, strangers present through mere curiosity, or to observe, expose, and oppose. (2) These scenes attended Wesley's preaching only for a short period in a prolonged ministry. (3) Similar phenomena appeared in other revivals unconnected with Methodism. At Stewarton, Scotland, as far back as A.D. 1630, the converts were so visibly affected that the affection was called by the profane the 'Stewarton sickness.' At Cambuslang and Kilsyth, in 1741, exactly similar results followed the preaching of the parish ministers. About 1735 a revival took place at Northampton, New England, an account of which was published by Jonathan Edwards (see above, p. 80). Many cases of loud outcries and physical prostration occurred during the movement. In the Ulster Revival of 1859, chiefly but not exclusively amongst the Presbyterians, the 'stricken cases' were so numerous that the *Times*, *Standard*, and other London newspapers sent special correspondents to report, and scientists employed their skill in the investigation of the phenomena. (See *Historical Collections*, by Dr. Gillies; and, for the Ulster Revival, see *Report on the State of Religion* of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church, 1859, in *Banner of Ulster*; and *Revival in Ulster*, by Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London; also McCullagh's *Sir William M'Arthur*, a biography, pp. 71, 72.)

at Baldwin Street the night before. He was (I understood) a man of a regular life and conversation, one that constantly attended the public prayers and sacrament, and was zealous for the Church and against Dissenters of every denomination. Being informed that people fell into strange fits at the societies, he came to see and judge for himself. But he was less satisfied than before; insomuch that he went about to his acquaintance, one after another, till one in the morning, and laboured above measure to convince them it was a delusion of the devil. We were going home, when one met us in the street, and informed us that John Haydon was fallen raving mad. It seems he had sat down to dinner, but had a mind first to end a sermon he had borrowed on 'Salvation by Faith.' In reading the last page[1] he changed colour, fell off his chair, and began screaming

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[1] The paragraph was the following: 'For this reason the adversary so rages whenever salvation by faith is declared to the world; for this reason did he stir up earth and hell to destroy those who first preached it; and for the same reason, knowing that faith alone could overturn the foundations of his kingdom, did he call forth his forces and employ all his arts of lies and calumny to affright Martin Luther from reviving it.' The quotation is not from a sermon preached by a fiery evangelist to a street mob, but from the great sermon Wesley preached in the University Church of Oxford.

In a letter to his brother Samuel only a few days after the occurrence (May 10, 1739) he writes:

> I am one of many witnesses of this matter of fact: that God does now make good His promise daily, very frequently during a representation (how made I know not, but not to the outward eye) of Christ, either hanging on the cross or standing on the right hand of God. This I know to be of God, because from that hour the person so affected is a new creature, both as to his inward tempers and outward life. 'Old things are passed away and all things become new.'
>
> A very late instance of this I will give you. While we were praying at the society here on Tuesday, 1st inst., the power of God (so I call it) came so mightily among us that one, and another, and another fell down as thunderstruck. In that hour many that were in deep anguish of spirit were all filled with peace and joy. Ten persons, till then in sin, doubt, and fear, found such a change that sin hath no more dominion over them; and, instead of the spirit of fear, they are now filled with that of love, and joy, and a sound mind. A Quaker who stood by was very angry at them; and was biting his lips and knitting his brows, when the Spirit of God came upon him also, so that he fell down as one dead. We prayed over him, and he soon lifted up his head with joy and joined with us in thanksgiving.
>
> A bystander, one John Haydon, was quite enraged at this; and, being unable to deny something supernatural in it, laboured beyond measure to convince all his acquaintance that it was a delusion of the devil. I was met in the street next day by one who informed me that John Haydon was fallen raving mad. It seems he had sat down to dinner, but wanted first to make an end of a sermon he was reading. At the last page he suddenly changed colour, fell off his chair, and began screaming terribly and beating himself against the ground. I found him on the floor, the room being full of people, whom his wife would have kept away; but he cried out, 'No! let them all come; let all the world see the just judgement of God.' Two or three were holding him as well as they could. He immediately fixed his eyes on me and said, 'Aye, this is he I said deceived the people; but God hath overtaken me. I said it was a delusion of the devil; this is no delusion!' Then he roared aloud, 'O thou devil! thou cursed devil! yea, thou legion of devils,

terribly, and beating himself against the ground. The neighbours were alarmed, and flocked together to the house. Between one and two I came in, and found him on the floor, the room being full of people, whom his wife would have kept without; but he cried aloud, 'No; let them all come; let all the world see the just judgement of God.' Two or three men were holding him as well as they could. He immediately fixed his eyes upon *me*, and, stretching out his hand, cried, 'Aye, this is he who I said was a deceiver of the people; but God has overtaken me. I said it was all a delusion; but this is no delusion.' He then roared out, 'O thou devil! thou cursed devil! yea, thou legion of devils! thou canst not stay. Christ will cast thee out. I know His work is begun. Tear me to pieces, if thou wilt; but thou canst not hurt me.' He then beat himself against the ground again, his breast heaving at the same time, as in the pangs of death, and great drops of sweat trickling down his face. We all betook ourselves to prayer. His pangs ceased, and both his body and soul were set at liberty.

Thence I went to Baptist Mills, and declared Him whom God 'hath exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto Israel and remission of sins.' Returning to John Haydon, we found his voice was lost, and his body weak as that of an infant; but his soul was in peace, full of love, and 'rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.'

The women of our society met at seven.[1] During our

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thou canst not stay in me. Christ will cast thee out; I know His work is begun. Tear me to pieces if thou wilt; but thou canst not hurt me.'

He then beat himself again; and, groaning again with violent sweats and heaving of the breast, we prayed with him, and God put a new song in his mouth. The words were, which he pronounced with a clear, strong voice: 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. This is the day which the Lord hath made: we will rejoice and be glad in it. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, from this time forth for evermore.' I called again an hour after. We found his body quite worn out, and his voice lost; but his soul was full of joy and love, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

I am now in as good health (thanks be to God) as I ever was since I remember, and I believe shall be so as long as I live, for I do not expect to have a lingering death. The reasons that induce me to think I shall not live to be old are such as you would not apprehend to be of any weight. I am under no concern on this head; let my Master see to it. O may the God of love be with you and my sister more and more!

Dear brother,

Your ever affectionate brother,

John Wesley.

See *Farther Appeal*, *Works*, vol. viii. p. 63; also letter to Charles Wesley, May 10, 1739.

[1] In closest conformity to the Böhler orders.

prayer one of them[1] fell into a violent agony; but soon after began to cry out with confidence, '*My* Lord and *my* God!'

Sat. 5.—I preached,[2] at the desire of an unknown correspondent, on those excellent words (if well understood as recommending faith, resignation, patience, meekness), 'Be still, and know that I am God.'

Sun. 6.—I preached in the morning to five or six thousand people on 'Except ye be converted, and become as little

Thursday 3

7 Sermon, tea, within; 9 Newgate; 11 within; 11.45 set out in the coach with Mrs. Grevil, Longden, Norman, singing, conversed; 1.30 at Anthony Purver's, Mr. Warren, dinner, he prayed, conversed; 3.30 set out, singing, conversed; 5 visited; 5.15 Castle Str.; 7 Nicholas St.; 9 at home, conversed to many; 9.45 supper, conversed, singing; 11.

Friday 4

6¼ Prayed; 6.30 sermon; 8 tea, conversed; 9 sermon; 12.15 prayed, visited; 1.45 at home, conversed to many; 2.30 sermon; 3 at Mrs. Thomas', conversed to, prayer; 4 at Mr. Wigginton's, conversed, singing, prayer; 5 Baldwin St. + . .; 7 at Mrs. England's, one received; 9 supper, read Rosewell; 11.30.

Saturday 5

6 Prayed; 6.30 writ to Charles, and James Hutton; 8 tea, conversed, writ to G. Whitefield and Seward, Hutchins [John Hutchins]; 10.15 Newgate; 12 at home, six Quakers, six of us, conversed, prayer; 2 dinner, visited several; 4 Bowling Green, 'Be still,' 2,000; 5 visited; 6 at Mrs. Dagge's, conversed, tea; 7 Weavers' Hall; 9 supper, read, prayer; 11.30.

[At this point a page in the Diary had originally been left blank save for the following heading: 'Oxon, March 25, 1738, 5½.' The bottom of the page he afterwards utilized for Sunday, May 6, 1739.]

Sunday 6

6 Prayed, drest, conversed; 7 Bowling Green, 'Little Children,' 7,000; 8.30 at Mrs. Willis's, communion, singing, tea, prayer with Miss Godley; 10.30 Hanham [this is the first time Wesley spells the name rightly], Gal. iii. 22; visited; 12.30 Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 1.45

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[1] Miss Elizabeth Cutler. Thurs. 3rd: His visit to Anthony Purver, a noted Quaker: see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 6; iv. pp. 49, 50.

[2] At the Bowling Green, being forbidden to preach any more at the Poorhouse. The Bowling Green was where All Saints and Wellington Streets now stand. See Whitefield's Journal, pp. 174–5.

children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.' (The same words on which I preached the next day; and, on *Wednesday*, at Baptist Mills.) On Hanham Mount I preached to about three thousand on 'The Scripture hath concluded all under sin'; at two, at Clifton Church, on Christ our 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption'; and, about five, at Rose Green, on the 'promise by faith of Jesus Christ,' which is 'given to them that believe.'

Mon. 7.—I was preparing to set out for Pensford, having now had leave to preach in the church, when I received the following note:

> SIR,—Our minister, having been informed you are beside yourself, does not care you should preach in any of his churches.

I went, however; and on Priestdown, about half a mile from Pensford, preached Christ our 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.'

Tues. 8.—I went to Bath, but was not suffered to be in the meadow where I was before; which occasioned the offer of a much more convenient place,[1] where I preached Christ to about a thousand souls.

Clifton, prayers, 1 Cor. i. 30; 4.15 Mr. Deschamps', tea; 4.45 Rose Green, Gal. iii., 5,000; 7 Baldwin St.; 9 at home, read, supper, conversed; 11.

Monday 7

6 At Baldwin St., twelve there, prayer, singing; 7.30 at home, writ to Fetter Lane; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 set out; 11 Pensford; 11.30 at Publow, 400, preached, prayer, s[ame] t[ext]; 3 at home, drest, at Baldwin St., prayer; 3.30 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 4 preached, 4,000, Matt. xviii. 3, visited; 6 at home, writ; 7 Nicholas St., one received; 9 at home, writ, supper, within; 11.

Tuesday 8

6 Prayed; 7.30 writ to my mother, Bowes, Nowers, J. Hutton; 8 tea, writ to Mr. Fox, Charles Graves; 10.15 Newgate; 12 Mr. Deschamps, dinner; 12.30 set out, read; 3 at Bath, at Jo's [John Feachem's], within, at Mr. Dibble's; 4 preached; 5.15 at Mr. Merchant's, within; 6 at Mr. Dibble's, singing, etc.; 7 set out with Mr. Deschamps, at home, within; 11.

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[1] Probably Richard Merchant's field, where Beau Nash interrupted him. (Letters of June 7, 1739.)

Wed. 9.—We took possession of a piece of ground,[1] near St. James's churchyard, in the Horsefair, where it was designed to build a room, large enough to contain both the societies of Nicholas and Baldwin Streets, and such of their acquaintance as might desire to be present with them, at

Wednesday 9

4½ within, tea; 5.15 at the inn with Mrs. Grevile, singing, conversed, prayer; 5.45 she went to London, walked, conversed; 6.30 at home, slept; 8.45 tea, writ to Charles; 10.30 Newgate; 12 at the s[ociety-] room [it might be Schoolroom], took seisin; 1 writ to brother Samuel, conversed to many, tea, conversed; 4 Baptist Mills, Matt. xviii. 3, 2,000; 5 visited many; with the female band; 8.15 Baldwin St.; 9 Diary, writ to brother Samuel; 9.30 supper, read Rosewell; 11.

Thursday 10

6½ Prayed; 6.30 writ account of bands; 8.15 tea, writ to brother Samuel; 10.30 at Newgate; 12 meditated, prayed, conversed to many, Rosewell, dinner, conversed to many; 3.30 at Mrs. Brummidge's [elsewhere same name, apparently, is 'Bromagge'], tea, conversed, singing; 4.45 at Mr Labbe's, conversed; 5 Castle St.; 7 Nicholas St.; 9.15 at Mr. Whitt[ing]ton's, supper, conversed; 10 at home, singing, read; 11.

Friday 11

6 Prayed; 6.30 sermon; 8 tea, conversation; 9 sermon; 10.15 Newgate; 12 prayed, conversed, singing, (1) conversed to many, sermon; 3 set

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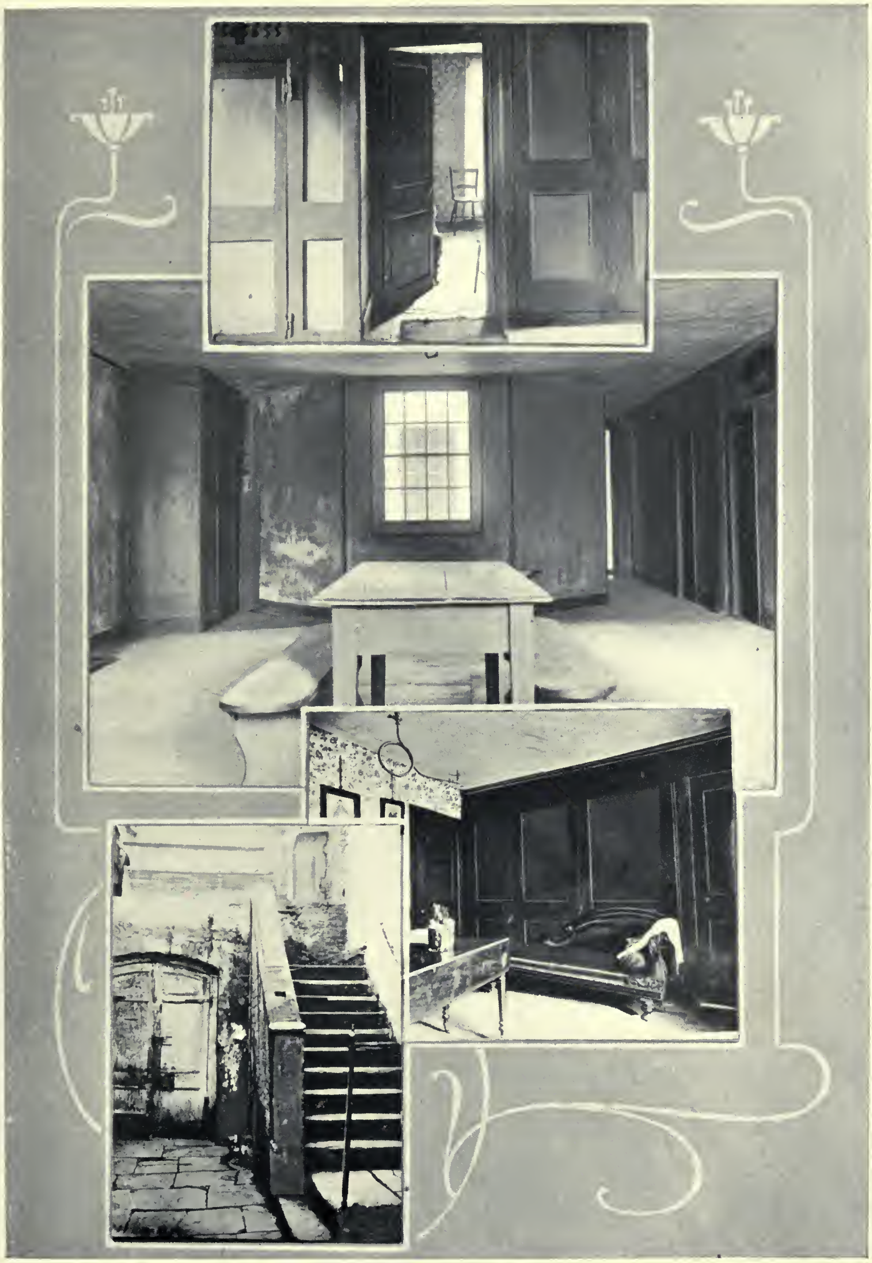
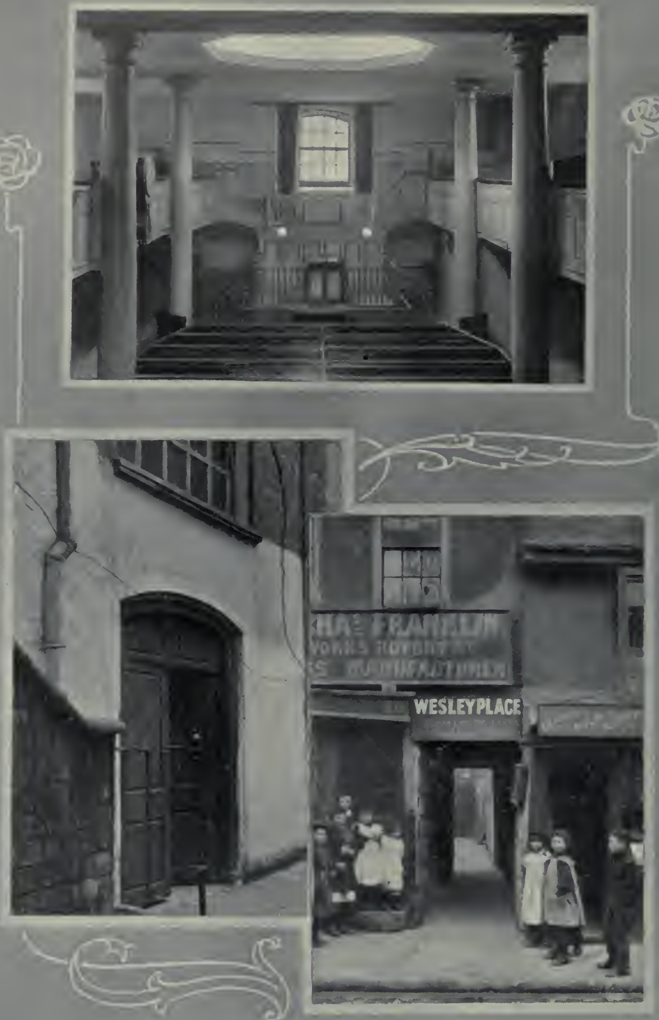
[1] Indenture of Lease and Release, dated June 28 and 29, 1739, between William Lyne of the first part and the Rev. John Wesley of the other part. One of the duplicate copies is in the possession of William Pole, Bristol. The other, with Wesley's signature, is in the archives of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. A copy made for Charles Wesley is at the Book-Room. For Wesley's description of this early room see letter to Whitefield, April 1740 (Moore, vol. i. p. 498). For full account of the transaction see Myles, p. 12, and Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 270. This building has been spoken of as the first Methodist preaching-house erected. This description, however, is a little misleading. The house, as originally built, was not intended for preaching purposes, but as a room in which the two Religious Societies, hitherto meeting in inconvenient rooms at Nicholas Street and Baldwin Street, might meet together. Its erection was not regarded as a separation from the Church of England. Whilst the Religious Societies were disliked by some of the clergy, chiefly on the ground that they fostered 'enthusiasm,' they were sanctioned by others, and on one occasion Bishop Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, preached to a gathering of the Religious Societies of London in Marylebone Church. Eventually the room in the Horsefair, enlarged and adapted for its new purpose, became a Methodist preaching-house, to which preachers were regularly appointed by Wesley and the Conference; but at first, like the room Wesley built a Frederica (Journal, vol. i. p. 226), it was a 'society-room.'



1. Entrance into Wesley's Bedroom.
2. The Room above the Chapel.
3. Steps leading to the Studies and Dormitories.
4. Wesley's Study.

VIEWS OF THE 'NEW ROOM,' BRISTOL.



1. Interior of the Preaching-room.
2. The Original Entrance to the Inner Court.
3. Old Horsefair Entrance to the Court.

VIEWS OF THE 'NEW ROOM,' BRISTOL.

such times as the Scripture was expounded. And on *Saturday* the 12th the first stone was laid, with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

I had not at first the least apprehension or design of being personally engaged, either in the expense of this work or in the direction of it: having appointed eleven feoffees, on whom I supposed these burdens would fall of course. But I quickly found my mistake; first with regard to the expense: for the whole undertaking must have stood still had not I immediately taken upon myself the payment of all the workmen; so that, before I knew where I was, I had contracted a debt of more than a hundred and fifty pounds. And this I was to discharge how I could; the subscriptions of both societies not amounting to one quarter of the sum. And as to the direction of the work, I presently received letters from my friends in London, Mr. Whitefield in particular, backed with a message by one just come from thence, that neither he nor they would have anything to do with the building, neither contribute anything towards it, unless I would instantly discharge all feoffees and do everything in my own name. Many reasons they gave for this; but one was enough, viz. 'that such feoffees always would have it in their power to control me; and, if I preached not as they liked, to turn me out of the room I had built.' I accordingly yielded to their advice, and, calling all the feoffees together, cancelled (no man opposing) the instrument made before, and took the whole management into my own hands. Money, it is true, I had not, nor any human prospect or probability of

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out, Clifton, in talk; 3.45 buried [he was taking duty, temporarily, for the deceased vicar]; 4.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', within; 5 Baldwin St.; 7 Gloucester Lane, Miss Godly! 9 at home, supper, within; 11.

Saturday 12

6 Prayed; 6.30 sermon; 8 tea, conversed; 9 sermon; 10.30 Newgate, Mrs. Labbe's! 12 laid the stone, prayer, singing; 12.45 visited; 1 at home, dinner; 2 sermon; 2.30 visited; 3 at Mrs. Williams', communion, twelve there; 4 Bowling Green; 5.15 at Mr. Labbe's, tea, conversed; 6 Clifton, buried, spoke; 7 Weavers' Hall; 8 received eighteen! 10 at home, supper, conversed, singing; 11.

procuring it; but I knew 'the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof,' and in His name set out, nothing doubting.

In the evening, while I was declaring that Jesus Christ had 'given Himself a ransom for all,' three persons almost at once sunk down as dead, having all their sins set in array before them. But in a short time they were raised up, and knew that 'the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world' had taken away their sins.

Sun. 13.—I began expounding in the morning the thirteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. At Hanham I farther explained the promise given by faith; as I did also at Rose Green. At Clifton [Church] it pleased God to assist me greatly in speaking on those words, 'He that drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst: but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life.'

My ordinary employment, in public, was now as follows: Every morning I read prayers and preached at Newgate. Every evening I expounded a portion of Scripture at one or more of the societies. On Monday, in the afternoon, I preached abroad, near Bristol; on Tuesday, at Bath and Two-Mile-Hill alternately; on Wednesday, at Baptist Mills; every other Thursday, near Pensford; every other Friday, in another part of Kingswood; on Saturday, in the afternoon, and Sunday

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Sunday 13

6 Prayed, meditated, drest; 7 Bowling Green, 1 Cor. xiii., 6,000; 8.30 tea, conversed; 9.30 set out, meditated; 10.20 Hannam, Gal. iii., 4,000, visited; 12.30 at Mrs. Deschamps', dinner; 1 at home, in talk, meditated, Clifton, prayers, John iv. 13, 14; 4.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 5 at Rose Green, Gal. iii., 6,000; 6.15 came with Miss Burdock, in the coach, conversed; 7 at Mrs. England's, singing, etc., Mrs. Simkin! 8.15 at home, the women's lovefeast, prayer, etc.; 11.

Monday 14

6 Prayed; 6.30 writ to Fetter Lane; 8 tea, conversed, sermon; 10.30 Newgate, visited; 12.45 at home, meditated, prayed, conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Norman's, dinner; 3.30 Mrs. Thornhill, conversed; 4 Brickyard, 5,000, Matt. xviii., visited many; 7 Nicholas Street, three there; 9.15 at Mrs. Brummidge's, conversed, supper, singing; 11.45.

morning, in the Bowling Green (which lies near the middle of the city); on Sunday, at eleven near Hanham Mount, at two at Clifton, and at five on Rose Green; and hitherto, as my days, so my strength hath been.

Tues. 15.[1]—As I was expounding in the Back Lane on the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, many who had before been righteous in their own eyes abhorred themselves as in dust and ashes. But two, who seemed to be more deeply convinced than the rest, did not long sorrow as men without hope, but found in that hour that they had 'an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous'; as did three others in Gloucester Lane the evening before, and three at Baldwin Street this evening. About ten, two who, after seeing a great light, had again reasoned themselves into darkness, came to us heavy-laden. We cried to God, and they were again 'filled with peace and joy in believing.'

Wed. 16.—While I was declaring at Baptist Mills, 'He was wounded for our transgressions,' a middle-aged man[2] began violently beating his breast, and crying to Him 'by whose stripes we are healed.' During our prayer God put a new song in his mouth. Some mocked and others owned the

Tuesday 15

5 Drest, walked with Mr. Labbe and Purdy, Badminster [Bedminster], christened Sara Labbe; 7.30 at Mr. Jones', conversed, tea; 9.30 at home, writ; 10.30 Newgate; 12 at our house [the room then being built in Horsefair] 12.30 at home, meditated, prayed, dinner, conversed to some; 2 set out; 3 at Two-Mile-Hill, 400, preached; 4 within, extend; 5 at the Back Lane, singing, etc.; 7 Baldwin St., three comforted; 9.30 at home, supper, Miss Gregory, etc., prayer, all comforted; 11.

Wednesday 16

6½ Prayed; 6.30 sermon; 8 tea, conversed; 9 conversed to Thomas Robins, 10.30, Newington; 12 at our house, visited; 1.30 conversed, writ to G. Whitefield; 2 at Mr. Whitehead's, in talk; 3 tea, conversed; 4 Baptist Mills; 5 visited; 5.30 at N. Champion's, tea, within; 6.45 at home, Diary; 7 the female bands, singing, prayer; 8.30 Baldwin Street, supper, within; 11.

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[1] 'At three in the afternoon I preached at Two-Mile-Hill. Afterwards we went to look out for a proper place for the school, and at last pitched upon one between the London and Bath Road' (Moravian Letter, May 25).

[2] In the Moravian Letter there is reference to 'a young man.'

hand of God: particularly a woman[1] of Baptist Mills, who was now convinced of her own want of an Advocate with God, and went home full of anguish; but was in a few hours filled with joy, knowing He had 'blotted out' all her 'transgressions.'

The scripture which came in turn at Newgate to-day was the seventh of St. John. The words which I chiefly insisted on as applicable to every minister of Christ who in any wise follows the steps of his Master were these: 'The world cannot hate you; but Me it hateth, because I testify of it, that its deeds are evil. . . . There was a murmuring, therefore, concerning Him among the multitude; for some said, He is a good man: others said, Nay; but He deceiveth the people.' After sermon I was informed the Sheriffs had ordered I should preach here for the future but once a week. Yea, and this is once too often, if 'he deceiveth the people'; but if otherwise, why not once a day?

Sat. 19.—At Weavers' Hall a woman first, and then a boy about fourteen years of age, was overwhelmed with sin, and

Thursday 17

6½ Prayed; 6.45 sermon; 8.15 tea, Mr. Castle, etc., conversed; 9 sermon, prayed; 12.30 Mr. England, etc., in talk of the S[chool] House, Kingswood, dinner, conversed to many; 3 at Mrs. Thomas's, tea, conversed; 3.30 in the coach with her [Mrs. Thomas] and Mrs. Steph[en], Purdy, and Wathen; 4 at Mrs. Willis's, prayer, singing; 4.45 set out, at Mr. Godly's, within to Miss Rachel at the window; 5.15 Castle St.; 7 Nicholas St.; 9 at home, supper, prayer, conversed; 10.30 read Archbishop Tillotson; 11.

Friday 18

6 Prayed; 6.30 sermon; 8 tea, conversed, sermon; 11 preached at the Dial, visited, prayed; 1 conversed to many; 2.30 visited; 3 at Mr. Martin's, tea, singing, conversed; 4 at Mr. Linnington's, tea, conversed; 5 Baton Street, at Mrs. England's; 9.15 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

Saturday 19

4¾ Drest; 5 set out; 6 Kingswood, in talk of the House, prayer; 8.45 at home, tea; 9.15 read letters, etc.; 11 Baldwin St.; 1 dinner, within; 2 Baldwin St.; 4 at the Bowling Green, 2,000, 'charity' [the sermon he preached]; 5.15 Baldwin St.; 7 Weavers' Hall, two there; 9 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] In Moravian Letter 'a maid servant.'

sorrow, and fear. But we cried to God, and their souls were delivered.

Sun. 20.—Seeing many of the rich at Clifton Church, my heart was much pained for them, and I was earnestly desirous that some even of them might 'enter into the kingdom of heaven.' But full as I was, I knew not where to begin in warning them to flee from the wrath to come, till my Testament opened on these words: 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance'; in applying which my soul was so enlarged that methought I could have cried out (in another sense than poor vain Archimedes), 'Give me where to stand, and I will shake the earth.' God's sending forth lightning with the rain did not hinder about fifteen hundred from staying at Rose Green. Our scripture was, 'It is the glorious God that maketh the thunder. The voice of the Lord is mighty in operation; the voice of the Lord is a glorious voice.' In the evening He spoke to three whose souls were all storm and tempest, and immediately there was a great calm.

During this whole time I was almost continually asked, either by those who purposely came to Bristol to inquire concerning this strange work, or by my old or new correspondents, 'How can these things be?' And innumerable cautions were given me (generally grounded on gross misrepresentations of things), not to regard visions or dreams, or to fancy people had remission of sins because of their cries, or tears, or bare outward professions. To one[1] who had many times written to me on this head, the sum of my answer was as follows:

Sunday 20

6¾ Drest; 7 Bowling Green, 'charity,' 7,000; 8.30 set out to Clifton [where he was assisting the dying incumbent], married; 9.45 at Mr. Deschamps', set out; 10.30 2,000 'charity,' visited; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 2 Clifton, Luke v. 32; 4.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, in the company with Miss S[mith], Cornish; 5 Wigginton; 5.15 Rose Green, thunder, Thunder, Psalm xxix. 3, 4, 1,500; 7 Nicholas St., three [these are the three persons referred to in the text] there; 9.45 at home, supper, prayer; 11.

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[1] The letter was written to his brother Samuel. Moore (vol. i. p. 452) dates it April 4, 1739. It is a reply to Samuel Wesley's letter of March 26, 1739. Priestley prints one from Samuel Wesley dated April 16, 1739, in which the letter of the text is expressly referred to. The long controversy between the two

The question between us turns chiefly, if not wholly, on matter of fact. You deny that God does now work these effects; at least, that He works them in this manner. I affirm both; because I have heard these things with my own ears, and have seen them with my eyes. I have seen (as far as a thing of this kind can be seen) very many persons changed in a moment from the spirit of fear, horror, despair, to the spirit of love, joy, and peace; and from sinful desire, till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. These are matters of fact, whereof I have been, and almost daily am, an eye or ear witness. What I have to say touching visions or dreams, is this: I know several persons in whom this great change was wrought in a dream, or during a strong representation to the eye of their mind, of Christ either on the cross, or in glory. This is the fact; let any judge of it as they please. And that such a change was then wrought appears (not from their shedding tears only, or falling into fits, or crying out: these are not the fruits, as you seem to suppose, whereby I judge, but) from the whole tenor of their life, till then many ways wicked; from that time holy, just, and good.

I will show you him that was a lion till then, and is now a lamb; him that was a drunkard, and is now exemplarily sober; the whoremonger that was, who now abhors the very 'garment spotted by the flesh.' These are my living arguments for what I assert—viz. 'That God does now, as aforetime, give remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, even to us and to our children; yea, and that always suddenly, as far as I have known, and often in dreams or in the visions of God.' If it be not so, I am found a false witness before God. For these things I *do*, and by His grace *will*, testify.

Perhaps it might be because of the hardness of our hearts, unready to receive anything unless we see it with our eyes and hear it with our ears, that God, in tender condescension to our weakness, suffered so many outward signs of the very time when He wrought this inward change to be continually seen and heard among us. But although they saw 'signs and wonders' (for so I must term them), yet many would not believe. They could not indeed *deny* the facts; but they could *explain* them away. Some said, 'These were purely *natural* effects; the people fainted away only because of the heat and closeness of the rooms,' and *others*[1] were 'sure it was all a cheat; they might

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brothers, who loved much and differed much, was drawing to a close. Both believed themselves to be on the borderland of another world. Samuel died two months later.

[1] E.g. Joseph Black. See p. 324.

help it if they would. Else why were these things only in their private societies? Why were they not done in the face of the sun?' To-day, *Monday* the 21st, our Lord answered for Himself. For while I was enforcing these words, 'Be still, and know that I am God,' He began to make bare His arm, not in a close room, neither in private, but in the open air, and before more than two thousand witnesses. One, and another, and another was struck to the earth, exceedingly trembling at the presence of His power. Others cried with a loud and bitter cry, 'What must we do to be saved?' And in less than an hour seven persons, wholly unknown to me till that time, were rejoicing, and singing, and with all their might giving thanks to the God of their salvation.

In the evening I was interrupted at Nicholas Street, almost as soon as I had begun to speak, by the cries of one who was 'pricked at the heart,' and strongly groaned for pardon and peace. Yet I went on to declare what God had already done, in proof of that important truth, that He is 'not willing *any* should perish, but that *all* should come to repentance.' Another person dropped down, close to one who was a strong asserter of the contrary doctrine. While he stood astonished at the sight, a little boy near him was seized in the same manner. A young man who stood up behind fixed his eyes on him, and sunk down himself as one dead; but soon began to roar out and beat himself against the ground, so that six men could scarcely hold him. His name was Thomas Maxfield.[1] Except John Haydon, I never saw one so torn of the Evil One. Meanwhile many others began to cry out to the 'Saviour of all,' that He would come and

Monday 21

4½ Drest, at Mr. Deschamps'; 5.15 set out; 6 at Kingswood; 7 laid the stone, within; 8.45 at Clifton, married, tea, Mr. Hodges died; 10 at Mrs. Deschamps', conversed, tea; 11.30 at the Dial, preached, visited; 12.45 at home, conversed to many, one afraid; 1.15 dinner, conversed to many; ! 3.15 at Mrs. Norman's, conversed; 4 Brickyard, Ps. lxvi. 10, 2,500, seven comforted; 5.30 visited many; 7 Nicholas Street; ! 7 singing, etc.; 8 eleven comforted; 10 at Mr. Page's, supper; 11 with Mrs. S., etc., all comforted; 1.

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[1] Thomas Maxfield became a lay helper to Wesley, and his name occurs frequently in the Journals of the brothers.

help them, insomuch that all the house (and indeed all the street for some space) was in an uproar. But we continued in prayer, and before ten the greater part found rest to their souls.

I was called from supper to one who, feeling in herself such a conviction as she never had known before, had run out of the society in all haste that she might not expose herself. But the hand of God followed her still; so that, after going a few steps, she was forced to be carried home; and, when she was there, grew worse and worse. She was in a violent agony when we came. We called upon God, and her soul found rest.

About twelve I was greatly importuned to go and visit one person more. She had only one struggle after I came, and was then filled with peace and joy. I think twenty-nine in all had their heaviness turned into joy this day.

Tues. 22.—I preached to about a thousand at Bath. There were several fine gay things among them, to whom especially I called, 'Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead; and Christ shall give thee light.'

Tuesday 22

6½ Drest; 6.30 at Mr. Deschamps' [i.e. robed], tea; 7.30 set out, women and Mr. Wigginton, conversed; 10 Bath, drest, at Mr. Dibble's, within, at Jo's [Feachem's], conversed, singing; 12 at Mr. Chapman's [Rev. William], conversed; 1 at Richard Merchant's, dinner, conversed; 2.45 at Mr. Dibble's, tea, conversed; 4 at the Ham, Eph. v. 14, 1,000; 5.30 set out; 8 Baldwin Street; 9 at home, supper, conversed; 10.30.

Wednesday 23

6¾ Drest, Diary, writ to Mr. Seward; 8.45 at Mrs. Godly's, conversed, tea; 10.30 Newgate; 12.15 visited; 12.45 at home, slept; 1.15 conversed to many; 2.30 walked, at Mr. Shell's, conversed, tea; 4 preached, 2,000, Acts xxviii. 6, Luke xviii. 6; 5.15 at Mr. Champion's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 at home, writ; 7 the women, within, prayer; 8.15 Baldwin Street, within, singing; 9.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', W. Tolley, etc., singing, conversed, supper; 11.30.

Thursday 24

6¾ Drest, at Richard Champion's, nine there, tea, conversed, prayer, writ to Bro. Sone, Exal, Parker, P. Sims, Mrs. Grevil, C. D[elamotte]; 12.30 dinner; 1.30 set out with Henry Dory; 3 at Peblow; 4 Mr. Jeffry's, preached Isa. liii. 5, at Mr. Jeffry's, set out, conversed, meditated; 6.30 at Bro. Williams', tea, conversed; 7.15 at Baldwin St.; 9.15 at home, supper, conversed; 10.45.

Sat. 26.—One came to us in deep despair; but, after an hour spent in prayer, went away in peace. The next day, having observed in many a zeal which did not suit with the sweetness and gentleness of love, I preached, at Rose Green, on those words (to the largest congregation I ever had there; I believe upwards of ten thousand souls), 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man has not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' At the society in the evening eleven were deeply convinced of sin, and soon after comforted.

Mon. 28.—I began preaching at Weavers' Hall at eleven in the forenoon; where two persons were enabled to cry out in faith, 'My Lord and my God'; as were seven during the sermon in the afternoon, before several thousand witnesses;

Friday 25

5¾ prayed, meditated; 6.30 sermon; 8 tea, conversed, sermon; 1 conversed to many; 2 set out, *History of Puritans*[1]; 3 at the Fishponds, 1,000, Isa. liii. 5, 6, five in the coach, conversed to Lucretia Smith, etc.; 6.15 Baldwin St.; 7 Gloucester Lane; 9 at Mr. White's, conversed, supper, conversed; 11.

Saturday 26

6 Prayed; 6.30 sermon; 8 tea, conversed; 9 sermon; 11 John Whitehead, prayer, ! sermon; 1 dinner, conversed to many; 3 at Mrs. Williams', 4 communion, thirteen there; 4 Bowling Green, 2,000, 'Charity'; 5 at Mrs. Iscock's, tea, at Mrs. Stephens', tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 at Mrs. ——, tea, conversed; 7 Weavers' Hall; 9 at Mrs. Wigginton's, two, Miss Burdock's, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.30.

Sunday 27

6½ Meditation, drest; 7 Bowling Green, 6,000, 'Charity'; ! 8.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 9.15 at Mrs. Willis's, communion, twelve there; 10.30 Hannam, Isa. liii. 5, 6, 2,500, visited; 12.30 at Mrs. Deschamps', dinner, visited; 2 at home, Diary; 2.30 at Christchurch [? Clifton]; 4 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, Rose Green, 10,000, Luke ix. 55, 56 (three there); 6.45 at Mrs. England's, eleven there; ! ! 10.30 at Mr. Labbe's, conversed, supper; 11.30.

Monday 28

6¼ Prayed; 6.30 writ; 8 tea, conversed, writ to Fetter Lane; 11 Weavers' Hall, two there; 1 at home, dinner, conversed to many; 3.30 visited; 4 Brickyard, ! seven there; 6.45 at Mr. Labbe's, tea; 7 Baldwin St., ten there; 10.30 at home, supper; 11.15.

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[1] Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans* was issued 1732–8, in 4 vols.

and ten in the evening at Baldwin Street, of whom two were children.

Tues. 29.—I was unknowingly engaged in conversation with a famous infidel,[1] a confirmer of the unfaithful in these parts. He appeared a little surprised, and said he would pray to God to show him the true way of worshipping Him.

On Ascension Day in the morning, some of us went to King's Weston Hill, four or five miles from Bristol. Two gentlemen, going by, sent up to us in sport many persons from the neighbouring villages; to whom, therefore, I took occasion to explain

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Tuesday 29

6 Prayed; 6.30 read Ridgley[2]; 8 tea, conversed; 9 Ridgley; 9.30 walked to Mr. Tindal's, conversed[1]; 10.45 Newgate, christened; ! 1 at home, conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Whitehead's, Mr. Pitt's, dinner, conversed; ! 4 Baptist Mills, one there; 5 at Miss Shepherd's, conversed, tea at Mrs. Thornhill's, Miss Sally Burdock, tea, singing, prayer with the women; 8 Baldwin St.; 9 at Mrs. Davis's, supper, Mrs. Panou, etc., prayer, singing; 11.

Wednesday 30

6 Prayed, ended sermon, corrected Nicodemus [or a treatise on the Fear of Man, published this year in Bristol by S. and F. Farley, see vol. i. p. 301]; 8 tea, conversed to Mr. Fancourt; 9 Nicodemus; 12.30 dinner, visited; 1.45 set out, read Gill[3]; 2.40 at our house, in talk, preached; 4 at James Burges', in talk to many; 5.15 Back Lane; 7 Nicholas St.; 9 at Mrs. Oldfield's, Mrs. Thornhill, Miss Burdock, etc., conversed, supper, singing, prayer; 11.15.

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[1] The suggestion may be offered that this was Dr. Oliver, the famous physician of Bath. In *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 451, note, these facts are given: 'This eminent physician, so celebrated in his day, had long resided in Bath, where he had great practice and acquired a large fortune. Although he had been long intimate with Lady Huntingdon and Dr. Stonehouse after his [i.e. Dr. S.'s] conversion to Christianity, yet he remained a most inveterate infidel till a short time before his death. In his last illness the arrows of conviction stuck fast in him. . . . He lamented, not only his past infidelity, but the zeal and success with which he had endeavoured to infect the minds of others. . . . Soon after the Lord lifted up the light of his countenance upon Dr. Oliver's soul, and he lay the rest of his time triumphing and praising God for the free grace He had bestowed upon him' (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 180).

[2] Thomas Ridgley, D.D., 'a dissenter of considerable learning and abilities' (1667–1734), published *A Body of Divinity*, in 2 vols., in 1731.

[3] Probably this was *The Cause of God and Truth*: being an Examination of the Several Passages of Scripture made use of by the Arminians (1735–8, in 4 vols.) written by the famous Baptist divine, Dr. John Gill.

those words, 'Thou art ascended up on high, Thou hast led captivity captive; Thou hast received gifts for men; yea, for the rebellious also, that the Lord God might dwell among them.'

JUNE 3, *Sun.*—In the morning, to about six thousand persons, in concluding the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, I described a truly charitable man.

Thursday 31

6 Prayed; 6.30 writ N.; 8 tea, within; 9 Diary, writ N.; 9.30 set out with Mr. Wigginton, Mrs. England, Davis, Labbe, Miss Smith in the coach, singing, conversed; 12 at King's Weston Hill, prayed, singing; 12.45 dinner, prayer; 2 many came, preached; 3 set out, singing, conversed; 5 Castle St.; 7 Weavers' Hall; 9 at home, supper, within; 10.30 to 1 [sign of confession; or it might mean 10.30 sick until 1 o'clock]; 1 ♈.

JUNE 1, *Friday*

6 Prayed; 6.30 writ accounts [of persons and events; these were read in the Religious Societies]; 8 tea, conversed; 9 writ N. [this is one of many instances which suggest that N. does not mean a 'Narrative' only, but a narrative written for a friend whose advice he often sought]; 10.30 Weavers' Hall; 12 at home, meditated: 12.15 Mr. Farley [his Bristol printer and publisher], conversed, singing, prayer; 12.45 conversed to many; 2.45 at Mr. Linnington's, at Mrs. Morgan's, tea, together, singing; 3.15 at the new Brickyard, 1,500; 5.15 at Mr. Marine's, conversed; 6 at Mrs. Norman's, Miss Burdock's, tea, singing, conversed; 7 Gloucester Lane; 9 at home, supper, conversed; 10.45.

Saturday 2

5¾ Prayed; 6.15 writ to Bray, Edmonds, Easy, J. Chambers [leaders of London bands or societies]; 8 tea, conversed; 8.45 conversed to Miss Cornish, she in love with me; 10 writ to, ! Seward [William, who was then with Whitefield; the rest London and Oxford friends], Metcalf, Esther Hopson, Oxlee, Clapham, Mrs. Thacker, Holland, Charles Graves; 1 dinner, conversed to many, writ to Betty Hughes, James Mears; 3 at Mrs. Williams's [Ann, wife of Anthony Williams. See Moravian Letter, June 30], communion, twelve there; 4 Bowling Green, Diary, 1,000, rain; 5.15 at home, writ; 5.45 at William Davis's, writ, tea, singing, Mrs. Norman, etc.; 6.30 Weavers' Hall; 8.45 at Mrs. Thornhill's, Miss Burdock, conversed; 9.15 prayer, +; 10 at Mrs. Linnington's, supper, conversed, singing; 12.

Sunday 3

6½ Drest, meditated; 7 Bowling Green, 'Charity,' 7,000; 9 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, set out; 10.15 Hannam, Romans iii. 19, 3,000, visited; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 1.15 at home, writ to G. Whitefield, tea, James Hutton; 2.30 All Saints' + C [? communion]; 4.15 Mr.

At Hanham Mount I enforced these words: 'That every mouth may be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God'; and again in the afternoon, at Rose Green, to I believe eight or nine thousand. In the evening, not being permitted to meet in Baldwin Street, we met in the shell of our new society-room. The scripture which came in course to be explained was, 'Marvel not if the world hate you.' We sung,

> Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!
> Thine own immortal strength put on!

'And God, even our own God,' gave us His blessing.

Mon. 4.—Many came to me and earnestly advised me not to preach abroad in the afternoon, because there was a combination of several persons who threatened terrible things. This report being spread abroad brought many thither of the better sort of people (so called), and added, I believe, more than a thousand to the ordinary congregation. The scripture to which, not my choice, but the providence of God, directed me, was, 'Fear not thou, for I am with thee: be not dismayed, for I am thy God. I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of My righteousness.' The power of God came with His word, so that none scoffed, or interrupted, or opened his mouth.

MORAVIAN LETTER

To Mr. James Hutton, Bookseller, near Temple Bar, London

BRISTOL,
June 4, 1739.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,

[MAY] 22, *Tues.*—About a thousand were present at Bath, and several fine, gay things among them. 'Awake . . . Christ shall give thee light.' The next morning I was sent for to the young woman whose relations had confined her as mad. They

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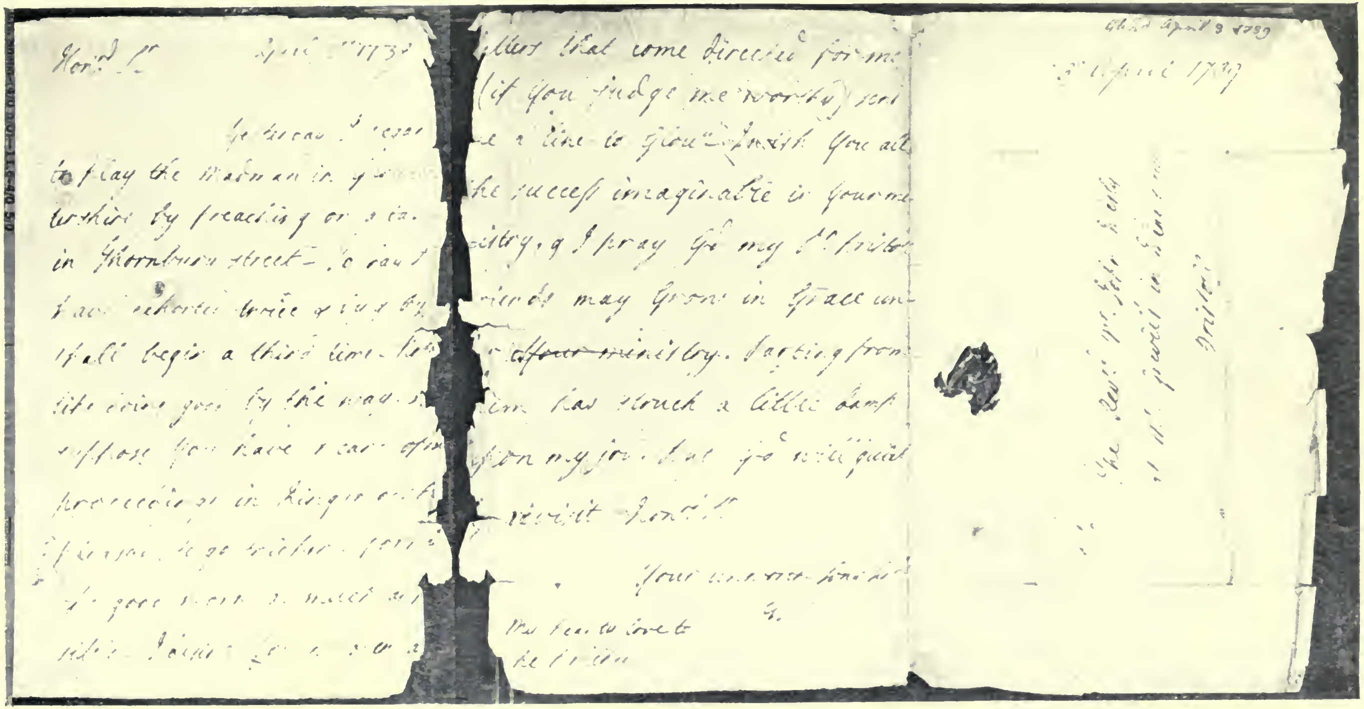
Deschamps', tea; 5 Rose Green, 9,000, Rom. iii. 19; 7 at our Room [the New Room in the Horsefair]; 9.30 at Lucretia Smith's, supper, conversed; 12.

Monday 4

6¾ Prayed, writ to Fetter Lane; 8.30 tea, conversation; 9 writ; 10.30 drest, Ezra viii. 21, 22; Ps. ix. 16, x. 16; Psalm xvii. 16, Weavers' Hall; 1 at home, dinner, conversed to many; 3.45 at Mrs. Norman's at the Brickyard, Isa. xli. 10; 5.30 at home, writ; 6 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 6.45 Gloucester Lane; 8.45 at Mr. Norman's, within; 9 at Mr. Marine's, Mrs. Norman, Longden, Labbe, etc., supper, singing, prayer; 11.30.



Hon^d S^r [illegible] 1739

[illegible] I began
to play the Madman in G[illegible]
tershire by preaching on a ta[illegible]
in Thornbury street — [illegible]
have exhorted twice & [illegible] by
shall begin a third time — [illegible]
[illegible] you by the way [illegible]
suppose you have [illegible]
proceedings in Kingswood [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

letters that come directed for me
(if you judge me worthy) send
me a line to Glou'ster. I wish you all
the success imaginable in your mi-
nistry, & I pray G^d my d^r friends
may grow in Grace un-
der ~~your~~ ministry. Parting from
him has struck a little damp
upon my joy. but G^d will quick-
[illegible] Hon^d S^r

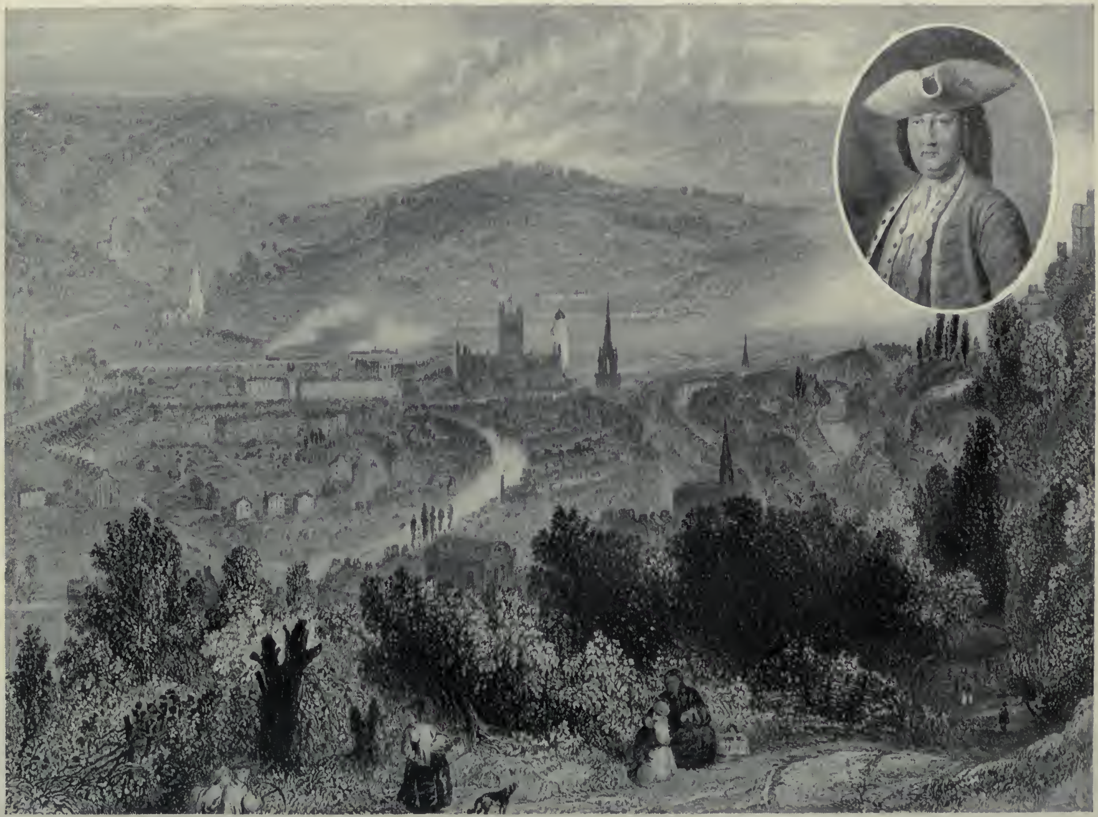
Your [illegible] friend
G.

[illegible] love to
the [illegible]

[illegible] April 3 1739
3^d April 1739

The Rev^d M^r [illegible]
at M^r [illegible]
Bristol

FACSIMILE LETTER, WHITEFIELD TO WESLEY, APRIL 3, 1739 (*see* PAGE 171).



BATH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, WITH INSET PORTRAIT OF BEAU NASH.

Tues. 5.—There was great expectation at Bath of what a noted man [1] was to do to me there; and I was much entreated

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now agreed she should go where she would, and seem themselves 'not far from the kingdom of God.'

I preached to about 2,000 on Wednesday at Baptist Mills, on 'Hear what the unjust judge saith.' In the evening the female bands admitted seven women on trial, and ten children. And Elizabeth Cutler, and six other women, having been on trial their month, were by lot fixed in their several bands.

At 8 we received into our society (after the month's trial) Jonathan Reeves and six others, who at the lovefeast on the 27th instant were by lot fixed in their bands. We then received upon trial John Haydon and eight other men, and Thomas Hamilton (aged 14) with four other children.

Thurs. 24.—We breakfasted at Richard Champion's, where were eight or nine other Quakers. We had a mild conference on justification by faith alone, concluded with prayer, and both met and parted in love. At three I preached again on Priestdown, near Peblow [*sic*], to a larger congregation than before on [Isa. liii., 'the chastisement of our peace,' &c.].

On *Friday* I preached (the first time) at the Fishponds on the edge of Kingswood, about two miles from Bristol [to 2,000 persons. . . . At the Brickyard on Monday afternoon. At Baldwin Street in the evening, where two children 'received remission of sins.' Letter continues :]

On *Tuesday* in the afternoon I preached at Two-Mile-Hill to about a thousand of the colliers; and at five expounded to about the same number in the Back Lane, at John Haydon's door. [Next morning a young Quaker was 'baptized and filled with the Holy Ghost.' In the afternoon 'unknowingly' he] fell in with a famous infidel, a champion of the unfaithful in these parts. He was shocked, desired I would pray for him. . . . We went from him to Baptist Mills.

On *Holy Thursday* many of us went to King's Weston Hill, four or five miles from Bristol. As we were sitting on the grass two gentlemen went by, and, by way of jest, sent up many persons to us from the neighbouring villages; to whom, therefore, I took occasion to speak these words, 'Thou hast ascended up on high. . . .' In the evening, our landlord in Baldwin Street not permitting us to meet there any more, we had our second society at Weavers' Hall, where I preached the next morning also. In the afternoon I was at a new brickyard, where were 1,200 or 1,500.

[*Sunday.*]—We could not meet in the evening at Nicholas Street; but we made shift to do so in the shell of our schoolroom [i.e. the room in the Horsefair]; without and within which (I suppose) about 2,000 or 2,500 were present. We had a glorious beginning. The scripture which came in turn to be read was, 'Marvel not if the world hate you.' We sang 'Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!' And God, even our own God, gave us His blessing!

Farewell in the Lord, my dear Brethren; and love one another.

[1] Beau Nash, born at Carmarthen, Oct. 18, 1674, son of a glass-manufacturer, educated at Jesus College, Oxford, but expelled thence for his intrigues and wild adventures. At the age of thirty he was without a fortune, and without talents for acquiring one; and hence to the end of his life became a gamester. He was acknowledged 'Master of the Ceremonies' by the leaders of fashion and frivolity who made Bath their health resort. His code of Rules was posted in the Pump Room, from which even royalty was not allowed to deviate. By successes at the gambling-tables he was able to appear in splendour, dressed in costly finery, adorned with expensive lace, and wearing a monstrously large white

not to preach, because no one knew what might happen. By this report I also gained a much larger audience,[1] among whom were many of the rich and the great. I told them plainly the Scripture had concluded them all under sin—high and low, rich and poor, one with another. Many of them seemed to be a little surprised, and were sinking apace into seriousness, when their champion appeared, and, coming close to me, asked by what authority I did these things. I replied, 'By the authority of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the (now) Archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid hands upon me, and said, "Take thou authority to preach the gospel."' He said, 'This is contrary to Act of Parliament: this is a conventicle.' I answered, 'Sir, the conventicles mentioned in that Act (as the preamble shows) are seditious meetings; but this is not such; here is no shadow of sedition; therefore it is not contrary to that Act.' He replied, 'I say it is; and, beside, your preaching frightens people out of their wits.' 'Sir, did you ever hear me preach?' 'No.' 'How, then, can you judge of what you never heard?' 'Sir, by common report.' 'Common report is not enough. Give me leave, sir, to ask, Is not your name Nash?' 'My name is Nash.' 'Sir, I dare not judge of you by common report: I think it not enough to judge by.' Here he paused awhile, and, having recovered himself, said, 'I desire to know what this people comes here for': on which

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Tuesday 5

6¼ Prayed, writ to Miss Burdock; 8 tea together, writ; 10 at Mr. Deschamps'; 10.45 set out, conversed to Mr. Eyre; 1.30 Bath, at Mr. Dibble's, dinner, conversed; 3 at R. Merchant's, within; 4 preached, Mr. Nash [Beau Nash]; 5.45 set out; 7 at our Room; 9 at Mrs. Deschamps', Mr. Tindal there, within, singing, prayer; 10 at home, supper, conversed; 11.15.

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hat; and usually drove about in a post-chaise drawn by six grey horses, honoured with outriders, footmen, French horns, and every other appendage of a pretentious coxcomb. Reverses overtook him, and, forsaken by the lovers of pleasure, his professed friends, he died in poverty in 1761, but had a magnificent funeral at the expense of the city. See Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i. p. 237.

[1] See Moravian Letter, 'A thousand new hearers.' The scene of this encounter, therefore, was not the Pump Room nor the Assembly Rooms, but, as the letter makes evident, out of doors; in fact, in one of the several meadows occupied by Wesley at Bath since his first visit. Perhaps this was Richard Merchant's field, where Wesley was preaching on June 17. It was refused him on July 17.

one replied, 'Sir, leave him to me; let an old woman answer him. You, Mr. Nash, take care of your body; we take care of our souls: and for the food of our souls we come here.' He replied not a word, but walked away.

As I returned the street was full of people, hurrying to and fro, and speaking great words. But when any of them asked, 'Which is he?' and I replied, 'I am he,' they were immediately silent. Several ladies following me into Mr. Merchant's house, the servant told me there were some wanted to speak to me. I went to them, and said, 'I believe, ladies, the maid mistook; you only wanted to look at me.' I added, 'I do not expect that the rich and great should want either to speak with me or to hear me; for I speak the plain truth—a thing you hear little of, and do not desire to hear.' A few more words passed between us, and I retired.

Thur. 7.—I preached at Priestdown on, 'What must we do to be saved?' In the midst of the prayer after sermon, two men (hired, as we afterwards understood, for that purpose) began singing a ballad. After a few mild words (for I saw none[1] that were angry), used without effect, we all began singing a psalm, which put them entirely to silence. We then poured out our souls in prayer for them, and they appeared

Wednesday 6

6¾ Prayed, writ to Mrs. Fox and S. Hurst; 8 tea, within; 9 writ to Bro. Gibbs, Shaw, Clark; 10.45 Newgate, three christened; 12.45 at home, prayed; 1 conversed to many; 3 at Captain Williams' [this, probably, Wesley's Georgia acquaintance whose affidavit before the Bristol magistrate (Clutterbuck) precipitated the publication of the First Journal-Extract], prayer, conversed; 4 Baptist Mills, 2,500, John ix.; 5.15 at Mr. Champion's [see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 6], conversed, tea, prayer; 6.30 at home, the leaders; 7 with the women; 8 Baldwin St.; 9.15 at Mrs. Thornhill's [*W.H.S* vol. v. p. 11]; 9 conversed; 9.45 with Mrs. Cooper [French prophetess], she spoke; 11 at Mr. Labbe's! 11 supper; 12.

Thursday 7

7 Prayed; 7.15 writ to bro. Samuel; 8.15 tea, conversed; 6 writ; 11 writ to Miss Burdock; 12.30 dinner, conversed, writ; 1.45 set out with Deschamps and Cornish, conversed, 2.45; Pensford, at the society, conversed, singing; 3.15 Priestdown, Acts xvi. 30, 400; 4.45 at Mr. Jeffry's, tea; 5.15 set out, conversed; 6.45 Weavers' Hall; 8.45 at Bro. Williams', singing, conversed, supper, prayer; 11.15.

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[1] Erroneously, in previous editions, 'some.'

altogether confounded. Oh may this be a day much to be remembered by them, for the loving-kindness of the Lord!

MORAVIAN LETTER

To Mr. Hutton, Bookseller, near Temple Bar, London

BRISTOL,
June 7, 1739.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,

After I came from preaching at Weavers' Hall on Monday many came to advise me 'not to go to the Brickyard in the afternoon, because of some terrible things that were to be done there if I did.' This report brought many thither of what they call the better sort, so that it added a thousand, at least, to the usual audience. . . . My nose began bleeding in the midst of the sermon, but presently stopped, so that I went on without interruption, and the power of God fell on all, so that the scoffers stood looking one on another, but none opened his mouth.

All Bath on Tuesday was big with expectation of what a great man was to do to me there; and I was much entreated not to preach, 'because no one knew what might happen.' By this report also I gained (I believe) a thousand new hearers, of the rich and great of this world. I told them plainly 'the Scripture hath concluded all under sin,' high and low, rich and poor, one with another. They appeared not a little surprised, and sinking apace into seriousness, when their champion appeared, and, having forced his way through the people, asked, 'By what authority I did these things?' I answered, 'By the authority of Jesus my Master, conveyed to me by the (now) Archbishop of Canterbury.' He said it was contrary to the Act of Parliament; there was an Act of Parliament against 'conventicles.' I replied, 'The conventicles there mentioned were seditious meetings, but there were no such here.' He said, 'Yes, it was; for it frighted the people out of their wits.' I asked if he had ever heard me preach. If not, how could he judge of what he never heard? He said, 'By common report, for he knew my character.' I then asked, 'Pray, sir, are you a justice of peace, or the mayor of this city?' Answer: 'No, I am not.' Q.: 'Why then, sir, pray by what authority do you ask me these things?' Here he paused a little, and I went on: 'Give me leave, sir, to ask, Is not your name Nash?' Answer: 'My name is Nash.' 'Why then, sir, I trust common report is no good evidence of truth.' Here the laugh turned full against him, so that he looked about and could scarce recover. Then a bystander said, 'Sir, let an old woman answer him.' Then, turning to Mr. Nash, she said, 'Sir, if you ask what we come here for, we come for the food of our souls. You care for your body. We care for our souls.' He replied not one word, but turned and walked away.

We immediately began praying for him, and then for all the despisers. As we returned, they followed and hissed us along the street; but when any of them asked, 'Which is he?' and I answered, 'I am he,' they were immediately silent. Ten or twelve fine ladies followed me into the passage of Richard Merchant's house. I turned back to them, and told them I supposed what they wanted was to look at me; such they were very welcome to do. Perceiving them to be more serious, I added, 'I do not expect the rich of the world to hear me. For I speak plain truth—a thing you know little of, and do not desire to know.' A few words more passed between us, and, I hope, not in vain.

Wed. 6.—Two men and one woman were baptized. About 2,500 were at Baptist Mills, to whom I explained the ninth of St. John. In the evening, after our meeting in Baldwin Street, I went (in obedience to God's command by lot) to the house of Mrs. Cooper, the supposed prophetess. Her agitations were nothing near so violent as those of Mary Plewit are. She prayed awhile (as under the hand of God), and then spoke to me above half an hour. What spirit she spoke of I know not. The words were good. Some of them were these: 'Thou art yet in darkness. But yet a little while and I will rend the veil, and thou shalt see the King in His beauty.' I felt no power while she spoke. Appearances are against her, but I judge nothing before the time.

On *Thursday*, after exhorting the little society at Pensford (who stand as a rock, continually battered but not shaken) I went to Priestdown, where we had a larger company than before. I preached on 'What must I do to be saved?' It rained hard, but none went away, except one young woman, who came again in a few minutes. In the midst of the prayer two men (who came for that purpose) began singing a ballad. After a few mild words (for I saw none yet were angry) we began singing a psalm, which utterly put them to silence. We then prayed for them, and they were quite confounded. I offered them books, but they could not read. I trust this will be a day much to be remembered by them, for the loving-kindness of the Lord.

My brethren, be meek and lowly; be wise, but not prudent. Stir up the gift that is in you by keeping close together. Love one another, and be ye thankful. You are much in the heart, as well as in the prayers of

Your affectionate brother in Christ,

JOHN WESLEY.

Jemmy Hutton, if I have not fifty more hymns next Friday, I will not thank you. Whe[re] are the twelve Haliburtons, and the Nelson's Sermons, which Mr. Seward writ me word he ordered you to send me, with twenty hymns on his account?

O Jemmy, Jemmy!

June 10, 1739.

Friday 8

6¼ Prayed, writ to Bro. Hodges and Gould; 8 tea, conversed; 9.15 writ N.; at Mr. Wigginton's, conversed, he angry; 10.45 Weavers' Hall; Mrs. Davis, conversed; 12.45 at home, prayed; 1 conversed to many; 2.30 set out; 3.15 at the Fishponds, Rom. iii. 19, visited; 5.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 5.45 at home, within; at Mr. Wigginton's; 6.45 Gloucester Lane; 9 at Captain Williams's, prayer, supper, conversed prayer; 10.30 at home, Mrs. Grevile, within; 11.

Saturday 9

5¾ Prayed; 6.15 writ to Dr. Isham [rector of Lincoln Coll.]; 8 tea, conversed, writ; 10.45 read *History of Puritans*; 12.15 meditated, prayed; 1 dinner, conversed to many; 2.30 visited; 3 at Mrs. Will[iams'], communion, ten there; 4 Bowling Green, Jo[hn] 9, 1,000; 5.15 at home, within; 6 at Mrs. Dissign's, tea, singing; 6.30 Weavers' Hall; 8.45 at Bro. Williams's, writ to S. Burdock; 9 at Mrs. Davis's, 10 Miss Sm[ith], Mrs. Longden, Mrs. Labbe, etc., singing, supper, prayer; 11.15 at home, in talk; 11.45.

Sunday 10

6¼ Drest, meditated; 7 Bowling Green, 3,000, John iii. 8; 9 at Mrs. Willis's, communion, ten there, tea; 10.30 Hannam; 11 Acts ii. 1, 2, 3, 1,200; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner, conversed; 1.30 at home, Diary; 2 ended my letter; 2.30 All Saints'; 4.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 5 Rose Green, 3,000, Acts ii. 1, etc.; 7 at the Room; 9 at home, the women's lovefeast; 10 conversed to Tho. Whitefield, 10.45.

Mon. 11.—I received a pressing letter from London[1] (as I had several others before) to come thither as soon as possible, our brethren in Fetter Lane being in great confusion for want of my presence and advice. I therefore preached in the afternoon[2] on these words: 'I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.' After sermon I commended them to the grace of God, in whom they had believed. Surely God hath yet a work to do in this place. I have not found such love, no, not in England; nor so child-like, artless, teachable a temper, as He hath given to this people.

Yet during this whole time I had many thoughts concerning the unusual manner of my ministering among them. But after frequently laying it before the Lord, and calmly weighing whatever objections I heard against it, I could not but adhere to what I had some time since wrote to a friend,[3] who had freely spoken his sentiments concerning it. An extract of that letter I here subjoin, that the matter may be placed in a clear light.

DEAR SIR,

The best return I can make for the kind freedom you use is to use the same to you. Oh may the God whom we serve sanctify it to us both, and teach us the whole truth as it is in Jesus!

You say you cannot reconcile some parts of my behaviour with the character I have long supported. No, nor ever will. Therefore I have disclaimed that character on every possible occasion. I told all in our ship, all at Savannah, all at Frederica, and that over and over,

Monday 11

5¼ Prayed; 6 Christian Perfection; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 Christian Perfection; 10.45 Weavers' Hall; 12.15 at home, prayed, lots, I go to London, dinner, within; 2.15 Diary; ! 3 writ N., conversation to many; 4 Brickyard, Acts. xx. 26; 5 3,500; 5 at Mrs. Norman's, many tarry, conversed, tea, singing; 6 prayer; 6.30 set out with Bro. Deschamps, conversed with Vaugh[an] and Parsons; 7.45 they went, conversed; 9 Mashfield [Marshfield]; 9 at the Crown, Diary; 9.15 within; 9.45 supper, writ to Miss Burdock.

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[1] From Mr. Edmonds. See under date July 16, 1740.

[2] In Bristol at the Brickyard. See Diary.

[3] Rev. James Hervey, who had been his pupil, and was the author of *Theron and Aspasia*, *Meditations*, &c. (Moore, vol. i. p. 456).

in express terms, 'I am not a Christian; I only follow after, if haply I may attain it.' When they urged my works and self-denial, I answered short, 'Though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and my body to be burned, I am nothing: for I have not charity; I do not love God with all my heart.' If they added, 'Nay, but you could not preach as you do, if you was not a Christian,' I again confronted them with St. Paul: 'Though I speak with the tongue of men and angels, and have not charity, I am nothing.' Most earnestly, therefore, both in public and private, did I inculcate this: 'Be not ye shaken, however I may fall, for the foundation standeth sure.'

If you ask on what principle, then, I acted, it was this: A desire to be a Christian; and a conviction that, whatever I judge conducive thereto, that I am bound to do; wherever I judge I can best answer this end, thither it is my duty to go. On this principle I set out for America, on this I visited the Moravian Church, and on the same am I ready now (God being my helper) to go to Abyssinia or China, or whithersoever it shall please God, by this conviction, to call me.

As to your advice that I should settle in college, I have no business there, having now no office and no pupils. And whether the other branch of your proposal be expedient for me, viz. 'To accept of a cure of souls,' it will be time enough to consider when one is offered to me.

But, in the meantime, you think I ought to sit still; because otherwise I should invade another's office if I interfered with other people's business, and intermeddled with souls that did not belong to me. You accordingly ask, 'How is it that I assemble Christians, who are none of my charge, to sing psalms, and pray, and hear the Scriptures expounded?' and think it hard to justify doing this in other men's parishes, upon catholic principles.

Permit me to speak plainly. If by catholic principles you mean any other than scriptural, they weigh nothing with me. I allow no other rule, whether of faith or practice, than the Holy Scriptures; but, on scriptural principles, I do not think it hard to justify whatever I do. God in Scripture commands me, according to my power, to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous. Man forbids me to do this in another's parish: that is, in effect, to do it at all; seeing I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall. Whom, then, shall I hear, God or man? 'If it be just to obey man rather than God, judge you. A dispensation of the gospel is committed to me; and woe is me if I preach not the gospel.' But where shall I preach it, upon the principles you mention? Why, not in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America; not in any of the Christian parts, at least, of the habitable earth. For all these are, after a sort, divided into parishes. If it be said, 'Go back, then, to the heathens from whence you came': nay, but neither could I now (on your principles) preach to them; for all the heathens in Georgia belong to the parish either of Savannah or Frederica.

Suffer me now to tell you my principles in this matter. I look upon all the world as my parish[1]; thus far I mean, that, in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to; and sure I am that His blessing attends it. Great encouragement have I, therefore, to be faithful in fulfilling the work He hath given me to do. His servant I am, and, as such, am employed according to the plain direction of His word: 'As I have opportunity, doing good unto all men.' And His providence clearly concurs with His word, which has disengaged me from all things else that I might singly attend on this very thing, 'and go about doing good.'

If you ask, 'How can this be? How can one do good, of whom *men say all manner of evil*?' I will put you in mind (though you once knew this, yea, and much established me in that great truth) the more evil men say of me, for my Lord's sake, the more good will He do by me. That it is for His sake, I know, and He knoweth, and the event agreeth thereto; for He mightily confirms the words I speak, by the Holy Ghost given unto those that hear them. Oh my friend, my heart is moved toward you. I fear you have herein 'made shipwreck of the faith.' I fear 'Satan, transformed into an angel of light,' hath assaulted you, and prevailed also. I fear that offspring of hell, worldly or mystic prudence, has drawn you away from the simplicity of the gospel. How else could you ever conceive that the being reviled and 'hated of all men' should make us less fit for our Master's service? How else could you ever think of 'saving yourself and them that hear you' without being 'the filth and offscouring of the world'? To this hour is this scripture true; and I therein rejoice; yea, and will rejoice. Blessed be God, I enjoy the reproach of Christ! Oh may you also be vile, exceeding vile, for His sake! God forbid that you should ever be other than generally scandalous; I had almost said universally. If any man tell you there is a new way of following Christ, 'he is a liar, and the truth is not in him.'

I am, &c.

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[1] This phrase also appears in a letter dated Nov. 10, 1739, written by Whitefield to 'a Dissenting minister, the Rev. Mr. R—— D——' (probably Risdon Darracott, of Wellington, see p. 260, note). Whitefield may have read a copy of Wesley's letter before he sailed for America. The thought which was thus embodied in a happy phrase had long been familiar to the older members of the 'Holy Club,' as also to all the Epworth Wesleys.

Wed. 13.—In the morning I came to London; and after receiving the Holy Communion at Islington, I had once more an opportunity of seeing my mother,[1] whom I had not seen since my return from Germany.

I cannot but mention an odd circumstance here. I had read her a paper in June last year, containing a short account of what had passed in my own soul till within a few days of that time. She greatly approved it, and said she heartily blessed God, who had brought me to so just a way of thinking. While I was in Germany a copy of that paper was sent (without my knowledge) to one of my relations.[2] He sent an account of it to my mother, whom I now found under strange fears concerning me, being convinced 'by an account taken from one of my own papers that I had greatly erred from the faith.' I could not conceive what paper that should be; but, on inquiry, found it was the same I had read her myself.—How hard is it to form a true judgement of any person or thing from the

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Tuesday 12

4 Set out, meditated; 8.30 Marlborough, tea, conversed; 10.30 set out; 1.30 Woollington, conversed, dinner; 3 set out; 5 met Kezzy, conversed; 6.15 Hare-hatch with three more; set out, meditated; 9.15 Slough, supper, within; 11.

Wednesday 13

4½ Drest; 4.45 set out; 8.30 at Mrs. West's, Charles there, tea, conversed, set out with Charles, conversed; 11 Islington, prayers, communion; 12.30 with my mother, within; 2 at Mrs. West's, dinner; 4 with the women, at Mr. Bray's, Hutch[ings] there, conversed, tea, singing; 5.30 Fetter Lane; 8 Fetter Lane; 11 supper.

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[1] She had been residing in the country with Mr. and Mrs. Westley Hall, and removed with them to London.

In a letter to her son Charles, dated Dec. 27, 1739, Mrs. Wesley writes:

> You cannot more desire to see me than I do to see you. Your brother, whom I shall henceforth call Son Wesley, since my dear Sam is gone home, has just been with me, and much revived my spirits. Indeed, I have often found that he never speaks in my hearing without my receiving some spiritual benefit. But his visits are seldom and short, for which I never blame him, because I know he is well employed, and, blessed be God, hath great success in his ministry. But, my dear Charles, still I want either him or you; for indeed, in the most literal sense, I am become a little child, and want continual succour. 'As iron sharpeneth iron, so doth the countenance of a man his friend.' I feel much comfort and support from religious conversation when I can obtain it, &c.

[2] His brother Samuel Wesley, who probably received it from Mrs. Hutton, who obtained possession of it from her son. Mrs. Hutton appears to have been highly incensed at John Wesley because of the part he had taken in her son's conversion.

account of a prejudiced relater! Yea, though he be ever so honest a man—for he who gave this relation was one of unquestionable veracity. And yet by his *sincere* account of a writing which lay before his eyes was the truth so totally disguised that my mother knew not the paper she had heard from end to end, nor I that I had myself wrote.

At six I warned the women at Fetter Lane[1] (knowing how they had been lately shaken) 'not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits, whether they were of God.' Our brethren met at eight, when it pleased God to remove many misunderstandings and offences that had crept in among them, and to restore in good measure 'the spirit of love and of a sound mind.'

Thur. 14.—I went with Mr. Whitefield to Blackheath,[2] where were, I believe, twelve or fourteen thousand people. He a little surprised me by desiring me to preach in his stead, which I did (though nature recoiled), on my favourite subject, 'Jesus Christ, who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.'

I was greatly moved with compassion for the rich that were there, to whom I made a particular application. Some of them

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Thursday 14

7¼ I dress, conversed; 8 at Mrs. West's, within; 9.15 set out, read George Whitefield's Journal; 1 Blendon, dinner conversed with George Whitefield; 4 writ to Bro. Purdy, tea; 5 set out; 6.45 Blackheath, preached, 15,000, 1 Cor. i. 30; 8 at the Green Man, conversed, read Seagrave's *Answer to Trapp* [Whitefield heard Dr. Trapp at Christchurch, in London, 'preach most virulently against me and my friends,' Journal, Sunday, April 29, 1739]; 9.30 supper, singing, G. Whitefield spoke; 11.30.

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[1] Charles Wesley was present, and the doings of the prophetess were discussed. 'All agreed to disown her.' Bray and Bowers were much humbled. (Charles Wesley's Journal, new ed. p. 238.)

[2] Whitefield writes in his Journal:

JUNE 14, *Thur.*—Spent the whole day in my pleasant and profitable retreat at Blendon, and in the evening had the pleasure of introducing my honoured and revered friend, Mr. John Wesley, to preach at Blackheath. The Lord give him ten thousand times more success than He has given me! After sermon, we spent the evening most agreeably together with many Christian friends at the Green Man—about ten we admitted all to come in that would. The room was soon filled—God gave me utterance. I exhorted and prayed for near an hour, and then went to bed, rejoicing that another fresh inroad was made into Satan's territories by Mr. Wesley's following me in field-preaching as well in London as in Bristol. Lord, give the word, and great shall be the company of fresh preachers. Amen. Amen.

Charles Wesley was also present.

seemed to attend, while others drove away their coaches from so uncouth a preacher.

Fri. 15.—I had much talk with one who is called a Quaker [Anthony Purver]; but he could not receive my saying. I was too strict for him, and talked of such a perfection as he could not think necessary; being persuaded there was no harm in costly apparel, provided it was plain and grave; nor in putting scarlet or gold upon our houses, so it were not upon our clothes.

In the evening I went to a society at Wapping,[1] weary in body and faint in spirit. I intended to speak on Rom. iii. 19, but could not tell how to open my mouth. And all the time we were singing my mind was full of some place, I knew not where, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. I begged God to direct, and opened the book on Heb. x. 19: 'Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest, by the blood of Jesus; by a new and living way[2] which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, His flesh . . . let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith; having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water.' While I was earnestly inviting all sinners to 'enter into the holiest' by this 'new and living way' many of those that heard began to call upon God with strong cries and tears. Some sunk down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently that often four or five persons could not hold one of them. I have seen many hysterical

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Friday 15

4½ Drest; 4.30 set out with James Hutton, etc., read G. Whitefield's Journal; 6.30 at Mrs. West's, slept; 8 at Nicholas Davis's, Anthony Purvor there; 9.15 at Mrs. West's, at Mr. Bray's on business; 12.30 Islington, with my mother, conversed; 3 at sister Hall's, within; 4 at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed, singing; 5.15 at Mrs. Mill's, conversed to Tompson; 6 at the Room, Wapping, twenty-six; 11 at home, ate; 11.30.

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[1] Charles Wesley writes under date June 22: 'My brother was wonderfully owned at Wapping last week.' Charles also received a wonderful answer to prayer.

[2] Heb. x. 19. As Wesley lay dying, he was overheard saying, 'There is no way into the holiest but by the blood of Jesus.'

and many epileptic fits; but none of them were like these in many respects. I immediately prayed that God would not suffer those who were weak to be offended. But one woman was offended greatly, being sure they might help it if they would—no one should persuade her to the contrary; and was got three or four yards when she also dropped down, in as violent an agony as the rest. Twenty-six of those who had been thus affected (most of whom, during the prayers which were made for them; were in a moment filled with peace and joy) promised to call upon me the next day. But only eighteen came; by talking closely with whom I found reason to believe that some of them had gone home to their house justified. The rest seemed to be waiting patiently for it.

Sat. 16.—We met at Fetter Lane,[1] to humble ourselves before God, and own He had justly withdrawn His Spirit from us for our manifold unfaithfulness. We acknowledged our having grieved Him by our divisions: 'one saying, I am of Paul; another, I am of Apollos'; by our leaning again to our own works, and trusting in them, instead of Christ; by our resting in those little beginnings of sanctification which it had pleased Him to work in our souls; and, above all, by blaspheming His work among us, imputing it either to nature, to

Saturday 16

6½ Drest, within; 7.15 St. Dunstan's; 9 at home, conversed to many, tea, conversed to Hutchings, etc.; 12 Fetter Lane; 2 at Bro. Clark's, dinner, conversed; 3 Fetter Lane; 5 at sister Hall's, with sister Kezzy in talk; 6 Fetter Lane; 8 at home, Esther Hopson, supper; 9.30 Fetter Lane; 11 at home; 11.15 ᛦ.

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[1] That the Wesleys and Whitefield regarded the Fetter Lane society as constituted of members of the Church of England is very evident. On May 20, 1739, Whitefield enters in his Journal:

> Went with our brethren of the Fetter Lane society to St. Paul's and received the holy sacrament, as testimony that we adhered to the Church of England.

In the interval of about three weeks between this service and John Wesley's arrival in London, Charles Wesley records several complaints of the anti-Church of England spirit and conduct of two members of the Fetter Lane society, named Shaw and Wolf, who renounced their connexion with the English Church and claimed the right to administer the sacraments themselves. On June 13 Charles writes:

> My brother returned. We had the prophetess affair before the society. . . . Brother Hall proposed expelling Shaw and Wolf. We consented, *nem. con.*, that their names should be erased out of the society-book, because they disowned themselves members of the Church of England.

the force of imagination and animal spirits, or even to the delusion of the devil. In that hour we found God with us as at the first. Some fell prostrate upon the ground; others burst out, as with one consent, into loud praise and thanksgiving. And many openly testified there had been no such day as this since January the first preceding.

Sun. 17.—I preached, at seven, in Upper Moorfields, to (I believe) six or seven thousand people, on, 'Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.' In the afternoon I saw poor R[ichar]d T[ompso]n, who had left our society and the Church. We did not dispute, but pray; and in a short space the scales fell off from his eyes. He gladly returned to the Church, and was in the evening readmitted into our society.

At five I preached on Kennington Common to about fifteen thousand people on those words, 'Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth.'

Mon. 18.—I left London early in the morning, and the next evening reached Bristol, and preached (as I had appointed, if God should permit) to a numerous congregation. My text now also was, 'Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth.' Howell Harris[1] called upon me an hour or two

Sunday 17

5¾ Drest, meditated; 6.45 Moorfields, 7,000, Isa. lv.; 8.45 at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed, Betty and Esther Hopson, singing; 9.30 at home, Bro. Shaw and Wolf, conversed, prayer; 11 Diary, writ Journal; 12.30 read; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 at Bro. Patterson's, conversed, prayer; 3 at Mrs. Mill's, conversed, tea; 5.15 at Kennington Common, Isa. xlv. 22, 15,000; 7 Fetter Lane, women bands; 9.30 our bands, conversed, prayer; 10.30 at home, supper; 11.15.

Monday 18

4½ Within, chocolate; 5.45 set out; 10 Colebrook, tea, conversed; 11 set out; 3 Reading, dinner; 4 set out, 6.45 Feacham, conversed to them; 7.15 set out; 8.45 at an inn, walked, Diary; 9.15 meditated, supper, 10.30.

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[1] Howell Harris, born at Trevecca in 1714, was sent to Oxford, with a view to holy orders. Appalled at the immoralities prevalent there, he left after one term. He found the Christian salvation, and began at once to call sinners to repentance. Whitefield, who met him at Cardiff about three months before Wesley saw him, writes thus:

> A burning and a shining light . . . a barrier against profaneness and immorality. . . . Twice he has applied for holy orders, but was refused. . . . He offered himself again, but was put off. . . . For three years he has

after. He said he had been much dissuaded from either hearing or seeing me by many who said all manner of evil of me. 'But,' said he, 'as soon as I heard you preach I quickly found what spirit you was of. And before you had done I was so overpowered with joy and love that I had much ado to walk home.'

It is scarce credible what advantage Satan had gained during my absence of only eight days. Disputes had crept into our little society, so that the love of many was already waxed cold. I showed them the state they were in the next day[1] (both at Newgate and at Baptist Mills) from those words,

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discoursed almost twice every day. . . . He has been in seven counties, and has made it his business to go to wakes, to turn people from such lying vanities. Many alehouse people, fiddlers, harpers, cry out against him for spoiling their business. He has had constables sent to apprehend him, but God has blessed him with inflexible courage. . . . He is of a most catholic spirit, and therefore is styled a dissenter. He discourses generally in a field. . . . He has established near thirty societies in South Wales (Whitefield's Journal, March 8, 1739).

[1] Mrs. Grevil's attachment to the society was capricious, and apparently her zeal short-lived. During Wesley's absence she was caught in the disputes which nearly wrecked the society. She refused to allow the women bands any longer to use her house as their meeting-place. Wesley was greatly 'enlarged in prayer for Mrs. Grevil.' 'Oh that she may again feel herself a lost sinner.' Perhaps she did, and recovered herself; for in the September following she accompanied Charles Wesley to a service at Conham. Yet on the 22nd of the same month Charles Wesley's Journal reports: 'Mr. Seward told me Mrs. Grevil and others had urged him to claim the Room in the Horsefair; but he abhorred their baseness.' Finally, if we may anticipate and complete the Grevil story, on Sept. 1, 1740, Charles Wesley writes thus to Whitefield: 'Your sister (God help her! God convert her!) is far, very far from the kingdom of heaven. She has forsaken the word, and servants, and ministers of Christ, put herself out of the bands, and is the worst enemy they have. Her complaints that the Methodists were burdensome to her forced me, after paying for my board, to hasten to my lodging at the New Room.' In the same letter Charles, telling his friend Whitefield 'the simple truth,' says: 'Your mother continues dead in sin, yet well affected toward us.' Apparently Mrs. Whitefield, presumably a widow, lived with her daughter Mrs. Grevil in Wine Street, as far as can now be ascertained in a house near the great 'Dutch House,' opposite the house in which Southey lived, and as a boy received Wesley's blessing. Whitefield, when in Bristol, lodged there. John Wesley and (later) Charles made it their home. It at first bade fair to become in Bristol what Mr. Fox's house was in Oxford and Mr. Bray's in London—a boarding-house, a band-meeting house, and house of call for the Methodists. The Wesley correspondence in the Colman Collection shows that for some years—probably after Wesley ceased to lodge there—'At Mrs. Grevil's, grocer, Wine Street, Bristol,' continued to be his most usual postal address, and, but for Mrs. Grevil's defection, would probably have remained so still longer. A description of Wesley's Bristol will be found in an article in the Winter Number of the *Methodist Recorder* for 1901. See also photographs of the Dutch House and Southey's birthplace

'Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.' And when we met in the evening, instead of reviving the dispute, we all betook ourselves to prayer. Our Lord was with us. Our divisions were healed; misunderstandings vanished away; and all our hearts were sweetly drawn together and united as at the first.

Tuesday 19

4 Drest; 4.15 set out; 8.15 Marlboro', tea, conversed; 9.15 set out, Caln, dinner, conversed; 12 set out; 3 Marshfield, tea, conversed; 4 set out; 5 Cornish, etc., met us, conversed; 6 at Anthony Williams', tea, conversed, singing; 7 Bowling Green, Isa. xlv. 22, 5,000; 8.15 at home, conversed to many; 9 supper, Howell Harris, conversed, supper; 11.

Wednesday 20

6½ Prayed, 2 Sam. xx. 20; 7 writ to G. Whitefield; 8.30 tea, conversed; 10.45 Newgate; 12.45 at home, slept; 2 Diary, meditated; 3 visited; 3.15 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 4 Baptist Mills, 1,200, Luke xxii. 31; 5.30 at Mr. Labbe's, tea, conversed; 6.30 at home, conversed; 7 at Elizabeth Davis's with the women; 8 Baldwin St., within, prayer, all willing; ! 10 supper, conversed; 11.15.

Thursday 21

6 Conversed to Mr. Bailis; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 on business; 12.15 meditated, prayer, 1 dinner; 1.30 set out, conversed to Edward Sm[ith]; 3.15 Publow, 150, Isa. lxv. 22; 4.30 at Mr. Jeffrey's, set out, read G. Whitefield's Journal; 6 at home, Diary, tea, conversed; 6.45 at our Room; 9 at Miss Cutler's, with M[olly] Deacon's band, conversed, prayer; 10 supper, conversed; 11 at home, conversed; 11.30.

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in Wine Street, pp. 169–70. We do not know certainly what living accommodation was provided in the Horsefair room in 1739. Probably even at that early date it was thought desirable to provide a few small sleeping-rooms for the Wesleys, so that they might not be dependent upon families who were liable at any moment to be drawn into the whirl of excited gossip and still more excited controversy which, alas! marked the early days of Methodism in Bristol. The later accommodation, after the enlargement of the building, we are familiar with; for it remains to this day, and is used for lodgers, just as in early times it was used by Wesley and his 'helpers' who itinerated in the West country, and often needed a lodging-place in Bristol. The construction of the building suggests some such community life as Wesley had seen at Herrnhut and Herrnhaag. It was adapted for educational and social work, and for the fellowship of bands and society-meetings.

Fri. 22.—I called on one [Whitehead][1] who 'did run well,' till he was hindered by some of those called French prophets. 'Woe unto the prophets, saith the Lord, who prophesy in My name, and I have not sent them.' At Weavers' Hall I endeavoured to point them out; and earnestly exhorted all that followed after holiness to avoid, as fire, all who do not speak according 'to the Law and Testimony.'

In the afternoon I preached at the Fishponds, but had no life or spirit in me, and was much in doubt whether God would not lay me aside and send other labourers into His harvest. I came to the society full of this thought; and began, in much weakness, to explain, 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God.' I told them they were not to judge of the spirit whereby any one spoke either by appearances, or by common report, or by their own inward feelings. No, nor by any dreams, visions, or revelations supposed to be made to their souls; any more than by their tears, or any involuntary effects wrought upon their bodies. I warned them all these were, in themselves, of a doubtful, disputable nature; they might be from God, and they might not; and were therefore not simply to be relied on (any more than simply to be condemned), but to be tried by a farther rule to be brought to the only certain test—the Law and the Testimony. While I was speaking one before me dropped down as dead, and presently a second and a third. Five others sunk down in half an hour, most of whom were in violent agonies. 'The pains' as 'of hell came about them, the snares of death overtook them.' In their trouble we called upon the Lord, and He gave us an answer of peace. One indeed con-

Friday 22

6 Prayed; 6.30 writ to the society at Wells, on business; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 at Mr. Whitehead's, in talk; 10.30 at Mr. Farley's, within; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.15 visited; 1.45 at home, conversed to a company, at Mrs. Deschamps', tea, at the Fishponds, Isa. lxv. 22; 5.15 at home, writ; 5.30 at Eliz. Davis's, Mrs. Thornhill's band; 6.30 at Gloucester Lane, seven there; 9 visited, at home, supper; 11. !

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[1] See Moravian Letter. Mr. Thomas Whitehead, 'a professed Quaker, about sixty years of age, who was convinced of the necessity of being born again of *water* as well as of the Spirit.' Whitefield's Journal, April 17, 1739: 'He was baptized at St. Mary-de-Crypt in Gloucester.'

tinued an hour in strong pain, and one or two more for three days; but the rest were greatly comforted in that hour, and went away rejoicing and praising God.

Sat. 23.—I spoke severally with those who had been so troubled the night before. Some of them, I found, were only convinced of sin; others had indeed found rest to their souls. This evening another [Ann Allin][1] was seized with strong pangs; but in a short time her soul was delivered.

Sun. 24.—As I was riding to Rose Green in a smooth, plain part of the road, my horse suddenly pitched upon his head, and rolled over and over. I received no other hurt than a little bruise on one side; which for the present I felt not, but preached without pain to six or seven thousand people on that important direction, 'Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever you do, do all to the glory of God.' In the evening a girl of thirteen or fourteen, and four or five other persons, some of whom had felt the power of God before, were deeply convinced of sin, and, with sighs and groans which could not be uttered, called upon God for deliverance.

Mon. 25.—About ten in the morning J[ane] C[onnor],[2] as

Saturday 23

6 Prayer; 6.30 writ two; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9.15 writ to Charles; 10 Mr. Whitehead, etc., in talk; 10.30 visited Mrs. Page, writ; 13 meditated, prayer, conversed; 1 dinner, conversed to many; 3 at Mrs. Williams', 12 communion; 4 Bowling Green, 1 Cor. x. 31, 2,000; 5.15 at home, tea, conversed, writ to G. Whitefield; 6.45 Weaver's Hall; 9 at Miss Cornish's, Mrs. Labbe, etc., supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15.

Sunday 24

6¾ Drest; 7 Bowling Green, 5,000, 1 Cor. x. 31; 8.45 at Mrs. Williams', communion, twelve there; 9.30 tea; 10.15 Hannam, 1 Cor. x. 31, 3,000; 12.30 at Mr. Norman's, conversed, dinner; 2.30 All Saints'; 4.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea; 4.30 set out, the horse fell; 5.15 Rose Green, 1 Cor. x. 31, 6,500; 7.15 at our Room; 10 at home, within; 11.

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[1] The Ann Allin of the Moravian Letter, 'Ann A——' and 'A—— A——,' are the same. Charles Wesley (Journal, Nov. 30), referring to the Cennick and Calvinistic troubles, says: 'Anne Ayling and Anne Davis could not refrain from railing. John Cennick never offered to stop them.' Ann Ayling was identical with Ann Allin.

[2] This may have been, and probably was, the 'Jane Connor' of whom Charles Wesley (Journal, Oct. 30, 1739) writes: 'Jane Connor, at Baptist Mills, found the power of the Lord present to heal

she was sitting at work, was suddenly seized with grievous terrors of mind, attended with strong trembling. Thus she continued all the afternoon; but at the society in the evening God turned her heaviness into joy. Five or six others were also cut to the heart this day, and soon after found Him whose hands made whole; as did one likewise who had been mourning many months, without any to comfort her.

Tues. 26.—I preached near the house we had a few days before began to build for a school,[1] in the middle of Kingswood,

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Monday 25

7 Writ to Bro. Ellis, Bro. Ingham; 8 tea, conversed; 8.45 writ to Mr. Abbott; 10.45 Weavers' Hall; 12.30 conversed to three, ⫛ read Journal; 1.30 on business; 1.45 dinner, conversed to many; 3 writ to Charles, to Bro. Park; 4 Brickyard, Rev. i. 11, 3,500; 5.15 at Mr. Purnell's band, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.15 at Mr. Quin's, tea, conversed; 6.45 singing, etc., five; 8.45 at Bd.! 9 Mr. Wigg[inton's], Miss Suky Burdock, conversed, singing; 10.15 supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15 at home, within; 12.

Tuesday 26

6¾ Prayer, writ to brother Samuel; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 writ; 11.45 set out with Mrs. Thornhill, etc., conversed; 12.30 at Mr. Willis', singing, prayer, dinner, conversed, singing; 2.15 at Mr. Campbell's, eat, con-

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her.' He adds, 'Mary Connor . . . recovered that unspeakable peace which she first received some weeks ago, but lost by keeping it to herself.' The case of Mary Conway (Moravian Letter, July 2) is so close a parallel to this of J—— C——, that their identity can hardly be doubted. These initials certainly stand for Jane Connor. As Mr. Foster has pointed out, it would not be surprising to find that 'Mary Conway' is 'Mary Connor,' and that 'Jane' is a slip of memory for 'Mary.'

[1] This is the Colliers' Children's School at Kingswood, which is to-day used as the chapel of the Reformatory, and the only surviving relic of Wesley's Kingswood school. The sycamore survived till 1842, standing in front of the chapel in the part of the playground long known as the 'Patch.' Its history and fate are recorded in Hastling and Workman's *History of Kingswood School*, p. 144. It has another interesting association. A few weeks earlier, as John Cennick (*Life*, 2nd ed., 1745) was standing with a group of colliers 'under a sycamore-tree near the intended school at Kingswood,' waiting for a young man from Bristol, who was to come and read to them a sermon, and failed to keep his appointment, 'a gentlewoman of St. Philip's Plain'—probably Mrs. Norman (see above, April 2, note)—desired Cennick to read a sermon or expound a chapter. He complied, and thus commenced his career as a preacher. A diary of Cennick's preserved at Fetter Lane gives the interesting fact that the young man who failed to keep his appointment was 'Sammy Wathen,' the young surgeon, one of the 'four men' of April 4.

As we may gather from a reference in Whitefield's Journal of July 10, the roof of the new school was then nearly ready to be put up.

under a little sycamore-tree, during a violent storm of rain, on those words, 'As the rain cometh down from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud: . . . so shall My word be that goeth forth out of My mouth: it shall not return unto Me void; but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.'

Three persons terribly felt the wrath of God abiding on them at the society this evening; but, upon prayer made in their behalf, He was pleased soon to lift up the light of His countenance upon them.

Fri. 29.—I preached in a part of Kingswood where I never had been before. The places in Kingswood where I now

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versed; 3 at the house [i.e. Kingswood Schoolhouse], in talk; 3.30 at the tree [the sycamore], Isa. lv. 11, 200; 5.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 6 Back-lane, singing, etc.; 7 Horsefair, three there; ! 9 at Miss Sm[ith's] band, prayer, conversed, singing; 10 supper, conversed; 11.15.

Wednesday 27

6½ Prayer, meditation; 7 writ, read Law; 8 tea, conversed; 9 read Gill; 10.45 Newgate, visited; 12.45 meditated, slept; 1.15 conversed to many; 2.30 writ to G. Whitefield; 2.45 at Mrs. Cooper's with Mr. Labbe, conversed, tea; 4 Baptist Mills, 1 Cor. x. 22, 2,000; 5.15 at Mr. Park's, tea; 6 at Mr. Williams', conversed, prayer; 7 at Mrs. Davis' with the women, conversed, prayer; 8 Baldwin St., conversed, prayer; 9.15 at home, supper, conversed; 10.45 prayer; 11.15. c+.

Thursday 28

6½ Prayed; 6.45 writ letters; 8 tea, conversed; 9 letters; 12.30 meditated, prayed; 1.30 dinner, conversed to many; 3 visited, walked; 4.15 James Hard[ing]'s, singing, prayer; 5 walked, conversed; 6 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 6.30 at our Room; 8.30 with Bro. Wathen's band; 9 at Mrs. Bromage's, supper, 11.

Friday 29

6½ Prayed; 6.45 writ to G. Whitefield, writ Journal; 8 tea, conversed; 9 at Mr. Lyne's, altered the les[son] [S. Peter's Day. Proper Morning Lessons were Ecclus. xv. and Acts iii.]; 10 Journal; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.30 at home, meditated, prayed; 1 conversed to some; 2.30 at Bro. Purdy's, many tarried, tea, conversed, singing; 3 walked, conversed; 4 J. Harding's, conversed, ate; 4.15 preached, Acts xvi. 31; 5.30 walked; 6.30 Gloucester Lane, supper; 9.30 with Bro. Giles's band; 10 singing, prayer; 11 at home, conversed to Mrs. Grevile; 12.

usually preached were these: once a fortnight, a little above Conham, a village on the south side of the wood; on Sunday morning, near Hanham Mount; once a fortnight, at the Schoolhouse, in the middle of Kingswood; on Sunday, in the evening, at Rose Green; and once a fortnight near the Fishponds, on the north side of the wood.

Sat. 30.—At Weavers' Hall seven or eight persons were constrained to roar aloud, while the sword of the Spirit was dividing asunder 'their souls and spirits, and joints and marrow.' But they were all relieved upon prayer, and sang 'praises unto our God, and unto the Lamb that liveth for ever and ever.'

I gave a particular account, from time to time, of the manner wherein God here carried on His work to those whom I believed to desire the increase of His kingdom, with whom I had any opportunity of corresponding. Part of the answer which I received (some time after) from one of these I cannot but here subjoin:

> I desire to bless my Lord for the good and great news your letter bears, about the Lord's turning many souls 'from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God'; and that such 'a great and effectual door is opened' among you, as the 'many adversaries' cannot shut. Oh may 'He that hath the key of the house of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth,' set the door of faith more and more open among you, till His house be filled, and till He gather together the outcasts of Israel; and may that prayer for the adversaries be heard, 'Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek Thy name, O Lord.'
>
> As to the outward manner you speak of, wherein most of them were affected who were cut to the heart by the sword of the Spirit, no wonder that this was at first surprising to you, since they are indeed so very rare

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Saturday 30

6¼ Prayed, Journal; 8 tea, conversed, Journal; 10 at our Room, in talk; ! 11 at Mrs. Williams', prayer, conversed; 12.30 at home, meditated, prayer; ! 1 conversed with Mrs. Thornhill, dinner; 2.15 Journal, Diary; 2.45 at Mrs. Williams', communion, fourteen; 3.30 at Miss Iscock's, conversed; 4 Bowling Green, 1,200, 1 Cor. x. 23; 5.15 at Mrs. Master's, within; 5.45 at Mrs. Davis', tea, conversed; 6 Weavers' Hall, seventeen there; 8.30 in talk to Mr. Foy [? Captain Foy]; 9 with Jo. Brooks' band, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at Mrs. Deschamps', conversed, supper, singing; 11.

that have been thus pricked and wounded. Yet some of the instances you give seem to be exemplified in the outward manner wherein Paul and the jailor were at first affected; as also Peter's hearers (Acts ii.). The last instance you gave, of some struggling as in the agonies of death, and in such a manner as that four or five strong men can hardly restrain a weak woman from hurting herself or others—this is to me somewhat more inexplicable; if it do not resemble the child spoke of in Mark ix. 26, and Luke ix. 42, of whom it is said that 'while he was yet a-coming, the devil threw him down and tare him.' Or what influence sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon the body I pretend not to explain. But I make no question Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to hinder the good work in the persons who are thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to disparage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction. However, the merciful issue of these conflicts in the conversion of the persons thus affected is the main thing.

When they are brought by the saving arm of God to receive Christ Jesus, to have joy and peace in believing, and then to walk in Him, and give evidence that the work is a saving work at length, whether more quickly or gradually accomplished, there is great matter of praise.

All the outward appearances of people's being affected among us may be reduced to these two sorts: one is, hearing with a close, silent attention, with gravity and greediness, discovered by fixed looks, weeping eyes, and sorrowful or joyful countenances: another sort is, when they lift up their voice aloud, some more depressedly, and others more highly; and at times the whole multitude in a flood of tears, all as it were crying out at once, till their voice be ready to drown the minister's, that he can scarce be heard for the weeping noise that surrounds him. The influence on some of these, like a landflood, dries up; we hear of no change wrought; but in others it appears in the fruits of righteousness and the tract of a holy conversation.

May the Lord strengthen you to go on in His work, and in praying for the coming of His kingdom with you and us; and I hope you shall not be forgotten among us, in our joint applications to the throne of grace.

I am, reverend and dear sir,
Your very affectionate brother and servant in Christ,
RALPH ERSKINE.[1]

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[1] Ralph Erskine was the minister of a Secession Church in Dunfermline, Scotland. He and his brother, Ebenezer Erskine, belonged at this time to what was called the 'Associate Presbytery.' They had been previously ministers of the established Church of Scotland, but were deposed by the General Assembly. They corresponded with Whitefield as well as Wesley, and induced him to

JULY 1, *Sun.*—I preached to about five thousand on the favourite advice of the infidel in Ecclesiastes (so zealously enforced by his brethren now), 'Be not righteous overmuch.'[1] At Hanham and at Rose Green I explained the latter part of the seventh of St. Luke; that verse especially, 'When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both.'

A young woman sunk down at Rose Green in a violent agony both of body and mind; as did five or six persons in the evening at the new Room, at whose cries many were greatly offended. The same offence was given in the morning by one at Weavers' Hall, and by eight or nine others at Gloucester Lane in the evening. The first that was deeply touched was L—— W——,[2] whose mother had been not a little displeased a day or two before, when she was told how her daughter had exposed herself before all the congregation. The mother herself was the next who dropped down, and lost her senses in a moment; but went home with her daughter, full of joy, as did most of those that had been in pain.

Soon after the society, I went to Mrs. T[hornhill]'s,[3] whose

JULY 1, *Sunday*

6½ Drest, meditated; 7 Bowling Green, Eccles. vii. 16, 5,000; 8.15 Diary, at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 9 set out; 10 Hannam, Luke vii. 40; 11.45 at ——, conversed, prayer, three there; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', conversed to Kitty, dinner, singing; 2 at home, Diary, Journal; 3.45 All Saints'; 4.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 5 Rose Green, Luke vii. 41, 5,500; 6.45 at our Room, five or six there; ! 9 at Bro. Palmer's band; 9.30 at Mrs. Thornhill's, her sisters there, within, supper, conversed; 11.30.

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visit Dunfermline, where they stipulated that, before preaching in their churches, he should join the Associate Presbytery and subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant. This Whitefield refused to do. He preached in the open air, dined with the Presbytery, and took his final leave.

[1] Dr. Trapp's famous sermon on this text had recently been published. Originally it was a series of four sermons preached in various London churches, but condensed into one for the pamphlet. (See Green's *Anti-Meth. Pub.*, No. 10, where a full account is given of the original sermons and of various replies published at the time.) Wesley's reply was a sermon from the same text.

[2] Possibly a member of the Wigginton family, Quakers, whose names, during these months, are frequently mentioned in Charles Wesley's Journal. The father was baptized by Charles Wesley in the river at Baptist Mills, Oct. 26, 1739.

[3] William Thornhill was one of the earliest members of the staff of the Bristol Infirmary, from 1735 to 1765, when he resigned. Rebecca Scudamore, whose *Life*, by Sarah Young, Wesley abridged (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 238), was his daughter.

nearest relations were earnestly dissuading her from being 'righteous overmuch'; and by the old motive, 'Why shouldest thou destroy thyself?' She answered all they advanced with meekness and love, and continued steadfast and immovable. Endure hardship still, thou good soldier of Christ! Persecuted, but not forsaken; torn with inward and encompassed with outward temptations, but yielding to none. Oh may patience have its perfect work!

MORAVIAN LETTER[1]

To Mr. James Hutton, Bookseller, Temple Bar, London

BRISTOL,
July 2, 1739.

DEAR BRETHREN,

[After describing, as in the Journal, his return to Bristol, preaching, meeting with Howell Harris, he proceeds]: It is incredible what advantage Satan hath gained here by my absence of only eight days. Disputes had crept in, and the love of many was waxed cold; so that all our society was falling in pieces. I preached on Wednesday at Newgate at eleven; and at four at Baptist Mills on, 'Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have thee' [text in full]. At seven I met the women bands at Elizabeth Davis's house (Mrs. Grevil having forbidden them hers). I found disputes had rent them also, so that many were resolved to quit the society. Finding it necessary to speak to them apart, I fixed times to meet each band singly; which I did on the days of the following week, and all of them were (I hope) established in the faith. At eight I met our brethren in Baldwin Street, where instead of disputing we prayed together; the Spirit of the Holy One was with us. All divisions were healed, all misunderstandings vanished away, and we all felt our hearts drawn together and sweetly united in the bowels of Jesus Christ.

Thur. 21.—I talked an hour or two with a young man [Edward Smith] of Gloucester, who was deeply prejudiced against my dear brother Whitefield and me. He went away of another mind. In the afternoon I preached at Publow, as usual,

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Monday 2

6¼ Prayed, meditated; 6.45 Journal; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 Journal; 11 Weavers' Hall, one there! 12.15 visited; 12.30 at home, meditation, prayer; 1 writ; 1.30 dinner, conversed to many; 3 at Mrs. Thomas', tea, conversed, visited; 4 Brickyard, Eccles. vii. 16, 3,000; 5.15 at Mrs. Arthur's, tea, conversed; 6 at Mrs. Norman's, within; 6.30 Gloucester Lane, eight there; ! 9 at Mr. Castle's, conversed, tea, Mrs. Rutter, supper, conversed, singing; 11.15.

Dr. Thornhill 'confined his wife to the House and treated her with great severity because she went amongst the Methodists.' The case is thus referred to vaguely by Sarah Young. Wesley was deeply moved on Mrs. Thornhill's account: hence the words in the text of the Journal.

[1] Mr. Foster, who copied the following letter, remarks that it was apparently very hastily written. 'The writing is poor and characterless; indeed, sometimes it becomes strangely unlike Wesley's hand. Does the handwriting,' he asks, 'reflect his mental condition: "I had no life or spirit in me"?'—a remark which recalls similar thoughts when we first handled many of the Georgia and Oxford documents.

Tues. 3.—I preached at Bath to the most attentive and serious audience I have ever seen there. On *Wednesday* I preached at Newgate on those words, 'Because of the Pharisees, they durst

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without any disturbance, on Isa. xlv. 22. In the evening I was at the schoolroom, and had a large and attentive audience, though that was uncovered and it rained hard. Afterward I met with Molly Deacon's band, whose openness and child-like simplicity pleased me much; where also I spoke with a young man who was fully determined 'Naked to follow a naked Master,' having been turned out of doors by his friends the night before for coming to the society.

Fri. 22.—I wrote to a society just begun at Wells, which I hope to visit when God permits. At nine I called on Mr. Whitehead, whom George Whitefield baptized at Gloucester. 'Ye did run well, who have bewitched you? Woe unto the prophets, saith the Lord, which prophesy in My name and I have not sent them.' At Weavers' Hall I endeavoured to point them out and exhorted all to cleave to the Law and Testimony.

In the afternoon I preached at Fishponds on the same words as at Publow, but had no life or spirit in me. I came back to the band on trial, whose behaviour (especially Mrs. Thornhill's) a little revived and comforted me; but when I left them to go to Gloucester Lane society, I was more dead and cold than ever, and much in doubt whether God would not now lay me aside, and send more faithful labourers into His harvest. When I came thither, my soul being grieved for my brother Whitehead, I began in much weakness to exhort them ['to try the spirits . . .'].

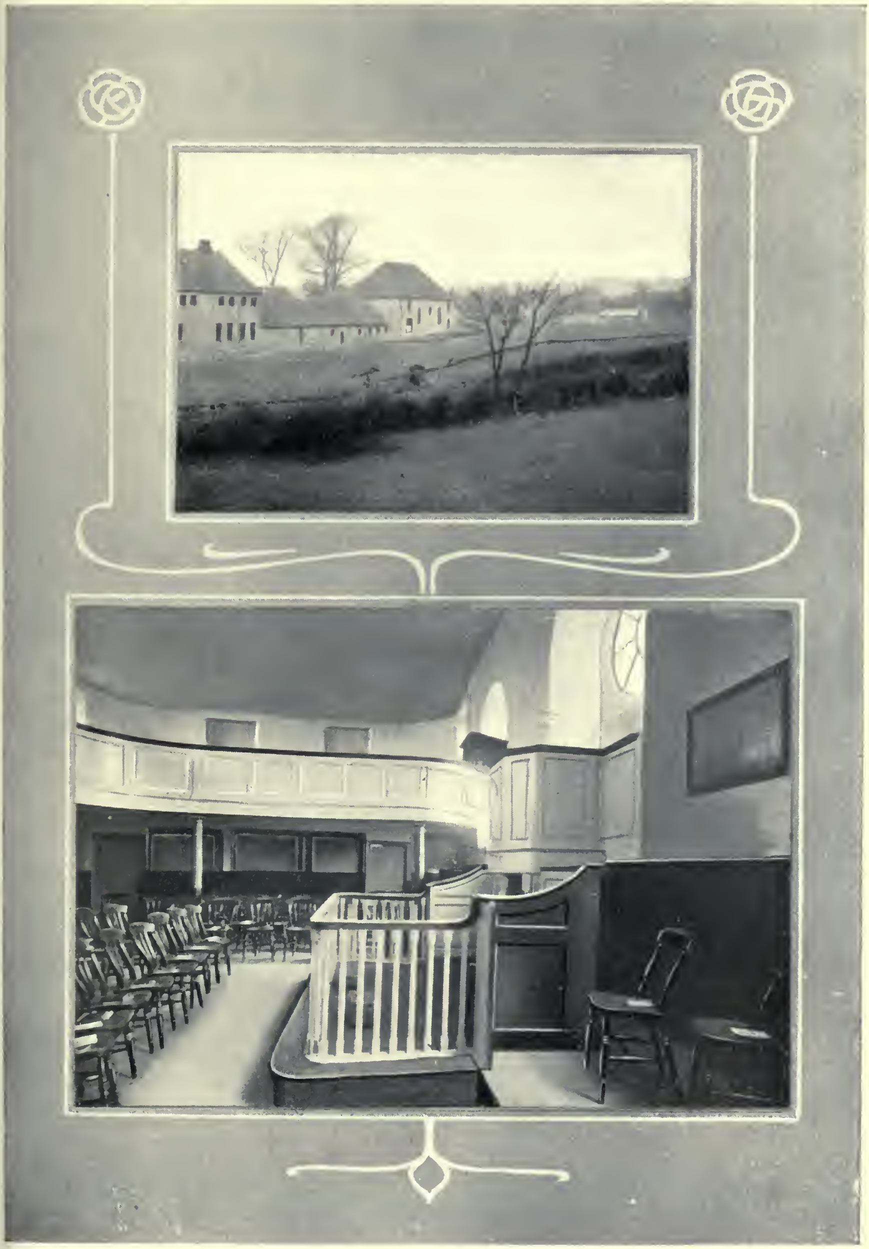
In the evening I explained the twelfth of Acts to twelve or fifteen hundred at the New Room. On Saturday evening Ann Allin, a young woman, was seized with strong pangs at Weavers' Hall. . . . Sara Murray (aged thirteen) and four or five other persons . . . were as deeply convinced on Sunday evening. On Monday the 25th a young woman named Mary Pritchard was cut to the heart, as was Mary Greenwood at four in the afternoon. At Gloucester Lane in the evening one, Mary Conway, who, as she was sitting at work at ten in the morning. . . .

On *Tuesday* the 26th I preached the first time under the sycamore-tree near the school at Kingswood. . . . After preaching to some hundreds in the Back Lane, I went as usual to the Schoolroom . . . at Baldwin Street. William Farnell and Richard Hereford were excluded the society as being not only unwilling to attend it, but utterly incapable (as yet) of profiting by it. I was afterward much enlarged in prayer for Mrs. G[revil]; 'Oh that she may again feel herself a lost sinner.' I went on Thursday, in the afternoon, to preach in the south edge at Kingswood, near a sort of a village called the Cupolas; but, the people not having notice, but few came, so that, having used some prayer with them, I promised to come again the next day, and then preach on 'Believe, and thou shalt be saved.'

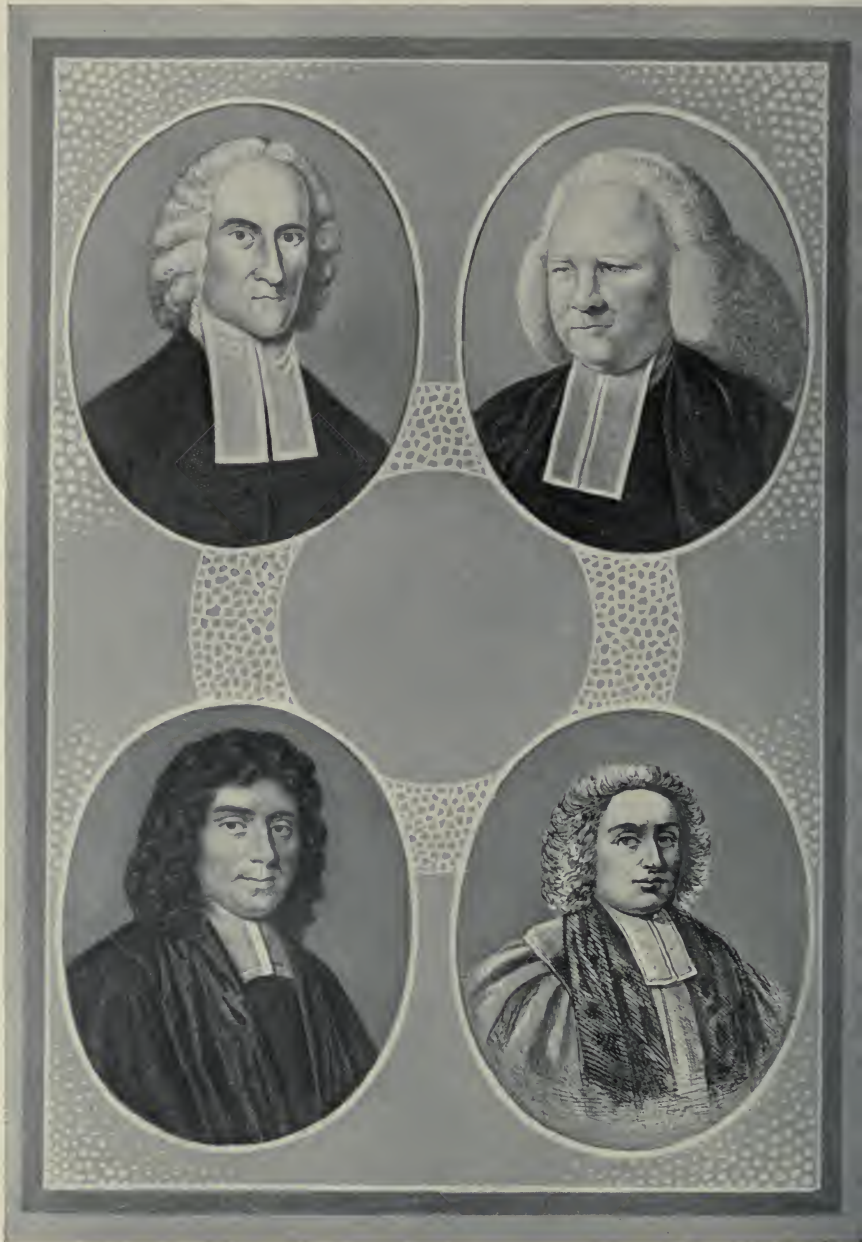
Sat. 30.—Ann Williams (Anthony Williams's wife) was for the thirteenth time tapped for the dropsy. She desired to be dissolved and be with Christ, but gave herself up to Him for life or for death. [Charles Wesley gave her the Lord's Supper Nov. 3, 1739.]

To about 1,200 in the Bowling Green I showed, Many lawful things edify not; at Weavers' Hall Kitty Deschamps, about fourteen, Prudence Woodward, and five more roared for the very disquietness of their heart, and all, upon prayer, were delivered and sang 'praises unto our God and unto the Lamb that liveth for ever and ever.'

Yours in Christ,
JOHN WESLEY.



I. KINGSWOOD: DISTANT VIEW OF THE OLD CHAPEL.
INTERIOR OF THE OLD CHAPEL.



JONATHAN EDWARDS. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.
ANTHONY HORNECK, D.D. BISHOP BUTLER.

not confess Him . . . for they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.' A message was delivered to me, when I had done, from the Sheriffs, that I must preach there no more.[1]

Tuesday 3

6 Prayer, meditation ; 6.30 writ to Dr. Isham,[2] etc. ; 8.15 tea, conversed ; 9 writ to [? Isham] ; 10 at Mr. Deschamps', within ; 10.30 set out with him and Cornish, meditated ; 12.45 at John Feachem's, at Mrs. Dibble's, within ; 1 at Jo's [Feachem's], Mrs. Hamilton came, writ to James Hutton and Mrs. Stover ; 2 dinner, conversed, singing ; 3.15 at R. Merchant's, within ; 2.45 singing, preached, Luke v. 32, 900 ; 5 set out, meditated ; 7 at Mr. Deschamps', tea ; 7.15 at our Room ; 8.30 at home, the boys' band ; 9 at Henry Lucan's, singing, supper, prayer ; 11.15.

Wednesday 4

6½ Prayer ; 6.45 writ to Mr. De-berdt ; 8.15 tea, conversed ; 9 letter ; 10 Mrs. Thornhill, conversed ; 11 Newgate, John xii. ; 12.30 Mr. Castle and his son, conversed ; 12.45 meditated, prayed ; 1 writ, conversed to many ; 3 at Mr. Labbe's, tea, conversed ; 4 Baptist Mills, Eccles. vii. 16, 1,500 ; 5 at Mrs. Williams', conversed, singing ; 6.30

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[1] Probably episcopal influence with the Corporation secured this prohibition. In August Wesley had an interview with the Bishop of Bristol (Butler, author of the *Analogy*). No reference is made to this interview in the Journal. According to a document preserved by Whitehead, Dr. Butler thus concluded the interview : 'Since you ask my advice, I will give it very freely. You have no business here ; you are not commissioned to preach in this diocese ; therefore I advise thee to go hence.' To this Wesley replied : 'Being ordained as Fellow of a college, I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission to preach the word of God in any part of the Church of England. I do not therefore conceive that, in preaching here by this commission, I break any human law.' (See Diary, Aug. 16, and Whitehead's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 121.) The whole period from June onwards was influenced by the opposition of ecclesiastical and municipal authority, by the stern criticisms of his brother Samuel, and by the misgivings of Charles. On June 23 Wesley wrote from Bristol to his brother Charles : 'My answer to them which trouble me is this : God commands me to do good unto all men ; to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous. Man commands me not to do this in another's parish ; that is, in effect, not to do it at all. If it be just to obey man rather than God, judge ye. . . . But what if a bishop forbids this ? I do not say, as St. Cyprian : "Populus a scelerato antistite separare se debet." But I say, God being my helper, I will obey Him still, and, if I suffer for it, His will be done.'

The earlier biographers do not seem to have known who the Bishop of Bristol was.

[2] In *The Craftsman*, July 1739, appeared the following note : 'We hear from Oxford that the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College, and a Methodist, is called home to perform his statutable residence, to the great grief of his followers.' The letter to Dr. Isham, rector of Lincoln College, was written probably in connexion with this summons.

Fri. 6.—I pressed a serious Quaker[1] to tell me why he did not come to hear me as formerly. He said because he found we were not led by the Spirit; for we fixed times of preaching beforehand; whereas we ought to do nothing unless we were sensibly moved thereto by the Holy Ghost. I asked whether we ought not to do what God in Scripture commands when we have opportunity: whether the providence of God thus concurring with His Word were not a sufficient reason for our doing it, although we were not at that moment sensibly moved thereunto by the Holy Ghost. He answered it was not a sufficient reason. This was to regard 'the letter that killeth.' God grant that I may so regard it all the days of my life!

In the afternoon I was with Mr. Whitefield, just come from London,[2] with whom I went to Baptist Mills, where he preached

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at home, writ; 7 at the women's bands; 8 at Baldwin St., singing, prayer, within, singing, prayer; 10 at home, supper, conversed; 11.15. !

Thursday 5

6 Prayer, meditation; 6.30 writ; 8 tea, conversed; 9 began the New Testament; 12.45 on business, dinner, conversed, New Testament; 2 set out with Edward Smith, conversed, meditated; 3.45 Publow, Luke v. 32, 500, five; at Mr. Jeffry's, tea, conversed; 4.30 set out, meditated, prayer; 6.30 at home, on business; 6.45 at our Room; 9 at Bro. Porter's, supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15.

Friday 6

6¾ Prayer; 7.15 New Testament; 8 tea, conversed; 9 New Testament; 10.30 Weavers' Hall; 11.45 at home, New Testament; 12.30 conversed to many; 1.30 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 3.15 at Anthony Purver's, conversed; 4.30 at the Fishponds, Luke vii. 36, etc., six; at Mr. Quin's, conversed, tea; 5.30 at home with George Whitefield, within; 7.30 Baptist Mills, G. Whitefield preached; 9 at home, within, supper; 10 conversed, prayed; 11 Diary.

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[1] Anthony Purver. Quin is also named in the Diary, but the 'serious Quaker' would undoubtedly be Purver.

[2] From July 6 until July 13 Whitefield was in Bristol. A few extracts from his Journal add touches of vivid colour to Wesley's more succinct records.

JULY 6.—At Petty France some friends met us; afterwards more joined us, and, before we came within two miles of Bristol, our company increased very considerably. The people were much rejoiced at the news of my coming; . . . the bells rang unknown to me. . . . At seven in the evening I preached at Baptist Mills, to about six or seven thousand people.

Sat. 7.—Breakfasted with Mr. L——y [Labbe, see Diary], settled some affairs concerning our brethren, and had a useful conference about many things with my honoured friend, Mr. John Wesley; dined at my sister's [Mrs. Grevil], gave the sacraconcerning 'the Holy Ghost, which all who believe are to receive'; not without a just, though severe, censure of those who preach as if there were no Holy Ghost.

Sat. 7.—I had an opportunity to talk with him of those outward signs which had so often accompanied the inward

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Saturday 7

6½ Prayer, writ accounts; 8 read letters; 8.30 at Mr. Labbe's with G. Whitefield, conversed, tea, Wathen came, within; 12.15 at home, accounts; 1.15 dinner, conversed; 3 at Mrs. Williams's with G. Whitefield, eighteen there; 4 Coll. [? College Green, where are the

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ment to a sick sister [Mrs. Williams], paid another visit upon a matter of importance, preached at Baptist Mills to near the same number of people as last night, and found that Bristol had great reason to bless God for the ministry of Mr. John Wesley. The congregation I observed to be much more serious and affected than when I left them, and their loud and repeated *Amens*, which they put up to every petition, as well as the exemplariness of their conversation in common life, plainly show that they have not received the grace of God in vain.

Sun. 8.—Preached at the Bowling Green to about ten thousand people; greatly affected indeed. About eleven I preached again at Hannam Mount to near as many hearers, and at seven in the evening to about twenty thousand at Rose Green. [He again refers to 'the visible alteration in the congregation for the better.']

Mon. 9.—On Thursday I received a letter from the Bishop of Gloucester, in which his lordship affectionately admonished me to exercise my authority I received in the manner it was given me, his lordship being of opinion that I ought to preach the gospel only in the congregation wherein I was lawfully appointed thereunto. To-day I sent his lordship the following answer: [A long letter follows. It is evident that the bishops were in agreement as to the manner in which they should deal with the Wesley-Whitefield evangelism.]

Tues. 10.—Preached yesterday evening at the Brickyard to about eight thousand people. Dined to-day with my honoured fellow labourer, Mr. Wesley, and many other friends at Two-Mile-Hill in Kingswood, and preached afterwards to several thousand people and colliers in the Schoolhouse, which has been carried on so successfully that the roof is ready to be put up. The design, I think, is good. Old as well as young are to be instructed. A great and visible alteration is made in the behaviour of the colliers. Instead of cursing and swearing they are heard to sing hymns about the woods, and a rising generation, I hope, will be a generation of Christians. Went with Mr. Wesley and several other friends to Bath, and preached there to about three thousand people at seven in the evening. It rained a little all the while, but the people were very patient and attentive. . . . Heard to-day the Town Clerk of Bristol did my brother Wesley and me the honour to desire the Grand Jury, at their Quarter Sessions, to present our meetings and to have the Riot Act read; but they did not regard him—nay, one that was called to serve on the petty jury offered to submit to any fine rather than do anything against us. . . .

Wed. 11.—Preached at eleven in the morning . . . hastened to Bristol and preached in the evening at Baptist Mills . . . it rained much. . . . My brother Wesley and I went to the women's and men's society, settled some affairs, and united the two leading societies together. . . .

Thur. 12.—Preached in the evening to eight or nine thousand in the Bowling Green. . . .

Fri. 13.—Preached my farewell sermon at seven in the morning. . . . Set out about four o'clock, and reached Thornbury about eight in the evening; it raining exceeding hard most part of the day; there were but few country people. However, I preached to about six hundred from a table in the street.

Sat. 14.—Breakfasted at a Quaker's, and reached Gloucester with my honoured friend Mr. John Wesley, and some others, by three in the afternoon. . . .

Sun. 15.—Left my honoured friend, Mr. Wesley, to preach to about seven thousand souls in Gloucester. . . . Their souls were much rejoiced when I told them Mr. John Wesley intended to come after to feed them. [So that now the circuit was extended to Thornbury and Gloucester.]

work of God. I found his objections were chiefly grounded on gross misrepresentations of matter of fact. But the next day he had an opportunity of informing himself better: for no sooner had he begun (in the application of his sermon) to invite all sinners to believe in Christ, than four persons sunk down close to him, almost in the same moment. One of them lay without either sense or motion; a second trembled exceedingly; the third had strong convulsions all over his body, but made no noise, unless by groans; the fourth, equally convulsed, called upon God, with strong cries and tears. From this time, I trust, we shall all suffer God to carry on His own work in the way that pleaseth Him.

Cathedral and the Mayor's Chapel], prayers; 5 at Mr. Deschamps', conversed to; 6 at John Haydon's, conversed; 7 at Baptist Mills, G. Whitefield preached; 9 at home, supper; 10.30 prayed, singing; 11.15.

Sunday 8

6¼ Drest, meditated; 7 Bowling Green, G. Whitefield preached; 9 at home, tea; 10 at Mrs. Williams', communion, thirty-two there; 11.30 Hannam, G. Whitefield preached; 12.15 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner, conversed; 2.30 at home, conversed; 3 St. Nicholas; 4.15 at home, many tarried, prayer; 5 writ to Miss Burdock, Diary; 6 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 7 Rose Green, 17,000, G. Whitefield preached; 9.15 at home, supper; 10 at the women's lovefeast, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Monday 9

5¾ Drest, prayers; 6.45 writ for the bands; 8.45 at Jenny's, conversed, tea, prayer; 10 at home, writ; 1 at Mr. Hodges', dinner, prayer; 2.15 at home, writ orders for the society; 4.15 at Mrs. Townsend's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at home, writ to Mr. Davidson, Oulton,[1] James Hutton; 7 at the Brickyard, G. Whitefield preached; 9 at Mr. Allen's, within, supper, together prayer; 11.45.

Tuesday 10

6¾ Within, writ N.; 8 conversed to some; 8.45 at Mr. Wigginton's, tea, singing, conversed; 12.15 set out with G. Whitefield, etc. [for Bath]; 1.15 at J. Burges', at the Schoolhouse, within, singing, prayer; 2 at J. Burges', dinner; 3 at the house, G. Whitefield preached; 4.45 set out; 5.45 at Bath, at White Hart, tea, singing; 7.30 G. Whitefield preached [to about 3,000]; 9 at the inn, conversed, supper; 10.15 G. Whitefield went, prayer; 11.

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[1] John Oulton, who lived at Leominster, replied to this letter of Wesley's on July 13 (see *Meth. Mag.* 1797, Supplement, p. 25). Oulton says, 'Some further account of the success of your glorious cause at your leisure would exceedingly oblige.' Wesley wrote another letter to him on the 28th inst. Whitefield also corresponded with Oulton.

Thur. 12.—I went to a gentleman [Mr. Cutler] who is much troubled with what they call lowness of spirits. Many such have I been with before; but in several of them it was no bodily distemper. They wanted something, they knew not what, and were therefore heavy, uneasy, and dissatisfied with everything. The plain truth is they wanted God, they wanted Christ, they wanted faith. And God convinced them of their want in a way their physicians no more understood than themselves. Accordingly nothing availed till the Great Physician came. For, in spite of all natural means, He who made them for Himself would not suffer them to rest till they rested in Him.

On *Friday*, in the afternoon, I left Bristol with Mr. Whitefield in the midst of heavy rain. But the clouds soon dispersed, so that we had a fair, calm evening, and a serious congregation at Thornbury.

Wednesday 11

7 Drest, at Mr. Dibble's, tea, conversed; 8.15 G. Whitefield preached; 9 conversed to many; 10 at L[ady] Cocks',[1] with Mrs. Bridget, conversed; set out, meditated; 1.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 2 at home, drest, at Mrs. Deschamps', dinner, conversed, G. Whitefield baptized Jane Rutter; 4 at Mrs. Padmore's, tea; 5.30 Baptist Mills, G. Whitefield preached; 7 at the women's bands; 8.15 Baldwin Street, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

Thursday 12

6 Prayer, meditation; 6.30 writ to Miss Burdock; 8.30 at Mrs. Smith's, conversed, tea, prayer; 10 at home, writ to Miss Burdock; 12 Journal; 1.30 at Mr. Dagge's, dinner, conversed; 3 at Mr. Cutler's, prayer, tea, singing, prayer; 4.30 at Mrs. Norman's, conversed, tea; 6 at Mrs. Page's, conversed, prayer; 7 at the Bowling Green, George Whitefield preached; 9 at Mr. Porter's, supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 10.30 lay down; ṁ 11.

Friday 13

6½ Drest, meditated; 7 Bowling Green, G. Whitefield preached [his farewell sermon]; 9 at Mr. White's, within; 10.15 at home, writ German; 12.30 Mr. Chapman of Bath, conversed; 12.45 dinner, Diary; 1.45 singing, prayer with man, G. Whitefield prayed; 4 set out, hard rain, singing, conversed; 7.30 Thornbury, tea, conversed; 8.15 G. Whitefield preached [from a table in the street], 500; 9.15 supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] 'My Lady Cocks and sisters are now in Oxford.' Rev. W. Chapman to Wesley (Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 363).

In the morning we breakfasted with a Quaker [Isaac Sharpless] who had been brought up in the Church of England; but, being under strong convictions of inward sin, and applying to several persons for advice, they all judged him to be under a disorder of body, and gave advice accordingly. Some Quakers with whom he met about the same time told him it was the hand of God upon his soul; and advised him to seek another sort of relief than those miserable comforters had recommended. 'Woe unto you, ye blind leaders of the blind!' How long will ye pervert the right ways of the Lord? Ye who tell the mourners in Zion, Much religion hath made you mad! Ye who send them whom God hath wounded to the devil for cure; to company, idle books, or diversions! Thus shall they perish in their iniquity; but their blood shall God require at your hands.

We had an attentive congregation at Gloucester in the evening. In the morning, Mr. Whitefield being gone forward, I preached to about five thousand there on 'Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' It rained violently at five in the evening; notwithstanding which, two or three thousand people stayed, to whom I expounded that glorious vision of Ezekiel, of the resurrection of the dry bones.

Saturday 14

6¼ Conversed, singing, tea; 7.30 at Isaac Sharpless's, tea, conversed, G. Whitefield preached, 600; 10 set out, German verse; 12.30 at Cambridge [Cambridge Inn, a well-known roadside house], ate; 1.30 set out, verse; 3.30 Gloucester, drest; 4 prayers; 5 at home, dinner, corrected G. Whitefield's sermon[1]; 7 G. Whitefield preached, 2,000; 9 at home, tea, conversed, singing, prayed, 10.30; 11 lay down; ⌒̇ 11.

Sunday 15

6 Singing, drest; 7 at the Ground, preached, 4,000, 1 Cor. i. 30; 8.45 at the Bell [G. Whitefield's birthplace], tea, conversed; 10 at S[ister] Miles's, communion; 12.30 at home, dinner, conversed; 2 at Mr. Harris', conversed, tea; 4 prayers; 5 at the Ground, hard rain, 3,000, Ezek. xxxvii. 4; 7 at the society; 9 in conversation to the members; 9.45 at Mr. Harris', supper, many came, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] In his Journal for Thursday, July 12, Whitefield says: 'Was busy most of the day in fitting a sermon for the press on "The Indwelling of the Spirit," which I would recommend to all.' This doubtless was the sermon which Wesley corrected for the press. He seems at this time frequently to have read Whitefield's productions for a similar purpose.

On *Monday* the 16th, after preaching to two or three thousand on 'What must I do to be saved?' I returned to Bristol, and preached to about three thousand on those words of Job, 'There the wicked cease from troubling; there the weary are at rest.'

Tues. 17.—I rode to Bradford, five miles from Bath, whither I had been long invited to come. I waited on the minister [Mr. Rogers], and desired leave to preach in his church. He said it was not usual to preach on the week-days; but if I could come thither on a Sunday, he should be glad of my assistance. Thence I went to a gentleman in the town [Mr. Reed] who had been present when I preached at Bath, and, with the strongest marks of sincerity and affection, wished me good luck in the name of the Lord. But it was past. I found him now quite cold. He began disputing on several heads; and at last told me plainly one of our own college had informed him they always took me to be a little crack-brained at Oxford.

However, some persons who were not of his mind having pitched on a convenient place (called Bear Field, or Bury Field),[1] on the top of the hill under which the town lies; I there offered Christ to about a thousand people, for 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' Thence I returned to Bath, and preached on 'What must I do to be saved?' to a larger audience than ever before. I was wondering the 'god of

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Monday 16

6 Drest, tea, conversed; 7 preached, 2,500, Acts xvi. 30; 9 at home, conversed to Mrs. Wells; 9.30 set out, verse; 12.30 Newport, dinner; 1.30 set out, verse; 5.30 Bristol, at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; at home, drest; 7 at Brickyard, 3,000, Job iii. 17; 8.15 at Mrs. Norman's, within; 9.30 at home, within, Diary; 9.30.

Tuesday 17

4¾ Drest; 5 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 5.30 set out; 9 at Winsley, Mr. Cottle's, conversed, prayer, tea, singing; 10.30 Bradford, at Mr. Rogers', in talk, at Mr. Reed's, within; 12 at Bearfield, 1 Cor. i. 30, 1,000; 1 at Mrs. Ballard's, conversed; 2 dinner, prayer; 4 at Bath, Acts xvi. 30, 2,500; 5 set out; 7.45 at Mr. Deschamps', eat; 8 at our Room; 9 at home, conversed to some; 10.15.

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[1] 'Bear' is 'Bere'; that is to say, 'Barley.' The name still attaches to a cluster of houses on the hill overlooking Bradford-on-Avon, where a chapel was built by the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.

this world' was so still; when, at my return from the place of preaching, poor Richard Merchant told me he could not let me preach any more in his ground. I asked him why. He said the people hurt his trees and stole things out of his ground. 'And besides,' added he, 'I have already, by letting thee be there, merited the displeasure of my neighbours.' Oh fear of man! Who is above thee, but they who indeed 'worship God in spirit and in truth'? Not even those who have one foot in the grave! Not even those who dwell in rooms of cedar, and who have heaped up gold as the dust, and silver as the sands of the sea.

Sat. 21.—I began expounding,[1] a second time, our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. In the morning, *Sunday* the 22nd, as

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Wednesday 18

7½ Prayed; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 writ Journal; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.15 at home, conversed to many; 2 Journal; 2.45 on business, at Mrs. Hooper's, Mr. Labbe there, tea, conversed, singing; 4.15 at Mrs. Lann[ing]'s, within; 5 Baptist Mills, Ezek. xxxvii. 3, 1,500; 6.30 at home, supper; 7 with the women; 8 Baldwin Street; 9.45 at home, conversed; 10 lay down; 11.15 slept.

Thursday 19

5½ Drest, prayers; 6.45 prayer; 7 writ N., in conversation; 8 at El[izabeth] Davis', conversed, tea, prayer; 9 at the Room, in talk; 10 visited; 11.30 at home, Miss Godly, prayer, conversed ⌒; 12.15 set out; 1.45 at Mr. Jeffry's, dinner, within; 2.45 at Mr. Prig's, in talk; 3.45 at Priestdown, Hos. xiv. 4; 5 at Mr. Jeffry's, 200; tea, conversed; 5.30 set out, verse; 6.30 at home, supper; 7 at our Room, one! 9 at home, writ to G. Whitefield,[2] Diary; 10.

Friday 20

5½ Drest, prayers; 7 writ to N., within; 8 at Miss Cutler's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, writ N., conversed; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.30 at Mrs. Eyre's, conversed; 1 at home, conversed to many; 2.30 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 3 set out with Cennick, conversed; 4 Fishponds, Hos. xiv. 4; 6 at Mrs. England's, tea, conversed; 6.45 singing, etc.! 7 N. Burroughs! 9 at home, Bro. Wynn, Swain, Lewis, etc., prayer, conversed, lay well; 10.15.

Saturday 21

5½ Drest, writ; 6 prayers; 7 writ to Edmonds, within; 8 at Jenny's, prayer, conversed, tea, prayer; 9.15 at home, writ to Mr. De-berdt, to sister Patty; 12 within, meditation; 1 dinner, conversed to some; 2.30

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[1] His first exposition began on April 1, in the society-room at Nicholas Street. The second exposition was given in the open air.

[2] Whitefield's reply to this letter (in which he expresses gratitude for a reproof), dated July 23, is in *Meth. Mag.*, 1797, Supplement, p. 21.

I was explaining 'Blessed are the poor in spirit' to about three thousand people, we had a fair opportunity of showing all men what manner of spirit we were of; for in the middle of the sermon the press-gang came, and seized on one of the hearers (ye learned in the law, what becomes of Magna Charta, and of English liberty and property? Are not these mere sounds, while, on any pretence, there is such a thing as a press-gang suffered in the land?); all the rest standing still, and none opening his mouth or lifting up his hand to resist them.[1]

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visited; 3.30 at Mr. Labbe's, tea, conversed; 4.45 Bowling Green, 1,200, Matt. v. 1, etc.; 6.30 at home, tea; Weavers' Hall, N. Roberts! 9.15 at home, conversed, conversed to Crawl[y]; 11.15.

Sunday 22

6 Drest, meditated; 7 Bowling Green, Matt. v. 3, 3,000, one there! Nursman[2]; 8.30 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 9.15 at Mrs. Williams', communion, twenty-five there; 10.15 Hannam, 2,500, Matt. v. 3; 12.30 at Mr. Norman's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 All Saints', Mr. Tuck[er],[3] inducted; 4 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 4.45

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[1] The London *Weekly Journal* of Aug. 4, 1739, contained intelligence that, 'in pursuance of orders from Government to impress landsmen as well as seamen for the King's services, the magistrates of Bristol had remained sitting at the Council House until between two and three o'clock on Sunday morning whilst the constables were scouring the city, and throwing their captives into Bridewell.' Latimer's *Annals of Bristol*, p. 216. War was declared with Spain on Oct. 29 following.

[2] A name is written above the first line of the Diary which seems to be 'Nursman.' This may be intended to represent either the one man seized by the press-gang, or the man seriously affected under the sermon.

[3] The Rev. Josiah Tucker was a foremost and much-abused personage in the political struggles and public life of Bristol till near the end of the century, and was a pluralist of the front rank, holding, with the Deanery of Gloucester, the living of St. Stephen's, Bristol. His letters to Hannah More show a strain of true evangelical piety not too common in the dignified clergy of those days. Whilst he was the Rev. Josiah Tucker, vicar of All Saints', Bristol, he was the 'Mr. T——' whose sermon there gave pleasure to John Wesley on April 14, 1740. He was an early critic of Methodism, but was not an opponent. Wesley told Mr. Bailey, of Cork (*Works*, vol. ix. p. 65), that 'Dr. Tucker and Dr. Church have wrote as gentlemen, having some regard for their own, whatever my character was.' *The Principles of a Methodist*, written in 1740 (*Works*, vol. viii. p. 359), 'the first time I have appeared in controversy,' is an answer to Tucker. He is believed to have been the author of many of the papers which appeared in the *Gloucester Journal*, then edited by Robert Raikes the elder, under the title 'Country Common Sense.' This journal circulated in the country places of Gloucestershire, and Dean Tucker's papers had considerable influence in checking or abolishing the cruel and coarse sports then too common (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 157, 164).

Mon. 23.—To guard young converts from fancying that they had 'already attained, or were already perfect,' I preached on those words, 'So is the kingdom of God, as when a man casteth seed into the ground, . . . and riseth day and night, and the seed buddeth forth and springeth up, he knoweth not how . . . first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.'

On several evenings this week, and particularly on *Friday*, many were deeply convinced; but none were delivered from that painful conviction, 'The children came to the birth, but there was not strength to bring forth.' I fear we have grieved the Spirit of the jealous God by questioning His work; and that, therefore, He is withdrawn from us for a season. But He will return and 'abundantly pardon.'

Rose Green, Matt. v. 3, 5,000; 7 at the Room, two there; 8.15 at the ! lovefeast; 10 at home, within to Mrs. Grevile, conversed; 11.30.

Monday 23

5¾ Drest, prayers; 6.45 prayer; 7 conversed; 8 tea, conversed; 9 writ to De-berdt; 10.30 conversed to Miss Oldfield; 11 Weavers' Hall +; 12.30 at Mrs. Stephens', dinner, conversed; 1.30 at Mr. Deschamps', prayer with N. Roberts, visited; 2 at home, conversed to some ⌒; 3.15 slept; 3.30 at Mr. Lanning's, conversed; 4.30 at Mrs. Norman's, conversed; 5 Brickyard, Mark iv. 26, 2,500; 6.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 7 Gloucester Lane, one there ! the first band; 10.15.

Tuesday 24

5½ Drest, conversed; 6 prayers, prayer; 7 writ; 8 at Ken. Chandler's, Bush and Turner there, tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, Mr. J. Tindal, within, conversed to many; 1 dinner, conversed to many; 2.30 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 3 set out with Bro. Purdy, conversed; 4 at our house, preached, Ezek. xxxvii. 3; 5.15 in the coach with S. Rutter, etc., conversed; 6.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea; 7.30 at Miss Cutler's band, conversed; 8 our Room; 9 at Miss Cutler's band, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, together; 11.15.

Wednesday 25

5½ Drest, meditated; 6 prayers, slept, within; 8 at Mr. Labbe's, conversed; 8.30 at home, within, tea, Mr. Taylor of Bath; 9.30 writ to Dr. Stebbing; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.30 visited; 1 at home, conversed to many, writ letter; 3 at Mrs. Master's, within, tea; 5 Baptist Mills, 1,500, Isa. xl. 1; 6 at John Brook's band; 6.30 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7 with the women; 8.15 with the men; 10 at home, conversed, 10.30.

Mon. 30.—Two more were in strong pain, both their souls and bodies being wellnigh torn asunder; but, though we cried

Thursday 26

5¼ Drest, meditated; 6 prayers, prayed; 7 letter; 8 many here, tea, conversed; 9.30 letter; 12.45 at Mr. Stanton's, dinner, conversed; 2.15 at home, conversed to some; 3 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 5.15 set out, conversed; 4 at the Cupolas,[1] Heb. xii. 14, 200; 6.15 at home, conversed; 7 at our Room; 9 at Mr. Cutler's, conversed to [Miss]; 9.30 at Bro. West's band; 10.15 ᛦ.

Friday 27

5¼ Drest, meditated, prayed; 6 prayers, at Mrs. Deffel's band, conversed, prayer, tea, conversed; 8.30 at home, conversed to many; 9.15 transcribed [letter] to Dr. Stebbing, in talk to Mrs. Masters; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.30 at home, conversed to some; 2 writ to sister Patty; 3 read R. Barclay ᛦ [satis]; 4 Mr. Richards of Brent, conversed; 4 at Mr. Davis', some of Cardiff there, tea, conversed; 5 at our house, in talk; 6 at Mr. Darby's, tea, conversed; 6.45 at Mrs. England's, four there; 9 the band, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, conversed with Cenick; 10.30.

Saturday 28

5½ Drest, prayed; 6 prayers, writ to Mr. Oulton [see p. 240]; 8 Mr. Richards, Cartwright of Esham, etc., conversed; 9 conversed to many; 10 writ to Mr. Hutchins, Kinchin, G. Whitefield, Seward; 12.30 drest, at Mrs. Harding's, dinner, conversed; 2 at Mrs. Iscoc's; 2.30 at Mrs. Williams' band, conversed; 3 at Baptist Mills, Miss Smi[th], conversed, tea, singing, Cenick there; 4 at Mrs. Willis', communion, 15 there; 5 Bowling Green, Matt. v. 3, 3,000; 6.30 Diary, Weavers' Hall; 9.15 at home, tea, conversed; 10.30.

Sunday 29

6 Drest, meditated; 7 Bowling Green, 3,000, Matt. v. 4; 8.45 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 10.15 Hannam, 1,200, Matt? [probably the same text]; 12.15 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner, conversed; 2.30 at home, conversed; 3.30 All Saints' [Mr. Tucker's church]; 4.30 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 5 Rose Green, 4,000, Matt. iii.; 7 at our Room; 9 at home, Capt. Whitefield [G. Whitefield's brother, in whose ship Whitefield and Seward sailed to America], conversed; 10.45.

Monday 30

5¾ Drest, prayed; 7 at Mrs. Richardson's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9 at Mrs. Norman's, conversed; 10 at home, Mr. Stennet, conversed; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.15 at Mr. Wigginton's, within; 12.45 at home, conversed; 1 dinner, conversed to many; 3 writ to Miss B[urdock]; 4 at Mr. Morris's, tea, conversed; 5 Brickyard, 2 Cor. iv., 1,500; 6.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7 at Mrs. England's, two there! at Mr. England's band; 10.15 ! Mr. Deschamps'; 10.30.

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[1] 'I went on Thursday to preach in the south edge at Kingswood, near a sort of village called the Cupolas.'

unto God, there was no answer; neither did He as yet deliver them at all.

One of these had been remarkably zealous against those that cried out and made a noise, being sure that any of them might help it if they would. And the same opinion she was in still, till the moment she was struck through, as with a sword, and fell trembling to the ground. She then cried aloud, though not articulately, her words being swallowed up. In this pain she continued twelve or fourteen hours, and then her soul was set at liberty. But her master (for she was a servant till that time at a gentleman's in town) forbid her returning to him, saying he would have none in his house who had received the Holy Ghost.[1]

Tues. 31.—I preached at Bradford to above two thousand, many of whom were of the better rank, on 'What must I do to be saved?' They all behaved with decency, and none went away till the service was ended. While I was preaching at Bath, in my return, some of the audience did not behave so well; being, I fear, a little too nearly concerned, when I came to the application of those words, 'Not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth.'

Having *A Caution against Religious Delusion*[2] put into my

Tuesday 31

4¼ Drest, tea; 5 set out with Purdy, conversed; 8.15 Winsley, conversed; 9 Tirly, at Mr. Baskervile's, tea, conversed; 10.15 at Bradford, 2,500, Acts xvi. 30; 12.30 at Mr. Baker's, dinner, conversed; 1.15 at Mr. Cottle's, prayer; 2.15 at Bath, Jo. Feachem's, conversed; 3.15 tea, visited; 4 Acts xix. 26, etc., 1,000; 5.15 set out, verse; 7.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7.30 at the Room; 9.30 at Bro. Sayse, with Molly Deacon's band; 10 supper, conversed, singing, prayer; 11.15.

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[1] Alice Philips; see below, Dec. 30, 1740.

[2] There has hitherto been some uncertainty as to the identity of the two unnamed authors referred to under this date. The first Wesley describes as the author of *A Caution against Religious Delusion*; the second he describes as 'another writer of a little discourse concerning Enthusiasm, or Religious Delusion,' also published about this time. Under date Nov. 1, 1739, a correspondent, writing to Wesley, is described as the 'author of those reflections which I mentioned July 31,' and the author describes himself as having written the 'Rules and Considerations [in No. 25 of "Country Common Sense"]

hands about this time, I thought it my duty to write to the author of it; which I accordingly did, in the following terms:

REVEREND SIR,

1. You charge me (for I am called a *Methodist*, and consequently included within your charge) with 'vain and confident boastings; rash, uncharitable censures; damning all who do not feel what I feel; not allowing men to be in a salvable state unless they have experienced some sudden operation, which may be distinguished as the hand of God upon them, overpowering, as it were, the soul; with denying men the use of God's creatures, which He hath appointed to be received with thanksgiving, and encouraging abstinence, prayer, and other religious exercises, to the neglect of the duties of our station.' Oh, sir, can you prove this charge upon me? The Lord shall judge in that day!

2. I do, indeed, go out into the highways and hedges to call poor sinners to Christ; but not in a tumultuous manner, not to the disturbance of the public peace or the prejudice of families. Neither herein do I break any law which I know; much less set at nought all rule and authority. Nor can I be said to intrude into the labours of those who do not labour at all, but suffer thousands of those for whom Christ died to 'perish for lack of knowledge.'

3. They perish for want of knowing that *we*, as well as the heathens, 'are alienated from the life of God'; that 'every one of us,' by the corruption of our inmost nature, 'is very far gone from original righteousness'; so far, that 'every person born into the world deserveth God's wrath and damnation'; that we have by nature no power either

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with an eye to Mr. Whitefield, yourself, and your opposers, from a sincere desire to do some service to Christianity.' He goes on to say that he had heard Wesley preach on Oct. 23 at Bradford. No difficulty would have arisen but for the mistaken identification of the first author with the correspondent of Nov. 1. In reality the *second* author quoted by Wesley on July 31 is identical with the person who wrote the letter on Nov. 1, and who avowed himself as the writer of 'Rules and Considerations,' signed 'Country Common Sense.' The Diary makes it quite clear that author No. 1, who had published this particular *Caution against Religious Delusion*, was the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D. The writer of what Wesley calls 'Reflections,' but what he himself calls 'Rules and Considerations,' was no doubt the Rev. Josiah Tucker (see above, p. 245).

This identification agrees with Mr. F. M. Jackson's in *W.H.S.* vol. iv. Dr. Stebbing was a graduate of Cambridge, and a writer in the Bangorian Controversy, for which Bishop Sherlock made him Chancellor of the diocese of Salisbury. He was preacher for the Hon. Society of Gray's Inn. His *Caution against Religious Delusion* was considered more temperate than many of the attacks made at that time upon the Methodist clergymen.

to help ourselves, or even to call upon God to help us, all our tempers and works, in our natural state, being only evil continually. So that *our* coming to Christ, as well as *theirs*, must infer a great and mighty change. It must infer not only an *outward change*, from stealing, lying, and all corrupt communication; but a thorough *change of heart*, an *inward* renewal in the spirit of our mind. Accordingly 'the old man' implies infinitely more than outward evil conversation, even 'an evil heart of unbelief,' corrupted by pride and a thousand deceitful lusts. Of consequence, the 'new man' must imply infinitely more than outward good conversation, even 'a good heart, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness'—a heart full of that faith which, working by love, produces all holiness of conversation.

4. The change from the former of these states to the latter is what I call *The New Birth*. But you say I am not content with this plain and easy notion of it, but fill myself and others with fantastical conceits about it. Alas, sir, how can you prove this? And if you cannot prove it, what amends can you make, either to God, or to me, or to the world, for publicly asserting a gross falsehood?

5. Perhaps you say you can prove this of Mr. Whitefield. What then? This is nothing to me. I am not accountable for *his* words. The Journal you quote I never saw until it was in print. But, indeed, you wrong him as much as me. First, where you represent him as judging the notions of the Quakers *in general* (concerning being led by the Spirit) to be right and good; whereas he speaks only of those *particular men* with whom he was conversing. And again, where you say he *supposes* a person *believing in Christ* to be without any *saving knowledge* of Him. He *supposes* no such thing. *To believe in Christ* was the very thing he *supposed* wanting; as understanding that term *believing* to imply, not only an assent to the Articles of our Creed, but also 'a true trust and confidence of the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

6. Now this it is certain a man may want, although he can truly say, 'I am chaste; I am sober; I am just in my dealings; I help my neighbour, and use the ordinances of God.' And, however such a man may have behaved in these respects, he is not to think well of his own state till he experiences something within himself which he has not yet experienced, but which he may be beforehand assured he shall, if the promises of God are true. That *something* is a living faith, 'a sure trust and confidence in God that, by the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven and he reconciled to the favour of God.' And from this will spring many other things, which till then he experienced not; as, the love of God shed abroad in his heart, the peace of God which passeth all understanding, and joy in the Holy Ghost—joy, though not *unfelt*, yet '*unspeakable*, and full of glory.'

7. These are some of those inward fruits of the Spirit which must be *felt* wheresoever they are; and, without these, I cannot learn from Holy Writ that any man is 'born of the Spirit.' I beseech you, sir, by the mercies of God, that if as yet you know nothing of such inward feelings, if you do not 'feel in yourself these mighty workings of the Spirit of Christ,' at least you would not contradict and blaspheme. When the Holy Ghost hath fervently kindled your love towards God, you will know these to be very sensible operations. As you hear the wind, and feel it too, while it strikes upon your bodily organs, you will know you are under the guidance of God's Spirit the same way, namely, by feeling it in your soul: by the present peace, and joy, and love which you feel within, as well as by its outward and more distant effects.

I am, &c.

I have often wished that all calm and impartial men would consider what is advanced by another writer, in a little discourse concerning Enthusiasm, or Religious Delusion, published about this time. His words are:

A minister of our Church who may look upon it as his duty to warn his parishioners, or an author who may think it necessary to caution his readers, against such preachers or their doctrine (enthusiastic preachers, I suppose; such as he takes it for granted the Methodist preachers are), ought to be very careful to act with a *Christian spirit*, and to advance nothing but with *temper*, *charity*, and *truth*. Perhaps the following rules may be proper to be observed by them:

1. Not to blame persons for doing that now which Scripture records holy men of old to have practised; lest, had they lived in those times, they should have condemned them also.

2. Not to censure persons in Holy Orders for teaching the same doctrines which are taught in the Scriptures and by our Church; lest they should ignorantly *censure* what they profess to *defend*.

3. Not to censure any professed members of our Church, who live good lives, for resorting to religious assemblies in private houses, to perform in society acts of divine worship; when the same seems to have been practised by the primitive Christians; and when, alas! there are so many parishes where a person *piously* disposed has no opportunity of joining in the public service of our Church more than *one hour and a half* in a week.

4. Not to *condemn* those who are constant attendants on the communion and service of our Church, if they sometimes use other prayers in private assemblies; since the best divines of our Church have composed and published many prayers that have not the sanction of public authority;

which implies a general consent that our Church has not made provision for every private occasion.

5. Not to establish the power of *working miracles* as the great criterion of a divine mission; when Scripture teaches us that the agreement of doctrines with truth, as taught in those Scriptures, is the only infallible rule.

6. Not to drive any away from our *Church* by opprobriously calling them *Dissenters*, or treating them as such, so long as they keep to her communion.

7. Not lightly to take up with *silly stories* that may be propagated, to the discredit of persons of a general good character.

I do not lay down (says he) these *negative rules* so much for the sake of any persons whom the unobservance of them would immediately injure, as for our Church and her professed defenders; for Churchmen, however well-meaning, would lay themselves open to censure, and might do her irretrievable damage, by behaviour contrary to them.

AUG. 3, *Fri.*—I met with one who 'did run well,' but Satan had 'hindered' her. I was surprised at her ingenuous acknowledgement of the fear of man. Oh, 'how hardly shall' even 'they who have rich' acquaintance 'enter into the kingdom of heaven'!

AUGUST 1, *Wednesday*

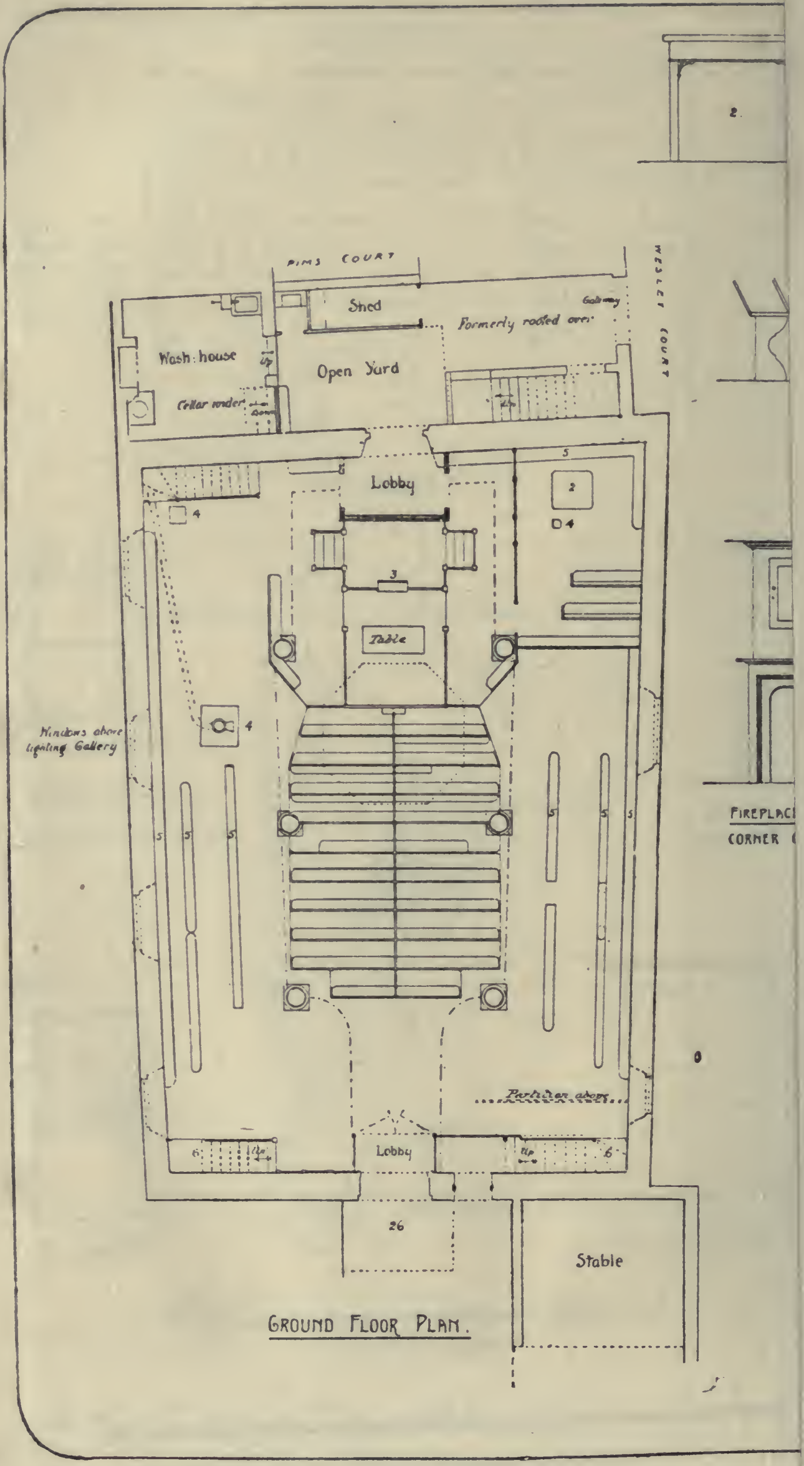
6 Prayers, slept; 8 at Miss Tayl[or]'s, tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 9.30 at home, conversed [to] one, Diary; 10.30 visited; 11 Weavers' Hall, visited; 12.45 slept; 1 conversed to Bro. Purdy and Cennick, singing; 2.30 Diary; 2.45 at Mrs. Stephens', tea, conversed; 3.30 at Mrs. Grace's, communion, nine there; 4 at Mrs. Murray's, within; 5 Baptist Mills, Heb.; 6 at Mr. Labbe's, tea, conversed; 7 with the women; 8 Baldwin St.; 9.30 at Mr. Labbe's, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

Thursday 2

5¾ Drest, prayers, walk to the Hot Well; 8 at Mrs. Page's, conversed, tea, prayer; 9 visited; 10.30 writ Journal; 12.30 dress, on business; 1 dinner; 2.15 set out with Purdy, conversed; 3.30 Publow, Acts ii. 26; 4.45 at Mr. Jeffry's, tea; 5.15 set out; 6.15 at home, tea, conversed; 7 at our Room; 9 at Bro. Maxfield's band; 9.30 conversed; 10.15.

Friday 3

5 Drest, within; 5.45 Mrs. Longden [went] to Gloucester, prayers, writ; 8 at Mrs. Turner's, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, on business; 11 Weavers' Hall, visited; 12.30 conversed to many; 2 Diary, conversed; 2.45 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 4 at the Fishponds, Acts xxvi.; 5.30 at Mr. Deschamps', supper, conversed; 6.15 at Mrs. England's, conversed, singing, etc.; 9 at the second band; 10 at home, within; 11.



Drawn under the supervision of the Rev. Henry J. Foster.]

Sun. 5.—Six persons at the New Room[1] were deeply convinced of sin; three of whom were a little comforted by prayer, but not yet convinced of righteousness.

Saturday 4

5½ Drest, meditated, prayers, prayed; 7 Journal; 8.15 at B. Holder's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, Journal; 12.15 prayed, dinner, conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Williams's, communion, nine there; 2.45 at Mr. Deschamps', conversed; 3 met Miss Burdock, at Mrs. Shepherd's, conversed, tea, got no good, parted! 5 Bowling Green, Matt. v. 5, 6, 3,000; 6.15 at Mrs. Champion's, tea, conversed; 7 Weavers' Hall; 9.15 at home, conversed, prayer; 11 [? two convinced] Λ̈.

Sunday 5

6 Drest, prayed; 7 Bowling Green, 3,000, Matt. v. 6; 8.30 at Mr. Jones', tea; 9 at Mrs. Willis', fourteen; 10.15 Hannam, 2,500, Matt. v. 5, 6; 11.45 at [blank], conversed, prayer; ! 1 at Mrs. England's, dinner, singing; 2.15 at home, Diary; 2.30 All Saints'; 4 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea; 5 Rose Green, 2,500, Matt. v. 5, 6; 7 at the Room, six ill, three well; 9.45 at the women's lovefeast; 11.15.

Monday 6

5¾ Drest, prayers, conversed to some, at Mr. Turner's, tea, conversed, prayer; 8 at Mrs. Deschamps', senr., at Mrs. Panou's band; 9 tea, Jenny Deschamps ill, prayer, singing; 10.30 at home, conversed; 11 Weavers' Hall! 12 writ to M[iss] B[urdock]; 1 at Mr. Labbe's, dinner, singing, conversed; 3.15 at home, letter; 4.45 at Mr. Labbe's, tea; 5 Brickyard, rain, Isa. lv. 10, 500; 6 conversed to Mrs. Arthur, at Mrs. Norman's, conversed; 7 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7 Gloucester Lane, at first band; 9.30 writ for Mrs. Thornhill; 11.

Tuesday 7

5½ Drest, meditated; 6 prayers, conversed to some, at Mrs. England's band, tea, conversed; 9 at home, Journal; 10.30 at Clifton, Mrs. Hodges, tea together; 11.30 walked, meditated, prayed; 12.30 at home, within, writ, dinner, conversed to some; 3 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, at the House; 4 Heb. x. 38; 5.30 at Mr. Deschamps', within; 6.15 at Mr. Davis', tea, conversed; 7.45 at our Room; 9.30 at Miss Smith's band, singing, prayer, etc.; 11.

Wednesday 8

5½ Drest, meditated, prayers, conversed to some, writ; 8 at Mr. Morgan's, many tarry, tea, singing, prayer; 9.30 writ Journal; 11 Weavers'

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[1] Since Wesley held a service 'in the shell' of the New Room on June 3, this is the first mention of the building in his Journal, from which it may be inferred that in the interval it was completed. No mention is made of any 'formal opening.' The only ceremonial appears to have been at the foundation-stone laying. Cf. May 12 and June 3, 1739 (pp. 197, 208).

Having frequently been invited to Wells, particularly by Mr. [Severs], who begged me to make his house my home, on *Thursday* the 9th I went thither and wrote him word the night before; upon which he presently went to one of his friends, and desired a messenger might be sent to meet me, and beg me to turn back: 'Otherwise,' said he, 'we shall lose all our trade.'[1] But this consideration did not weigh with him, so that he invited me to his own house; and at eleven I preached in his ground, on 'Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption,' to about two thousand persons. Some of them mocked at first, whom I reproved before all; and those of them who stayed were more serious. Several spoke to me after who were, for the present, much affected. Oh let it not pass away as the morning dew!

Fri. 10.—I had the satisfaction of conversing with a Quaker, and afterwards with an Anabaptist[2]; who, I trust, have had a large measure of the love of God shed abroad in their hearts.

Hall; 12.15 at Mr. Wigginton's, dinner, conversed; 1.30 at home, conversed to many; 2.15 Newgate, preached, prayer; 3.30 at Mrs. Grace's, communion, five there; 4 visited, at John Haydon's with leaders; 5 Baptist Mills, Rev. iii., Jenny Deschamps! 6 at Miss Gregory's, at Mrs. Hooper's, tea, conversed; 7 with the women; 8 Baldwin Street; 9.45 conversed; 10.30.

Thursday 9

4¾ Drest, at Mr. Wigginton's, coffee; 5.30 set out with Mr. Wigginton, Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Stephens; 9.30 at Wells, Mr. Sever's, ate, within; 11 preached, 1 Cor. i. 30, 2,000; 12.30 at Mr. Sever's, conversed to some; 1 dinner, singing, prayer; 2 set out with Mrs. Th[omas] and [Mrs.] St[ephens]; 6 at Miss Wigginton's, tea, conversed; 7 at the Room, three there [i.e. seized or convinced or received forgiveness, and so in all similar references]; 9.30 at home, with third band; 10.30.

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[1] The note in the Journal text is a little obscure. One is tempted to think that the person who invited Wesley to be his guest, alarmed at the unpopularity of the Methodists, shirked the fulfilment of his invitation, and that his friend took it upon himself. In that case Wesley's host in Wells would not have been the person who at first invited him. But the Diary makes it quite clear that Mr. Severs *was* his host on this and other occasions. In a Moravian letter of June 22, 1739, Wesley says: 'I writ to a society just begun at Wells, which I hope to visit when God permits.'

[2] The Diary gives two names, Mr. Whitehead 'and afterwards' Mr. Padmore. Probably the Quaker was Mr. Whitehead, and the Anabaptist Mr. Padmore.

Oh may those, in every persuasion, who are of this spirit increase a thousandfold, how many soever they be!

Sat. 11.—In the evening two were seized with strong pangs, as were four the next evening, and the same number at Gloucester Lane on Monday, one of whom was greatly comforted.

Tues. 14.—I preached at Bradford to about three thousand, on 'One thing is needful.' Returning through Bath, I preached

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Friday 10

6 Prayers, conversed to some, Diary; 8 at Mrs. Grimer's, tea, conversed, prayer, visited; 10 at home, writ for Mrs. Thornhill; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.30 at home, conversed to some; 1 writ for Mrs. Thornhill; 1.45 visited, at Mr. Whitehead's, ate, conversed; 2.45 at home, within; 3.15 at Mrs. Padmore's, conversed, tea, conversed; 6.30 at Mr. Deschamps', within; 6.45 Gloucester Lane; 9.15 at home, conversed; 10.30.

Saturday 11

5½ Drest, prayed; 6 prayers, on business, within; 8 at Mr. Stedders', prayer, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, writ to Mr. Griffiths, within; 11 Nicholas Street, letters, etc.; 1 at home, Diary, dinner; 2 Baldwin Street; 4 at Mrs. Williams', ten there, communion; 4.45 at Mr. Labbe's, tea; 5 Bowling Green, 3,000; 6 Baldwin Street, Journal; 7.15 Weavers' Hall, two there; ! 2.15 at home, ate, Jo[hn] Feachem [a minute shorthand note, possibly meaning 'distressed'], conversed; 11.

Sunday 12

5 Writ to Miss B[urdock]; 6.30 meditated, Bowling Green, Matt. v. 7, 4,000; 8.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 9 at Mrs. Willis', twenty-one there, communion; 10.15 Hannam, Matt. v. 7, 3,000; 12 visited; 12.30 at Mr. Tayl[or]'s, dinner, conversed; 2 at home, Diary, conversed, All Saints', at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 4.45 at Rose Green, Matt. v. 7, 4,000; 7 at the Room, four there! 9.15 at home, conversed to M. Wotton; 10.15.

Monday 13

5¾ Drest, prayers, at Mrs. England's, at Mrs. Deacon's band, conversed, prayer, singing; 9.30 at home, within, writ; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.30 at home, conversed, dinner, conversed to some at T. Whitefield's, conversed, prayer; 3.30 at Mrs. Bromadge's, tea, conversed, visit[ed]; 5 Brickyard, Luke x. 42, 2,500; 6.30 at Mr. Martin's, tea, conversed; 7 Gloucester Lane, four there! 9 at B. Latcham's band, conversed; 10 at Mr. Deschamps', within; 10.30.

Tuesday 14

4½ Tea, drest; 5.30 set out; 8.15 Freshford, Mr. Gib[b]s', tea, conversed; 10.30 Bradford, 3,000, Luke x. 42; 12.30 at Tirl[ey], Mr. Dixon's, to a small congregation, suddenly gathered together at a little distance from the town [at John Feachem's] (not being permitted to be in Richard Merchant's ground any more), on 'The just shall live by faith.' Three at the New Room this evening were cut to the heart; but their wound was not as yet healed.

Wed. 15.—I endeavoured to guard those who were in their first love from falling into inordinate affection, by explaining those strange words at Baptist Mills, 'Henceforth know we no man after the flesh.'

dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 Bath, John Feachem's, conversed, tea; 4.30 Heb. x. 38, 600; 5.45 set out; 7.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, at the Room, three there! 9.30 at home, conversed; 10.15.

Wednesday 15

5¾ Drest, prayers, writ; 8 at Mr. Wigginton's, senr., tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 writ for Mrs. Thornhill; 10.45 at M[iss] Wigginton's, conversed; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.15 at home, conversed to some, writ, conversed; 2.30 at Mrs. Smi[th]'s, tea, conversed; 3 at Mrs. Grace's, communion, nine there; 4 Baptist Mills, 2 Cor. v. 16, 1,200; 5 at leaders' meeting; 5.45 at Mrs. Hooper's, tea, conversed; 7 with the women bands; 8 Baldwin Street; 9.15 at home, Capt. Whitefield and M. Johns, conversed; 11.

Thursday 16.[1]

5¾ Drest, prayers, writ for Mrs. Thornhill; 8 at Mrs. Oldfield's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, writ to the Mayor, Diary; 10.15 writ; with the Bishop, the Dean tar[ried], conversed; 12.15 at home, writ N.; 1 at Mr. Norman's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 set out; 3.45 Publow, John vii. 37, 38; 5 at Mr. Jeffry's, tea, conversed; 6.15 at home, tea; 7 at the Room; 9 at home, conversed, with second band; 10.30.

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[1] Henry Moore writes: 'About the middle of August Mr. Wesley had a conversation [he had two—one on August 16, the other on the 18th] with the Bishop of Bristol on justification by faith alone, a part of which has been preserved. [The rest was probably consumed in the City Road furnace: see vol. i. p. 261.] The original is now before me in his own hand.' Probably the MS. was sent to the press and had perished, for it is no longer found in the Colman Collection, which was in Moore's possession when he wrote the *Life of Wesley*. The conversation clearly defines Wesley's position at this time in relation to doctrine, the administration of the sacrament, visions, and signs, and the right to preach in any parish.

Bishop. Why, sir, our faith itself is a good work; it is a virtuous temper of mind.

Mr. Wesley. My lord, whatever faith is, our Church asserts we are justified by faith alone. But how it can be called a good work I see not: it is the gift of God, and a gift that presupposes nothing in us but sin and misery.

B. How, sir! Then you make God a tyrannical Being if He justifies some without

Fri. 17.—Many of our society met, as we had appointed, at one in the afternoon; and agreed that all the members of our society should obey the Church to which we belong by observing all Fridays in the year as days of fasting or abstinence. We

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any goodness in them preceding, and does not justify all. If these are not justified on account of some moral goodness in them, why are not those justified too?

W. Because, my lord, they '*resist His Spirit*'; because 'they will not come to Him that they might have life'; because they suffer Him not to 'work in them both to will and to do.' They cannot be saved, because they will not believe.

B. Sir, what do you mean by faith?

W. My lord, by justifying faith I mean a conviction, wrought in a man by the Holy Ghost, that Christ hath loved him and given Himself for him, and that through Christ his sins are forgiven. [The definition in the Homily.]

B. I believe some good men have this, but not all. But how do you prove this to be the justifying faith taught by our Church?

W. My lord, from her Homily on Salvation, where she describes it thus: 'A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God that, through the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven and he reconciled to the favour of God.'

B. Why, sir, this is quite another thing.

W. My lord, I conceive it to be the very same.

B. Mr. Wesley, I will deal plainly with you. I once thought you and Mr. Whitefield well-meaning men; but I cannot think so now. For I have heard more of you: matters of fact, sir. And Mr. Whitefield says in his Journal: 'There are promises still to be fulfilled in me.' Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing—a very horrid thing!

W. My lord, for what Mr. Whitefield says Mr. Whitefield, and not I, is accountable. I pretend to no extraordinary revelations, or gifts of the Holy Ghost: none but what every Christian may receive and ought to expect and pray for. But I do not wonder your lordship has heard facts asserted which, if true, would prove the contrary; nor do I wonder that your lordship, believing them true, should alter the opinion you once had of me. A quarter of an hour I spent with your lordship before, and about an hour now; and perhaps you have never conversed one other hour with any one who spake in my favour. But how many with those who spake on the other side! So that your lordship could not but think as you do. But pray, my lord, what are those facts you have heard?

B. I hear you administer the sacrament in your societies.

W. My lord, I never did yet, and I believe never shall.

B. I hear, too, that many people fall into fits in your societies, and that you pray over them.

W. I do so, my lord, when any show by strong cries and tears that their soul is in deep anguish. I frequently pray to God to deliver them from it, and our prayer is often heard in that hour.

B. Very extraordinary, indeed! Well, sir, since you ask my advice, I will give it you very freely. You have no business here; you are not commissioned to preach in this diocese. Therefore I advise you to go hence.

W. My lord, my business on earth is to do what good I can. Wherever, therefore, I think I can do most good there must I stay, so long as I think so. At present I think I can do most good here; therefore, here I stay. As to my preaching here, a dispensation of the gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the gospel wherever I am in the habitable world! Your lordship knows, being ordained a priest, by the commission I then received I am a priest of the Church Universal. And being ordained as Fellow of a College, I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission to preach the word of God in any part of the Church of England. I do not therefore conceive that, in preaching here by this commission, I break any human law. When I am convinced I do, then it will be time to ask, 'Shall I obey God or man?' But if I should be convinced, in the meanwhile, that I could advance the glory of God and the salvation of souls in any other place more than in Bristol, in that hour, by God's help, I will go hence, which till then I may not do.

It is evident that this conversation took place at Wesley's second interview with Bishop Butler on Aug. 18, when it will be remembered that Mr. Sutton (probably the bishop's chaplain), Mr. Tucker (Rev. Josiah T., of All Saints'), and the Chancellor were present. Did Mr. Tucker, who was a journalist, preserve a report of this remarkable conversation?

likewise agreed that as many as had opportunity should then meet, to spend an hour together in prayer.

Mon. 20.—I preached on those words, to a much larger congregation than usual, 'Oughtest not thou to have compassion on thy fellow servant, as I had pity on thee?'

Friday 17

5¾ Drest, prayers; 7 Journal; 8 at Mrs. Purnell's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, Journal; 10.45 Weavers' Hall; 12.15 at home, Journal; 1 at Baldwin Street, our band here, prayer, singing; 3 at Mrs. Turner's, tea, conversed; 4 at the Fishponds, Luke v. 32; 5.30 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 6.15 at Mrs. Lanning's, conversed; 6.30 at Gloucester Lane, three there; 8.15 at home, with the fifth band; 9.15 at Mr. Wigginton's, senr., supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

Saturday 18

5½ Meditated, drest; 6 prayers, Journal; 8 at Mrs. England's, M. Purnel, etc., tea, singing, prayer; 9.15 visited; 9.30 at home, Journal; 1 dinner, conversed to many; 3 at Mrs. Williams', communion, fourteen there, prayers; 5 at the Bishop's, Mr. Sutton, Tucker, and the Chancellor, conversed; 6.15 Bowling Green; 7.15 Weavers' Hall; 8.45 at home, ate, conversed to many; 10.15.

Sunday 19

6 Drest, meditated; 6.45 Bowling Green, 5,000, Matt. v. 8; 8.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 9 at Mrs. Willis's, twenty-two, communion[1]; 10.15 Hannam, 3,500, Matt. v. 8; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 2 at home, Journal; 2.30 All Saints'; 4.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 5.45 Rose Green, 5,500; 7 at the Room, all well; 8.30 Baldwin Street, ate, in conversation, singing, prayer; 10 at home, Mr. Ric[hard] Whitefield, conversed, 11.

Monday 20

5¾ Drest, prayers; 7 at Mr. Linford's, singing, conversed; 8 tea, singing, prayer; 9.30 at home, Journal; 10 within to many [had private interviews with many]; 11 Weavers' Hall, at Bedminster with Margaret Somerel, prayer, conversed; 1 at home, conversed, dinner; 2 conversed to many; 3.30 Mrs. Sage's, conversed; 4 at Miss Wigginton's, tea, conversed, prayer; 5 Brickyard, Matt. xviii., 3,500; 6.30 at Mrs. Norman's, tea; 7 Gloucester Lane; 9 at M. Latcham's and Mrs. Highnam's and Bro. Oldfield's band; 10 at home, conversed; 11 prayer.

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[1] With the exception of All Saints' and Christ Church, Clifton, most of the churches refused the communion to these members of Church of England Religious Societies. Hence the large numbers who communicated with the sick whenever Wesley or Whitefield administered. But, as he told Bishop Butler, in the Religious Societies he did not administer Holy Communion at this time.

Wed. 22.—I was with many that were in heaviness: two of whom [Mr. Bradshaw and Mrs. England] were soon filled with peace and joy. In the afternoon I endeavoured to guard the weak against what too often occasions heaviness—levity of temper or behaviour—from 'I said of laughter, it is mad; and of mirth, what doeth it?'

Tuesday 21

5¾ Drest, prayers, conversed to some; 7.30 Journal; 8 at Mrs. Highnam's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.15 at home, within, writ to s[ister] P[atty] and M[iss] Burdock; 12.45 Diary; 1 conversed to some; 1.45 dinner, conversed to many; 3 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, set out, at the house [i.e. the Kingswood Schoolhouse]; 4 Matt. xxviii. 33; 5 at Mr. Davis', conversed, tea; 7 at the Room; 8.45 at Miss Sm[ith]'s band; 11 at home, conversed, 11.

Wednesday 22

5½ Drest, meditated, prayers, conversed, at M. Deffel's band; 8 at Mrs. Latcham's, tea, conversed, singing, prayer, M. Bradsh[aw] and Mrs. England; 9.45 within; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.15 at Margaret Somerel's, communion, nine there; 1 at Miss Wigginton's, conversed, dinner; 2 at home, conversed to many; 3 at Mrs. Townsend's, within, tea; 4 Baptist Mills, Eccles. ii. 2, 1,000; 5.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 5.45 with the leaders; 6.15 at Mrs. Grace's burying; 7.30 at the bands; 8 Baldwin Street; 9.30 at home, conversed, prayer, 10.15.

Thursday 23

5½ Drest, meditated; 6 prayers, at home, writ to Bro. Ingham; 8 at M. Bradsh[aw's], tea, conversed; 9.15 visited; 9.45 at home, writ to Mr. Blackwell,[1]

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[1] Ebenezer Blackwell was a partner in Martin's Lombard Street bank, and had a country residence at Lewisham, in Kent. For many years he was the intimate friend of Wesley. To Lewisham Wesley, in later years, was accustomed to retire when writing for the Press. Many of his sermons and other works are dated from Lewisham. Here he found an asylum during the serious illness of 1754, and from this place he was removed to the Bristol Hot Wells. Considerable sums of money were entrusted by Mr. Blackwell to Wesley for distribution among the poor; and some of the letters addressed to him show how this bounty was applied. Mrs. Hannah Dewal and Mrs. Blackwell, so often mentioned in the correspondence, were women of exemplary piety. Charles Wesley wrote hymns on the death of these ladies. The second Mrs. Blackwell was the daughter of a clergyman and niece of Bishop Lowth. Charles Wesley, jun., who knew the family well, says that the Bishop once dined with Wesley at Lewisham, and refused to sit above him at table, saying: 'May I be found at your feet in another world.

We are indebted to the Diary for a reference to this first letter. Was Captain Whitefield Mr. Blackwell's messenger? He may have left London on the 14th. Late in the evening of the 15th Wesley had an interview with him, and possibly received from him the 'shop note' and letter.

Mr. Blackwell played so important a part in the early history of London Methodism, and in Wesley's literary and

Darracote,[1] Reed; 1 at Mr. Jones', dinner, conversed; 2.15 at home, conversed to some; 4 at Miss Gregory's, conversed, tea; 5 at [blank],

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family affairs, that the first letter from him has a special interest.

LONDON,
Aug. 14, 1739.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Seward, when I supped with him and Mr. Whitefield last Sunday night, said he would send me the money they collected that evening on Blackheath for Kingswood School. By the newspaper of this day it mentions that there was collected £16 1*s.* 6*d.*, but I had sent me only £15 11*s.*, so that there is half a guinea difference. What is the reason I don't know till I hear from Mr. Seward; but, however, for the £15 11*s.* I have sent our Shop Note, which Mr. Burrows, or any other gentleman that remits money to London, will give you cash for. I thought it was the best way to send it, because as I have seen your handwriting (though I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance) before I should pay it I should know that it got safe to you.

It would be needless for me to pretend to give an account of all our friends, because I suppose the Captain and Mr. Mitchell, before this, has acquainted you of everything, as they and I parted from Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Seward at the same time. This I can say, that there is a great number of our friends who earnestly wish for somebody to supply the place of our dear Mr. Whitefield. For my part, I desire to trust to the Lord, who is not only able but will certainly in His due time send us more of His true ministers. But at present, for all-wise ends, He may suffer us to grapple a little longer by ourselves, and have after this great plenty; as it were, a dearth of religion in order to purge us and try us, that He may know how to prize and value them that preach the truth as it is in Jesus. Oh that we had more thankful hearts for the mercies we daily receive, and made a more conscientious use of our closets, to look up to the Almighty for directions in all our affairs—though not in the least resting or relying on anything that we can do, but solely trusting in the merits, death, and suffering of our dear Lord Jesus for life and salvation. Then might we expect the blessing of God in this world, and our souls' everlasting salvation in the next. I should be glad, when you have a leisure minute, to have a line or two, and beg you will present my kind love and service to Mrs. Grevil, and tell her that I thought I should have heard from her before now.

I am, dear sir (with earnest prayers to the Almighty for continued success in your labours, and that all who name the name of Jesus may depart from evil), your weak but affectionate friend in Christ,

EB. BLACKWELL.

PS.—Pray give my kind respects to the Captain, Mr. Mitchell, &c.

The letter is in the Colman Collection. It is addressed to:

The Rev. Mr. J. Wesl[e]y.

Being delivered by hand it required no other address. It is endorsed in Wesley's handwriting:

Mr. Blackwell,
Aug. 14, 1739.
a[nswere]d 22.

The following was Wesley's reply:

BRISTOL,
Aug. 23, 1739.

DEAR SIR,

I have not had half an hour's leisure to write since I received yours of the 14th inst., in which the note for £15 11*s.* was enclosed.

The Captain's journey to London, as he owns it was the happiest, so I believe it was the most useful, one he had ever had. His resolution was a little shaken here; but he now appears more settled than before. Satan hath indeed desired to have us, that he may sift us as wheat; but our Lord hath prayed for us; so that the faith of few has failed. For the greater part of those who have been tempted has come as gold out of the fire.

It seems to me a plain proof that the power of God is greatly with His people, because they are tempted in a manner scarce common to men. No sooner do any of them begin to taste of true liberty, but they are buffeted both within and without. The messengers of Satan close them in on every side. Many are already turned out of doors by their parents or masters; many more expect it every day: but they count all these things dung and dross, that they may win Christ. Oh let us, if His name be called upon us, be thus minded!

I am, dear sir,
Your affectionate friend and
servant in Christ,
J. WESLEY.

[1] This may have been the Rev. Risdon Darracott, a pupil of Doddridge, who had a meeting-house at Wellington—'one of the most devout and extraordinary men,' writes Doddridge, 'I ever sent out.' He, like many other Dissenters, was 'offended.' See Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. ii. p. 75, &c.

Mon. 27.—For two hours I took up my cross, in arguing with a zealous man, and in labouring to convince him that I was not an enemy to the Church of England. He allowed I taught no other doctrines than those of the Church; but could not forgive my teaching them out of the church walls. He allowed, too (which none indeed can deny who has any regard to truth or sense of shame), that 'by this teaching, many souls

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tea, conversed; 6 at Mrs. Davis', conversed; 7 Weavers' Hall; 9 at home, with second band, conversed; 10.45 read; 11. ⌒. !!!

Friday 24

5½ Drest, meditated, prayers; 7 at M[olly] Deacon's, conversed, tea, singing; 8.30 at Bro. Sag[e]'s, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, writ to Mr. Erskine; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12.15 at home, singing, meditation; 1 at Mrs. England's, the band met, prayer, singing; 3 at Mr. Labbe's, tea, conversed; 4 visited; 4.30 at home, writ; 5.30 with Mrs. Grevile, etc., tea; 6.45 Gloucester Lane; 8.30 at M[olly] Deacon's band; 9.30 at home, supper, conversed; 11.

Saturday 25

5½ Drest, meditated, prayers; 7 Journal; 8 at K. Chandler's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, writ to Mr. Davidson; 11 Journal; 12 meditated, within; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 conversed to some; 3 at Mrs. Willi[ams]'s, seventeen there, communion; 4 at Mrs. Cornish's, tea, conversed to Wa[lter] Chapman; 5 Bowling Green, Matt. v. 9; 6 at Mrs. Eyre's, conversed; 6.45 Weavers' Hall; 9 at home, with the boys [as in Georgia, he had a class of boys], supper, conversed; 10.15.

Sunday 26

5¾ Meditated, drest, prayed; 6.45 Bowling Green, Matt. v. 9, 4,000; 8.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 9 at Mrs. Willis', communion, forty there; 10.15 Hannam, 3,000, Matt. v.; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', Mr. and Mrs. Jones, dinner, conversed; 2 at home, meditated, conversed; 2.30 All Saints'; 4.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea; 5 Rose Green, 5,000 Matt. v. 9, 10, 11, 12; 7 at the Horsefair; 9 at home, supper, conversed; 10.15, , 11 ⌒!

Monday 27

5¾ Drest, prayers, at home, conversed with some, writ; 8 at Mrs. Page's, conversed, tea, prayer; 9 at home, conversed to some; 11 Weavers' Hall, meditated, prayed; 1 at Mrs. England's, Th. Robins [this seems to have been the zealous man of the text], conversed, dinner; 3.30 visited; 4 at Mrs. Padmore's, tea, conversed; 5 Brickyard, Luke xxii. 48, 2,500; 6 at Mrs. High[n]am's, at M. Thomas's, tea, conversed; 7 Gloucester Lane; 9 at M. Purnel's band; 10 at Mr. Deschamps', eat, in conversation, 10.30.

who, till that time, were "perishing for lack of knowledge," have been, and are, brought "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God."' But, he added, 'No one can tell what may be hereafter; and therefore I say these things ought not to be suffered.'

Indeed the report now current in Bristol was that I was a Papist, if not a Jesuit. Some added that I was born and bred at Rome, which many cordially believed. Oh, ye fools, when will ye understand that the preaching of justification by faith alone, the allowing no meritorious cause of justification but the death and righteousness of Christ, and no conditional or instrumental cause but faith, is overturning Popery from the foundation? When will ye understand that the most destructive of all those errors which Rome, the mother of abominations, hath brought forth (compared to which Transubstantiation and a hundred more are 'trifles light as air'), is, 'That we are justified by works'; or (to express the same a little more decently) by faith and works? Now, do I preach this? I did for ten years: I was (fundamentally) a Papist, and knew it not. But I do now testify to all (and it is the very point for asserting which I have, to this day, been called in question), that 'no good works can be done before justification; none which have not in them the nature of sin.'

I have often inquired who are the authors of this report, and have generally found they were either bigoted Dissenters, or (I speak without fear or favour) ministers of our own Church. I have also frequently considered what possible ground or motive they could have thus to speak; seeing few men in the world have had occasion so clearly and openly to declare their principles as I have done, both by preaching, printing, and conversation, for several years last past: and I can no otherwise think than that either they spoke thus (to put the most favourable construction upon it) from gross ignorance—they knew not what Popery was, they knew not what doctrines those are which the Papists teach—or they wilfully spoke what they knew to be false, probably 'thinking' thereby 'to do God service.' Now take this to yourselves, whosoever ye are, high or low, Dissenters or Churchmen, clergy or laity, who have advanced this shameless charge; and digest it how you can.

But how have ye not been afraid, if ye believe there is a God, and that He knoweth the secrets of your hearts (I speak now to you, preachers, more especially, of whatever denomination), to declare so gross, palpable a lie, in the name of the God of truth? I cite you all, before the Judge of all the earth, either publicly to prove your charge; or, by publicly retracting it, to make the best amends you can, to God, to me, and to the world.

For the full satisfaction of those who have been abused by these shameless men, and almost brought to believe a lie, I will here add my serious judgement concerning the Church of Rome, wrote, some time since, to a priest of that communion:

Sir,

I return you thanks both for the favour of your letter, and for your recommending my father's Proposals to the Sorbonne.

I have neither time nor inclination for controversy with any; but least of all with the Romanists. And that, both because I cannot trust any of their quotations without consulting every sentence they quote in the originals; and because the originals themselves can very hardly be trusted in any of the points controverted between them and us. I am no stranger to their skill in mending those authors who did not at first speak home to their purpose, as also in purging them from those passages which contradicted their emendations. And as they have not wanted opportunity to do this, so doubtless they have carefully used it with regard to a point that so nearly concerned them as the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. I am not therefore surprised if the works of St. Cyprian (as they are called) do strenuously maintain it; but I am that they have not been better corrected; for they still contain passages that absolutely overthrow it. What gross negligence was it to leave his seventy-fourth Epistle (to Pompeianus) out of the *Index Expurgatorius*, wherein Pope Cyprian so flatly charges Pope Stephen with pride and obstinacy, and with being a defender of the cause of heretics, and that against Christians and the very Church of God! He that can reconcile this with his believing Stephen the infallible Head of the Church may reconcile the Gospel with the Koran.

Yet I can by no means approve the scurrility and contempt with which the Romanists have often been treated. I dare not rail at or despise any man, much less those who profess to believe in the same Master. But I pity them much; having the same assurance that Jesus is the Christ, and that no Romanist can expect to be saved according to the terms of his covenant. For thus saith our Lord, 'Whosoever shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.' And, 'If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book.' But all Romanists, as such, do both. *Ergo*,

The minor I prove, not from Protestant authors, nor even from particular writers of their own communion, but from the public, authentic records of the Church of Rome. Such are the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. And the edition I use was printed at Cologne, and approved by authority.

And, First, all Romanists, as such, do break and teach men to break one (and not the least) of those commandments; the words of which, concerning images, are these;

לא תשתחוה להם

Now, שתה (as every smatterer in Hebrew knows) is *incurvare se, procumbere, honoris exhibendi causa*[1] (and is accordingly rendered by the Seventy in this very place by a Greek word of the very same import, *προσκύνειν*): but the Council of Trent (and consequently all Romanists, as such, all who allow the authority of that Council) teaches (section 25, paragraph 2), that it is *legitimus imaginum usus . . . eis honorem exhibere, procumbendo coram eis.*[2]

Secondly, all Romanists, as such, do add to those things which are written in the Book of Life. For in the Bull of Pius IV, subjoined to those Canons and Decrees, I find all the additions following:

1. Seven sacraments; 2. Transubstantiation; 3. Communion in one kind only; 4. Purgatory, and praying for the dead therein; 5. Praying to saints; 6. Veneration of relics; 7. Worship of images; 8. Indulgences; 9. The priority and universality of the Roman Church; 10. The supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. All these things, therefore, do the Romanists add to those which are written in the Book of Life.

I am, ——.

Tues. 28.—My mouth was opened and my heart enlarged strongly to declare to above two thousand people, at Bradford, that 'the kingdom of God' within us 'is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' At Bath I once more offered Christ to justify the ungodly. In the evening I met my brother, just come from London.[3] 'The

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[1] 'To bow down before any one, in token of honouring him' (Wesley).

[2] 'That is, the proper use of images is to honour them by bowing down before them' (Wesley).

[3] On Aug. 15 Charles Wesley, in a letter to Whitefield, wrote: 'To-morrow I set out for Bristol.' He made the journey by way of Wycombe (where he was refused the church and also a house for preaching), Oxford, and Evesham. At the last place he wrote to his brother: 'We left the brethren at Oxford much edified, and two gownsmen, besides C. Graves, thoroughly awakened.' Mrs. Seward (of Evesham), being an

Lord hath' indeed 'done great things for us' already. 'Not unto us, but unto Thy name be the praise.'

Thur. 30.[1]—I rode with my brother to Wells, and preached on 'What must I do to be saved?' In the evening I summed up at the New Room what I had said at many times, from the beginning, of faith, holiness, and good works as the root, the tree, and the fruit, which God had joined and man ought not to put asunder.

Tuesday 28

4½ Drest, in talk, tea; 5.30 set out, rain; 9 at Tirly, Mr. Dixon's, tea, conversed, prayer; 10.30 Bradford, rain, Rom. xiv. 17, 2,500; 12 at Mr. Timbrel's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 Bath, at Jo's, conversed; 4 Rom. iv. 4, 500; 5.30 set out; 7.15 at Mr. Deschamps', supper, Charles there; 7.30 at the Room; 9 at T. Whitefield's, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

Wednesday 29

5¾ Drest, prayers, conversed with Charles; 8.15 at P. Evans', tea, conversed, singing, prayer; 9.15 at home, within with Charles; 11 Weavers' Hall; 12 visited Mrs. Linford, etc.; 1 at home, conversed to many; 3 at Jo[hn] Champion's, tea, conversed, prayer; 4 Baptist Mills, 1,200, Rom. iv. 17; 5.15 met the leaders; 6 at Mr. Purnel's, tea, conversed, singing; 7 with the women; 8 Baldwin Street; 9 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

Thursday 30

5¼ On business, writ Diary; 6 set out with Charles, Deschamps, and Giles, singing, conversed, lost the way; 10.45 Wells, at the Christopher, tea; 11.45 Acts xvi. 30, 200; 1.15 at Mrs. Severs', dinner, con-

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opposer, refused hospitality to Charles Wesley, just as she had refused Whitefield at an earlier date. But Mr. Seward, returning home in the evening, found him at the inn, and kept him as a guest until Wednesday the 22nd, when he went to Gloucester. He continued his letter to his brother on Aug. 23 and 25, and from Randwick on Aug. 26. On Monday the 27th he set out from Randwick, returning to Ebly, where he had already preached. On Tuesday the 28th he arrived in Bristol, and went with his brother to the preaching-room in the Horsefair, where 'a drunken Quaker [Benjamin Rutter] made a great disturbance by bawling out for his wife.' The story of this journey, with its successive letters to John Wesley, is a fair example of the way in which Charles Wesley wrote his Journal. Large sections of it were originally in the form of letters to his brother. This also was, to some extent, a characteristic feature of John Wesley's Journal. The intention was that the two brothers should exchange work for awhile, Charles taking charge of the societies in Bristol and John returning to London.

[1] Not Wednesday the 29th, as in former text.

Fri. 31.—I left Bristol, and reached London about eight on *Sunday* morning. In the afternoon I heard a sermon wherein it was asserted that our repentance was not sincere, but feigned and hypocritical, (1) if we relapsed into sin soon after repenting; especially if (2) we did not avoid all the occasions of sin; or if (3) we relapsed frequently; and most of all if (4) our hearts were hardened thereby. Oh what a hypocrite was I (if this be so) for near twice ten years! But I know it is not so. I know every one under the law is even as I was. Every one, when he begins to see his fallen state, and to feel the wrath of God abiding on him, relapses into the sin that most easily besets him, soon after repenting of it. Sometimes he avoids, and at many other times cannot persuade himself to avoid, the occasions of it. Hence his relapses are frequent, and of consequence his heart is hardened more and more. And yet all this time he is sincerely striving against sin. He can say unfeignedly, without hypocrisy, 'The thing which I do, I approve not; the evil which I would not, that I do.' 'To will is' even then 'present with' him; 'but how to perform that which is good' he 'finds not.' Nor can he, with all his sincerity, avoid any one of these four marks of hypocrisy till, 'being justified by faith,' he hath 'peace with God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

This helpless state I took occasion to describe at Kennington to eight or ten thousand people, from those words of the Psalmist, 'Innumerable troubles are come about me; my sins have taken such hold upon me that I am not able to look up: yea, they are more in number than the hairs of my head, and my heart hath failed me.'

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versed; 2 set out, within, lost, singing, conversed; 7 at Miss Wigginton's, tea, conversed; 7.30 at the Room; 9.15 at Baldwin Street society, singing, in talk, prayer; 10 at home, many tarry, conversed; supper, singing, prayer; 11 at Mr. Deschamps', conversed; 11.30.

Friday 31

5 Singing, tea, conversed, many came, prayer; 6.30 set out with Bro. Purdy, conversed; 8.45 Marshfield, Diary; 9 tea, conversed; 9.45 set out; 12.30 Caln, dinner, conversed; 1.30 set out; 2 storm; 4 Marlboro', tea, conversed; 5 set out, meditated; 7 Hung[erfor]d, Diary, supper, conversed; 9.

SEPT. 3, *Mon.*—I talked largely with my mother, who told me that, till a short time since, she had scarce heard such a thing mentioned as the having forgiveness of sins now, or God's Spirit bearing witness with our spirit; much less did she imagine that this was the common privilege of all true believers. 'Therefore,' said she, 'I never durst ask for it myself. But two or three weeks ago, while my son Hall was pronouncing those words, in delivering the cup to me, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee," the words struck through my heart, and I knew God for Christ's sake had forgiven *me* all *my* sins.'

I asked whether her father (Dr. Annesley)[1] had not the

SEPT. 1, *Saturday*

5 Meditation, prayer; 5.30 set out; 7.30 overtook Fanny Lucans and her Fr. [Father]; 8 Woollington, they came, conversed, tea; 9 set out; 11 Reading, at Mrs. Cennick's, conversed, dinner, prayer; 1.30 set out; 5 rain; 5.15 Colebrook, within, supper; 8.

Sunday 2

5½ Prayed, prayer, meditation; 5.45 set out; 9.15 at Mr. Bray's, singing, tea, conversation; 10.30 prayers, communion; 1.30 at Mrs. Stover's, within, dinner, singing, prayer, Dr. Heylin preached; 4.15 at Bro. Chapman's, tea, conversed; 5.15 Kennington, Ps. xl. 16; 6.30 went with Sir Isaac Chard, etc., ig t r [*igitur* = thereupon, then]; 8 Fetter Lane, women's lovefeast; 10.30 at home, conversed, singing; 11.

Monday 3

5¾ Drest, prayers; 6.30 within; 7.15 at Bro. Hodge's, tea, conversed; 8 at Mr. Hall's [Westley Hall], Stonehouse there, within with them; 10 in talk with sister Patty [Mrs. Hall], sister Kezzy, etc.; 12.45 Islington with sister Patty and sister Nancy? [? Nancy: the initial indistinct]; 1 at her house, within; 2 at Mr. Stonehouse's, dinner; 3 at my mother's, tea, conversed, singing; 4.45 Southwark, visited; 6.45 at home, read N. [a letter from his correspondent N., or a Narrative], tea, conversed; 8 at our band; 10.30 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

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[1] Samuel Annesley, LL.D., nephew to the first Earl of Anglesea, was baptized and probably born at Haseley, near Warwick, and was trained in Puritanism. He served first as chaplain in the navy, and afterwards in livings and lectureships in Kent and London. In 1662 he was ejected for Nonconformity from the living of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, the church in which are buried Martin Frobisher, Foxe (author of *The Book of Martyrs*), and John Milton, and in which Oliver Cromwell was married. He had been presented to the living, some say by Oliver, others by Richard Cromwell, the Protector. For ten years he was doomed to silence by the penal legislation of the Restoration, but in 1672 was permitted

same faith; and whether she had not heard him preach it to others. She answered he had it himself; and declared, a little before his death, that for more than forty years he had no darkness, no fear, no doubt at all of his being 'accepted in the Beloved.' But that, nevertheless, she did not remember to have heard him preach—no, not once—explicitly upon it; whence she supposed he also looked upon it as the peculiar blessing of a few, not as promised to all the people of God.

[*Tues.* 4.]—Both at Mr. B[ray's][1] at six and at Dowgate

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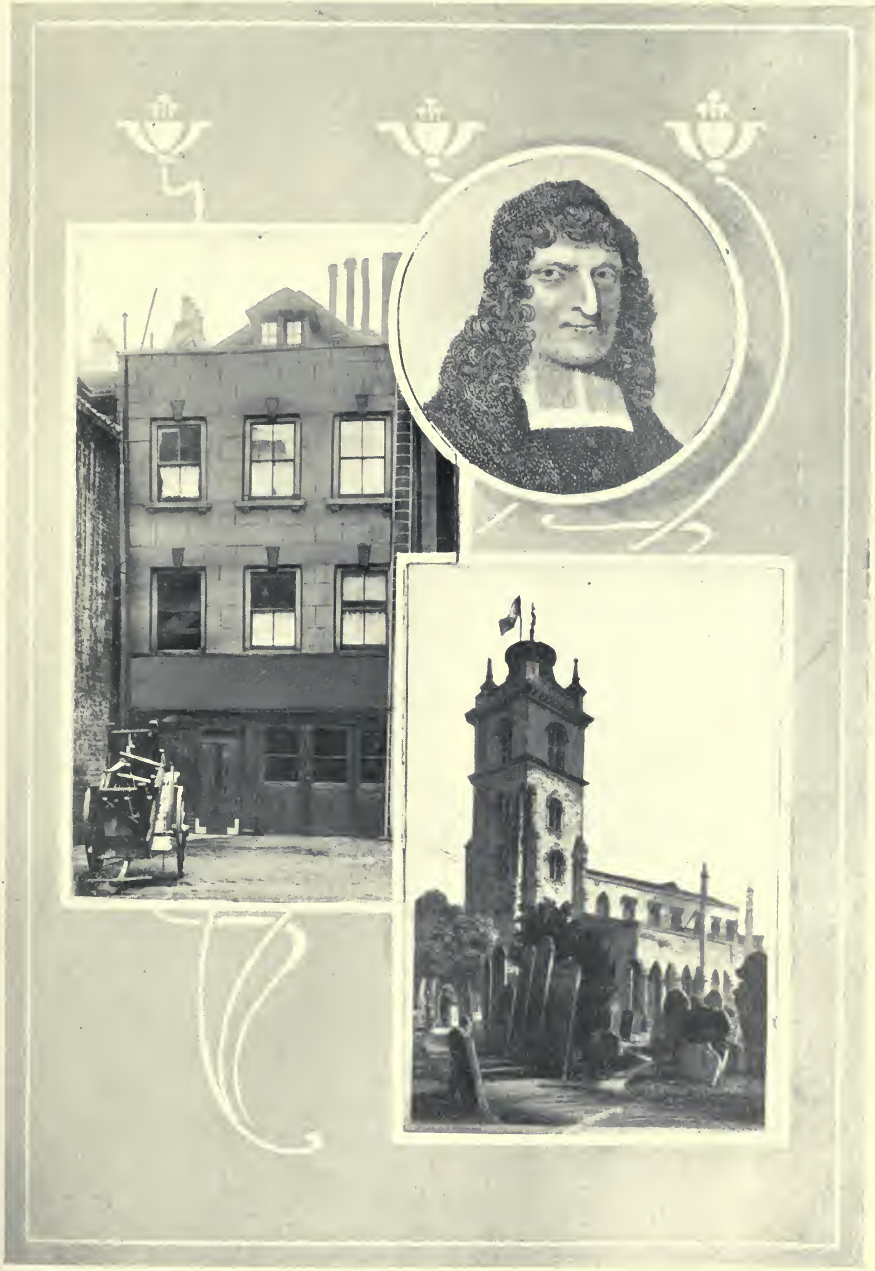
to license a meeting-house at Little St. Helen's, where he exercised a gracious and influential ministry for many years. It is said that the site of the meeting-house was at the end of St. Helen's Place, now occupied by the Leathersellers' Hall. He seems to have married twice, his first wife dying early; his second wife was the daughter of the 'John White' whom Clarendon describes as 'a grave lawyer, and made a considerable figure in his profession,' and who was member for Southwark in the Long Parliament in 1640, and took an active part in the ecclesiastical controversies of the times. He must be distinguished from the Rev. John White, so long known as the patriarch of Dorchester, whose daughter was the mother of Samuel Wesley, and grandmother, on the father's side, of John and Charles Wesley. He also was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Kirk, in his *Mother of the Wesleys*, notes the coincidences between the grandfathers of the founder of Methodism. 'They both bore the same Christian and surname; they were both eminent in their respective professions, the one in the gospel, the other in the law; both were members of the far-famed Westminster Assembly of Divines; both held high positions, the one in the Church, the other in the State; and both were thoroughly attached to their religious principles.' Susanna, the wife of Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, was the youngest of Dr. Annesley's twenty-five children, and the only one of them known to posterity for character and ability. (See 'The Wesleys and the Nobility,' *W.M. Mag.* Feb. 1898.) On June 22, 1694, seven young men were ordained for the ministry at the meeting-house in Little St. Helen's. It was the first public ordination on which the Dissenters had ventured since the Restoration. The service lasted from ten in the morning till six in the evening. Dr. Annesley took part, with Matthew Sylvester, the editor of Richard Baxter's *Narrative of his Life and Times* (see p. 472, note), and Dr. Williams, who founded the Library (now housed in Gordon Square) and preached Dr. Annesley's funeral sermon. Dr. Calamy was one of the young ministers ordained. Daniel Defoe's father and mother attended the meeting-house. Of the pastor, the author of *Robinson Crusoe* afterwards wrote:

> The sacred bow he so divinely drew,
> That every shot both hit and overthrew.

Dr. Annesley lived in Spital Yard. The end house of the yard is said to have been Susanna Wesley's birthplace (Jan. 20, 1669), as it certainly was that of Samuel Wesley, jun. See a reference in a letter by the rector of Epworth recently discovered in the Bodleian Library (*W.M. Mag.* April and June 1911). Dr. Annesley died in 1696, greatly venerated, aged seventy-six years.

[1] It has been suggested that Mr. B—— was Bowes, of George Yard, Little Britain, where preaching continued until Hutton advised it to be given up (Dec.



1. SUSANNA WESLEY'S BIRTHPLACE, SPITAL YARD, BISHOPSGATE.
2. SAMUEL ANNESLEY, D.D. 3. ST. GILES, CRIPPLEGATE.

FONMON CASTLE, THE RESIDENCE OF MR. ROBERT JONES.
(*See* p. 504.)
PLAS WATFORD, NEAR CARDIFF, THE RESIDENCE OF MR. THOMAS PRICE.
(*See* p. 342.)

Hill at eight [Mr. Crouch's], were many more than the houses could contain. Several persons who were then convinced of sin came to me the next morning.

[*Wed.* 5.]—One came also who had been mourning long, and earnestly desired us to pray with her. We had scarce begun when the enemy began to tear her, so that she screamed out as in the pangs of death. But his time was short; for within a quarter of an hour she was full of the 'peace that passeth all understanding.'

I afterwards called on Mrs. E[uster],[1] with whom was one lately come from Bristol, in deep anguish of spirit. We cried

Tuesday 4

5¾ Drest, prayer; 6.30 on business; 8 at Mrs. Mills', conversed, tea, prayer; 10.15 at Mrs. Stover's, within; 12.15 at home, Audray came, conversed; 1.15 at my mother's, conversed, dinner, Journal; 3 with Mrs. Vaughan, tea, conversed; 5 at N. Tilson's band; 6 at home [Bray's house], society; 8 at Mr. Crouch's [Dowgate Hill]; 9.45 tea, conversed; 10.30 at home, ate, conversed; 11.15.

Wednesday 5

6½ Drest, Diary, conversed to Hannah Knowles, prayer; 7.15 conversed to M. Crips, etc., prayer; 8.30 at Mr. Bowes' [Little Britain], tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at Mrs. Ewster's, conversed, prayer, singing, Mrs. Hamilton's, visited, Mrs. Randal there, conversed, prayer; 12.15 at home, Diary, 1 2 Journal; 3 at Mr. Soan's band, conversed, tea, prayer; 4.45, at Mrs. West's,[2] conversed; 5.30 Fetter Lane; 7 at home, the leaders, 9 Fetter Lane; 10.15 at home, supper, conversed; 11.15.

1743) 'on account of the riotous disturbances made by the mob' (*Memoirs of Hutton*, p. 129, &c.). The Diary, however, gives no indication that this meeting was at Bowes's house. He is named on Wednesday the 5th. The meeting indicated by Wesley was held on Tuesday the 4th, and at six o'clock on that day he was 'at home'—i.e. at Mr. Bray's. At eight o'clock he met the society at Mr. Crouch's, Dowgate Hill. These hours and appointments agree with the Diary.

[1] Mary Ewster, her daughter, appears amongst the *Single Women* in the official roll of the first Moravian congregation at Fetter Lane: 'Born in London, Nov. 28, 1723, married William Pearson and went to New York.' Charles Wesley describes Mrs. Euster (the name is spelt variously) as 'A lively, gracious soul, but too apt to depend upon her inward feelings.' Again, under Aug. 4, 1739, referring to Mrs. Euster, he writes, 'whom I visit most days for my own sake.' Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 95.

[2] In 1742 John West lived in Thames Street between Dowgate Hill and Elbow Lane. He was the son of the Mrs. West named here and so frequently elsewhere. He married Esther Sutton Hopson, April 11, 1741. He is described as a black silk dyer, and was born at Newington Butts, 1717 (see above, p. 126),

to God, and He soon declared His salvation, so that both their mouths were filled with His praise.

Thence I went to a poor woman [Mrs. Hamilton], who had been long in despair. I was glad to meet with Mrs. R[andal] there—the person mentioned in Mr. Whitefield's Journal[1]—who, after three years' madness (so called), was so deeply convinced of sin at Beech Lane, and soon after rejoiced in God her Saviour.

Thur. 6.—I was sent for by one who began to feel herself a sinner; but, a fine lady unexpectedly coming in, there was scarce room for me to speak. The fourth person in the company was a poor unbred girl, who, beginning to tell what God had done for her soul, the others looked one at another, as in amaze, but did not open their mouths. I then exhorted them not to cease from crying to God till they too could say, as she did, 'My Beloved is mine, and I am His: I am as sure of it as that I am alive. For His Spirit bears witness with my spirit that I am a child of God.'

Thursday 6

6 Drest, writ; 6.30 conversed to some, prayer; 8 at Mrs. Fenner's, 8 conversed, tea; 9.45 at Mrs. Stover's, within, at Mrs. Euster's, prayer; 11.30 at M. Clark's, conversed; 1 at home, on business, G[eorg]e Lowe, conversed; 2 at Bro. Holland's [probably the reader in the Aldersgate Room at Wesley's conversion, 'painter in a large way, of Basinghall Street, over against Blackwell Hall, near Guildhall.' A letter of his to Mrs. Jones is in the collection at Fonmon Castle], dinner, Shaw there, etc., conversed; 4 at Mrs. Talbot's, conversed, coffee, prayer; 5.30 at Mr. Birnham's; 6 at home, singing, etc.; 8 Savoy, singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, ate, conversed; 11.

Friday 7

5¾ Drest, prayers, conversed to some; 8 at S[ister] Johnson's, conversed, singing, 9 tea; 9.30 at home, Journal; 10.30 at Mr. Thorold's, Morgan there, Charles Delamotte, etc.; 1 at home, ate, Journal; 3 at Mrs. Cripse's, conversed, tea; 5 at my mother's, conversed, tea; 5.30 at her house, singing, etc.; 7.45 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 9.45 at home, supper, conversed, singing; 11. ᛦ [= satis?]

Saturday 8

5.45 Drest, prayers, conversed to many; 8 at Mrs. Stover's, sister Nancy [Mrs. Lambert, now living at Hatfield], etc., tea, conversed, prayer;

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[1] Really in a letter written by Wesley to Whitefield (Feb, 20, 1739) and quoted by him in his Journal, March 1, 1739 (see above, p. 145).

Sun. 9.—I declared to about ten thousand, in Moorfields, what they must do to be saved. My mother went with us, about five, to Kennington, where were supposed to be twenty thousand people. I again insisted on that foundation of all our hope, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved.' From Kennington I went to a society at Lambeth. The house being filled, the rest stood in the garden. The deep attention they showed gave me a good hope that they will not all be forgetful hearers.

Thence I went to our society at Fetter Lane, and exhorted them to love one another. The want of love was a general complaint. We laid it open before our Lord. We soon found He had sent us an answer of peace. Evil surmisings vanished away. The flame kindled again as at the first, and our hearts were knit together.

Mon. 10.—I accepted a pressing invitation to go to Plaistow. At five in the evening I expounded there, and at eight again.

10.30 at home, on business, Journal; 12 Fetter Lane; 2 at M. Clark's, dinner, conversed; 3 Fetter Lane; 5 at home, tea; 6 Fetter Lane; 8 Exall's, tea, singing, etc.; 11.

Sunday 9

6 Meditated, drest, within; 7 Moorfields, Acts xvi., 10,000; 8.15 at Bell's, junr.,[1] tea, conversed; 9 at home, within for Bro. Gibs; 10 St. Paul's, prayers, etc.; 12.45 at Mr. Cripse's, Mrs. West, etc., dinner, conversed, tea; 4 set out with my mother, etc.; 5 Kennington, Acts xvi., 20,000; 7 Lambeth Marsh, singing, etc.; 8.30 Fetter Lane; 9 within, prayer; 10.30 at home, supper; 11.

Monday 10

6 Drest, conversed to many; 8 at Mrs. Stover's, Mrs. Euster's, etc.; 9 tea, conversed, prayer; 10.15 at home, within, writ; 1 at Bro. Clark's, conversed, dinner; 3 set out; 4 Plaistow, the Ship, Mr. Bray, etc., tea, conversed; 5 in the house [i.e. the meeting-house of this Plaistow Religious Society], singing, etc.; 6.30 at home [i.e. in the Ship Inn or wherever he and Bray were staying during this Plaistow visit], conversed, singing; 7.30 at the house, singing, etc.; 9 at home, supper, singing, prayer; 11.

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[1] For Richard Bell see note on p. 365.

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But most of the hearers were very quiet and unconcerned. In the morning, therefore, I spoke stronger words; but it is only the voice of the Son of God which is able to wake the dead.

Wed. 12.—In the evening, at Fetter Lane, I described the life of faith; and many who had fancied themselves strong therein found they were no more than new-born babes. At eight I exhorted our brethren to keep close to the Church and to all the ordinances of God, and to aim only at living 'a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.'

Thur. 13.—A serious clergyman[1] desired to know in what points we differed from the Church of England. I answered, 'To the best of my knowledge, in none. The doctrines we

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Tuesday 11

6 Drest, meditated; 6.45 at the house, singing, etc.; 8.30 set out; 9.30 at Mr. Bray's, tea, conversed, writ orders; 1 at Mr. Birnham's, Mr. Mason, Lady Hume, etc., dinner, prayer; 3.30 at Exall's, within; 4 at J. Chambers's, singing, etc.; 6 at home, singing; 8 Dowgate Hill, singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, supper, conversed; 11.

Wednesday 12

5¾ Drest, prayers, conversed to some; 8 at Mr. Hopson's, within, tea; 10 at home, Bro. Pattison, etc., prayer; 12 read Barnes [see p. 282]; 1 at Mr. Wathen's, dinner, Bro. Hall and Mr. Dobree, conversed; 3.15 at home, Barnes; 3.45 the women leaders, within; 5 at Mrs. West's band, tea, conversed; 6 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 7.15 at home, leaders; 8 Fetter Lane; 10.15 at home, supper, conversed; 11.

Thursday 13

5¾ Drest, prayers, conversed to man; 8 at Mrs. Eaton's, tea together; 9 at Mr. Howard's, tea, conversed; 11.15 conversed to some, read, at Islington House; 1.30 at my mother's, dinner, within; 3 at Bro. Hall's, sister Wright [Hetty] and Kezzy together; 3.30 at Bro. Hodge's, S[ister] Sone [Soane], etc., conversed; 4 at S. Thacker's [in a letter of about six months later James Hutton writes about a Mrs. Thaquier], band, tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 at home, conversed; 6 singing, etc.; 8 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 10.30 at home, conversed; 11.

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[1] Probably 'courteous Mr. Howard,' as Charles Wesley in one of his letters (July 24) calls him. Cf. Charles Wesley's Journal, July 6, 1739. On Sept. 13 (see Diary) John Wesley conversed with him for two hours.

preach are the doctrines of the Church of England; indeed, the fundamental doctrines of the Church, clearly laid down, both in her Prayers, Articles, and Homilies.'

He asked, 'In what points, then, do you differ from the other clergy of the Church of England?' I answered, 'In none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the Church; but from that part of the clergy who dissent from the Church (though they own it not), I differ in the points following:

First. They speak of justification, either as the same thing with sanctification, or as something consequent upon it. I believe justification to be wholly distinct from sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it.

Secondly. They speak of our own holiness, or good works, as the cause of our justification; or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God. I believe neither our own holiness nor good works are any part of the cause of our justification; but that the death and righteousness of Christ are the whole and sole cause of it; or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God.

Thirdly. They speak of good works as a condition of justification, necessarily previous to it. I believe no good work can be previous to justification, nor, consequently, a condition of it; but that we are justified (being till that hour ungodly, and, therefore, incapable of doing any good work) by faith alone, faith without works, faith (though producing all, yet) including no good work.

Fourthly. They speak of sanctification (or holiness) as if it were an outward thing—as if it consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in those two points: (1) the doing no harm; (2) the doing good (as it is called); that is, the using the means of grace, and helping our neighbour. I believe it to be an inward thing, namely, the life of God in the soul of man; a participation of the divine nature; the mind that was in Christ; or, the renewal of our heart after the image of Him that created us.

Lastly. They speak of the new birth as an outward thing—as if it were no more than baptism; or, at most, a change from outward wickedness to outward goodness, from a vicious to (what is called) a virtuous life. I believe it to be an inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness; an entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil (wherein we are born) to the image of God; a change from the love of the creature to the love of the Creator; from earthly and sensual to heavenly and holy affections,—in a word, a change from the tempers of the spirits of darkness to those of the angels of God in heaven.

There is therefore a wide, essential, fundamental, irreconcilable difference between us; so that if they speak the truth as it is in Jesus, I am found a false witness before God. But if I teach the way of God in truth, they are blind leaders of the blind.

[*Fri.* 14.—I expounded again at Islington; but, the house being too small for the company, I stood in the garden, and showed them how vainly they trusted in baptism for salvation unless they were holy of heart, without which their circumcision was actually become uncircumcision. Afterward I went to Fetter Lane, where I brought down the high looks of the proud by an exposition of those words: 'All things are lawful for me, but all things edify not.'

[*Sat.* 15.—I expounded those words on which the book opened at Lady Hume's: 'The cares of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, and the desires of other things, choke the word; and it becometh unfruitful.' At Fetter Lane I was directed to those words, 'I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever.' Many were cut to the heart, both here and at Mr. Exall's,

Friday 14

5¾ Drest, prayers, conversed to many; 6.15 Mrs. Mills', tea, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, Diary; 11 Journal; 3.30 walked to Pancridge[1]; 4.30 at my mother's, conversed, tea; 5.30 at the house, singing, etc.; 8 Fetter Lane, singing, etc.; 10 at home, supper; 11.

Saturday 15

5¾ Drest, prayers, writ to many; 8 at Bro. Holland's, tea, conversed; 8.30 at Mrs. Denns', within, tea; 10.15 at home, Journal, writ, drest; 1 at Lady Hume's [presumably wife of Baron Hume, one of Whitefield's hearers, and named in the *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*], conversed, William Delamotte, etc., dinner, singing; 4 at Mrs. Euster's, tea, conversed; 5 visited; 6 Fetter Lane, etc.; 7.30 at Mr. Exall's, tea, together; 8 singing, etc.; 10.15 at home, ate, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] So pronounced, but written 'Pancras.' See 'St. Pancras,' *Old and New London*, vol. v. p. 326, and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*.

where I enforced those words of our Lord, 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.'[1]]

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[1] These two paragraphs, filling two dates hitherto blank, and that on p. 278, are extracted from a letter written to Charles Wesley, dated Islington, Sept. 21, 1739. The earlier part of the letter contains an account of Mr. Ebenezer Erskine (brother of Ralph) and his associates, given to him at Islington by a Scotch gentleman. It describes Erskine's conflict with the Assembly. The story is worth preserving because John Wesley, in narrating it to his brother Charles, evidently felt that, to some extent, it described the position into which they were being forced by the action of the bishops and clergy towards the Religious Societies. The story will be recognized as a curious anticipation of an episode that occurred in connexion with the celebrated case of the so-called 'Wee Kirk' in our own times. They also claimed to be the 'true Kirk,' and regarded the majority as having erred from the faith. The following is the account:

Some years since, Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, preaching before the Assembly, reproved them for several faults, with all simplicity. This was so resented by many that in a following Assembly he was required to make an open recantation; and, persisting in the charge, the Assembly determined that he, with three other ministers who spoke in his behalf, should be deprived and their livings declared vacant. Four messengers were sent for this purpose, but they returned *re infecta* (without accomplishing their designs); fearing the people, lest they should stone them. In another Assembly, directions were given to the neighbouring ministers to procure information concerning the doctrine of the Erskines [Mr. Ebenezer and Mr. Ralph] and their adherents. Out of these informations an indictment was formed, to which they were summoned to answer in the next Assembly.

Here it was debated whether they should be suffered to come in, and carried, by a small majority, that they should. The Moderator then spoke to this effect: 'My Reverend brethren, you are summoned to answer an indictment, charging you with erroneous doctrine and irregular practices; but if ye will submit to the Kirk, and testify your amendment, we will receive you with open arms.'

Mr. Erskine answered for himself and brethren (they were now increased to eight) to this purpose: 'Moderator, both you and those that are with you have erred from the faith; and your practices are irregular too; and you have no discipline; therefore you are no Kirk. We are the Kirk, and we alone, who continue in her faith and discipline; and if ye will submit to us, and testify your amendment, we will receive ye with open arms.'

None answered a word; so after a short time they withdrew. The Moderator then asked: 'My Reverend brethren, what shall we do?' One replied, 'Moderator, I must answer you in our proverb—"You have put the cat in the kirn [that is, the churn] and ye must get her out again how ye can."'

Again silence ensued; after which the Moderator asked: 'Shall these men be excommunicated, or only deposed?' Answer was made, 'The question is not right; let it be asked, "Shall they be deposed or not?"' This was accordingly done, and it was carried by five votes that they should not be deposed. Having received help from God, they continued to this day; declaring to all that their congregation is the Kirk of Scotland; that they, the ministers (now ten in all), are the proper Presbytery, and there is no other; those commonly so called having made 'shipwreck of the faith' and discipline once delivered to the saints.

The letter then quotes the Journal which has been given in the text, and closes with the following personal note:

Pray give my love to Brother Mitchell; and let the leaden cistern be gone about [doubtless in the New Room]. On Monday se'night I intend, God willing, to set out. Tuesday I hope to spend at Oxford. On Wednesday night let James Ellis meet me at Gloucester. Then I will lay out the three or four following days as we shall agree, if God permit. I heartily thank our Brothers Westall, Oldfield, Cross, Haydon, and Wynne; and our Sisters Deffel, Shafto, Oldfield, Thomas, Stephens, Mrs. Thomas, and Mrs. Deschamps. I wish any would write by the Wednesday post. Pray for us. Adieu.

Saturday night, Mrs. Exall's.

Sun. 16.—I preached at Moorfields to about ten thousand, and at Kennington Common to, I believe, near twenty thousand, on those words of the calmer Jews to St. Paul, 'We desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest; for as concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against.' At both places I described [in very plain terms] the real difference between what is generally called Christianity, and the true old Christianity, which, under the new name of Methodism, is now also everywhere spoken against.

[Hence I went to Lambeth, where I found our congregation considerably increased; and exhorted them to cry mightily to our Lord, that He might say unto them, as unto the sick of the palsy, 'Be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee.' From our lovefeast at Fetter Lane I went to Islington House.[1] Sufficient for this day was the labour thereof.]

Mon. 17.—I preached again at Plaistow on 'Blessed are those that mourn.' It pleased God to give us in that hour two living instances of that piercing sense both of the guilt and

Sunday 16

6 Meditated, drest; 7 Moorfields, Acts xxviii. 22, 10,000; 9 at S. Wren's,[2] tea, conversed, at Bro. Holland's; 10 Coleman St. Church, communion; 1 at Mrs. West's, Mrs. Cripse, etc., dinner, singing; 2.30 Dr. Heylin's, prayers, sermon; 5 Kennington, Acts xxviii.; 7 Lambeth, singing, etc.; 8.30 Fetter Lane, lovefeast; 10.30 Islington, within; 11.15.

Monday 17

5 Drest, singing, within; 6 prayer; 6.30 within; 7.30 breakfast, within to many[3]; 12.15 at Bro. Wild's [early in the next century this name is familiar in West London Methodism], dinner; 1.45 at home, on business; 2 at Mr. Bowes's [George Bowes, wholesale dealer in clokes or clocks, etc., in George Yard, Little Britain; a Dissenter: *Hutton*, p. 89], singing, etc., conversed to some; 4.45 Plaistow, preached, 300, Matt. v. 4; 7.30 Islington, my mother, etc., tea, conversed, prayer, singing, read; 9.30 Diary, conversed, read; 10.15.

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[1] This not improbably was the 'preaching-house' or 'room' at Islington which was taken some time before by James Hutton.

[2] Charles Wesley, on Nov. 16, 1738, at Islington, heard Mrs. Wren confess that after a bondage of ten years she had 'received the atonement, while we were praying,' and 'was now perfectly free.' The student of these Diary pages is again reminded that they should be read in conjunction with Charles Wesley's Journal.

[3] This habit of taking meals at various friendly houses was utilized in both London and Bristol for personal interviews on religious subjects, often 'with many.'

power of sin, that dread of the wrath of God, and that full conviction of man's inability either to remove the power, or atone for the guilt, of sin (called by the world, despair); in which properly consist that poverty of spirit, and mourning, which are the gate of Christian blessedness.

Tues. 18.—A young woman [Nanny Smith] came to us at Islington in such an agony as I have seldom seen. Her sorrow and fear were too big for utterance; so that, after a few words, her strength as well as her heart failing, she sunk down to the ground. Only her sighs and her groans showed she was yet alive. We cried unto God in her behalf. We claimed the promises made to the weary and heavy-laden; and He did not cast out our prayer. She saw her Saviour as it were crucified before her eyes. She laid hold on Him by faith, and her spirit revived.

At Mr. B[ray]'s, at six, I was enabled earnestly to call all the weary and heavy-laden; and at Mr. C[rouch]'s, at eight, when many roared aloud; some of whom utterly refused to be comforted till they should feel their souls at rest in the blood of the Lamb, and have His love shed abroad in their hearts.

Thur. 20.—Mrs. C[rouch], being in deep heaviness, had

Tuesday 18

5 Drest, singing, on business; 6 prayers, within to some, writ for the bands, tea, conversed, writ; 10 ⊥, conversed to many; 12 N. Smith, prayer; ! 1.30 at Mr. Jones', St. Paul's, dinner, conversed, singing; 3.30 at Mrs. Jones' band, conversed, tea; 4.15 J. Chambers's, singing, etc.; 6 at Mr. Bray's, singing, etc., tea; 8 at Mr. Crouch's, singing, etc.; 10 at Mr. Bray's, supper; 10.45 at home ['at Mr. Bray's' and 'at home' no longer synonymous], within; 11.

Wednesday 19

5 Drest, singing, meditated; 6 prayer, writ N.; 7.30 breakfast, conversed to some; 9 conversed to sister Emilia; 10 to Mr. Rowland and Charles, within to Mr. Stonehouse; 11 at my mother's, within; 1.15 at Mrs. Euster's, dinner, conversed; 2.15 at Mrs. Stover's, M. Bond, and Temple, conversed; 3.30 at Mrs. West's, my mother, etc., tea, conversed; 5.30 Fetter Lane; 7.15 at home, supper, within to Mr. Piers and Mrs. Okeley; 8 Fetter Lane; 10.15 at home; 10.45.

Thursday 20

5 Drest, meditated, prayed; 6 prayer, writ; 7.30 breakfast, writ, conversed to many, Jane Voniell!! 12 visited; 1.15 at Mr. Stonehouse's, dinner,

desired me to meet her this afternoon. She had long earnestly desired to receive the Holy Communion, having an unaccountably strong persuasion that God would manifest Himself to her therein, and give rest to her soul. But her heaviness being now greatly increased, Mr. D[elamott]e gave her that fatal advice—not to communicate till she had living faith. This still added to her perplexity. Yet at length she resolved to obey God rather than man. And 'He was made known unto' her 'in breaking of bread.' In that moment she felt her load removed, she knew she was accepted in the Beloved; and, all the time I was expounding at Mr. B[ray]'s, was full of that peace which cannot be uttered.

Fri. 21.—Another of Dr. Munro's patients came to desire my advice. I found no reason to believe she had been any otherwise mad than every one is who is deeply convinced of sin. And I cannot doubt but if she will trust in the living God, He will give 'medicine to heal her sickness.'[1]

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conversed; 3 at Mr. Bray's in talk; 4 at B[etty] Thacker's band, conversed, tea, prayer; 5 at Mrs. Stover's, Mrs. Crouch there, communion; 6 Turner's Hall, Mrs. Crouch; ! 8 at Mr. Bray's, singing, etc.; 10.45 conversed to Mr. Piers.

Friday 21

6¾ Drest, within, tea; 8.15 Bow; 10.15 at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed, prayer; 11.30 at Mrs. Blackburn's, singing, prayer; 12.30 at Mrs.

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[1] Many of the people who were so strangely affected about this time by the preaching of Wesley were considered by their friends and relatives to be mad, and were confined as such, and many of them sent to the Bethlehem Hospital, of which Dr. James Munro, the foremost authority on mental diseases, was the chief physician. Whitefield gives an account of one young man thus treated, Joseph Periam, whom he and Mr. Seward were enabled to release. He writes:

> **Before I leave my account of him I cannot help telling what usage he met with at his first coming into Bethlehem. Being sensible, within himself, that he wanted no bodily physic, he was unwilling at first to take it; upon which, four or five took hold of him, cursed him most heartily, put a key into his mouth, threw him upon the bed, and said (though I [he] had never seen nor heard of him) 'You are one of Whitefield's gang,' and so drenched him. I hear also that there was an order given that neither I nor any of his friends should be permitted to come unto him.**

Both Whitefield and Seward waited upon the Committee on his behalf, but were frankly told that they were 'as much mad as the young man himself,' and that he and his followers were all, in their opinion, beside themselves. Charles Wesley (Journal, March 1740) also gives an account of the so-called 'madness' of Mr. Benjamin Seward, by reason of which he was much persecuted by Henry Seward, who said: 'You are the downfall of my brother Benjamin: he has certainly been out of his senses. . . . We all really think him mad through means of you gentlemen.'

Sun. 23.—I declared to about ten thousand, in Moorfields, with great enlargement of spirit, 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' At Kennington I enforced to about twenty thousand that great truth, 'One thing is needful.' Thence I went to Lambeth, and showed (to the amazement, it seemed, of many who were present) how 'he that is born of God doth not commit sin.'

Mon. 24.—I preached once more at Plaistow, and took my leave of the people of that place. In my return, a person galloping swiftly rode full against me, and overthrew both man and horse, but without any hurt to either. Glory be to Him who saves both man and beast!

Tues. 25.—After dining with one of our brethren [Mr. Pattison] who was married this day, I went, as usual, to the

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Mills', conversed to some, prayer; 1.30 dinner; 3 at Mrs. Dixon's band; 4.45 Islington, within to man; 5.30 singing, etc.; 8 Fetter Lane; 10.45 Islington.

Saturday 22

5 Drest, meditated, prayed; 6 prayer, breakfast, writ, conversed to many; 1 at the Three Cups [five inns so called in Old London], conversed, dinner, prayer; 3.30 at Mr. Sharpe's, tea, conversed, prayer; 5.45 Fetter Lane; 7.30 at Exal's, tea; at Mr. Bray's, at home; 10.45.

Sunday 23

5 Prayed, meditated; 6 prayer; 6.45 Moorfields, 10,000, Rom. xiv.; 8.30 at Mrs. Darlington's, prayer, tea; 9.45 St. Paul's; 12.30 at Bro. Dandy's [converted under Charles Wesley, Jan. 11, 1738], conversed, dinner, conversed, singing; 2.30 Dr. Heylin's church [St. Mary-le-Strand; he was also lecturer at All Hallows', Lombard Street: cf. Journal, Jan. 28, 1776]; 5 Kennington, 20,000, Luke x. 42; 6.30 Lambeth, singing, etc.; 9.15 at Mr. Bray's, supper; 10.45 at home.

Monday 24

5 Prayed, drest; 6 prayer, Barnes, writ; 7.30 breakfast, writ to ——, conversed to many, Sally Romley came; 12.30 at Mr. Bray's, read, dinner, conversed; 1.45 at Mr. Bowers's [Bowes of Little Britain], singing, etc.; 2.45 at Mr. Bray's, conversed, prayer, tea; 4.30 Plaistow, in the house, singing, etc.; 7 at Mr. Bray's, supper; 8.30 at Carnaby Market, singing, etc.; 10.45 Islington.

Tuesday 25

5 Prayed, drest, writ to Charles and Cenick; 6 prayer, Journal; 7 breakfast; 8 Journal, conversed to many, Fanny! 11.15 at Mr. Strahan's! in talk, none came; 12.15 at Mr. Thornburgh's, communion, fifteen

society at St. James's, weary and weak in body. But God strengthened me for His own work, as He did at six, at Mr. B[ray]'s; and at eight in Winchester Yard,[1] where it was believed were present eleven or twelve hundred persons; to whom I declared, if 'they had nothing to pay,' God would 'frankly forgive them all.'

Thur. 27.—I went in the afternoon to a society at Deptford, and thence, at six, came to Turner's Hall[2]; which holds (by

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there; 1.45 at Mr. Pattison's marriage, dinner, singing, conversed; 3.30 at Mrs. Sone's [Soane], prayer; 4 S. James's, singing, etc.; 6 at Mr. Bray's, singing, etc.; 8 Winchester Yard, singing, etc.; 10 Mrs. Mac-cune brought me home, conversed; 11.30.

Wednesday 26

5¾ Prayed, meditated; 6 prayer, writ Preface to Barnes,[3] breakfast, Preface; 9 conversed to many, Bray, Bowers, etc., prayer, singing; 11.30 Barnes; 12.45 at Mr. Bray's, my mother tarried, dinner, conversed, slept; 4 conversed; 4.30 at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed; 5.45 Fetter Lane, 7.30 at Mr. Bray's, tea, conversed; 8 Fetter Lane; 11.45 at home.

Thursday 27

5 Meditated, prayed; 6 prayer, Barnes; 7.15 breakfast, Barnes, conversed to many; 12.15 set out; 1 at P. Syms's, within, dinner; 3 Deptford, singing, etc.; 4.45 at Mrs. [blank]'s, tea; 6 Turner's Hall; 8 at Mr. Bray's, tea; 10 supper, within; 11.30 at home with Esther Hopson; 11.45.

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[1] An open space still discoverable in Southwark, between St. Saviour's Church and Barclay & Perkins's brewery. Abutting upon it stood the town house of the Bishops of Winchester, of which 'an old Gothic hall' survived until recent times. It was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1814, though a fragment of the walls may still be seen. It had been divided into small tenements, and, in 1738, when Maitland edited *The History of London*, part of it was registered as a meeting-house (see Wilson, *Dissenting Churches in London*, vol. iv. pp. 311–12, and *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 106).

[2] See Wilson, *Dissenting Churches in London*, vol. i. pp. 146–8.

[3] Famous as 'a great reviver of learning in the University of Cambridge; he afterwards became a Protestant, and was martyred for the faith in 1541.' The account of his life and death is published in *The Book of Martyrs*. The work for which Wesley wrote a Preface consisted of two treatises: 'the first, on Justification by Faith only, according to the doctrine of the Eleventh Article of the Church of England. The second, On the Sinfulness of Man's Natural Will, and his utter inability to do Works acceptable to God, until he be justified and born again with the Spirit of God, according to the Doctrine of our Ninth, Tenth, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Articles.' The book was published in 1739, but does not appear to have been republished. (Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, No. 14.)

computation) two thousand persons. The press both within and without was very great. In the beginning of the expounding, there being a large vault beneath, the main beam which supported the floor broke. The floor immediately sunk, which occasioned much noise and confusion among the people. But, two or three days before, a man had filled the vault with hogsheads of tobacco. So that the floor, after sinking a foot or two, rested upon them, and I went on without interruption.

Fri. 28.—I met with a fresh proof that 'whatsoever ye ask, believing, ye shall receive.' A middle-aged woman desired me to return thanks for her to God, who, as many witnesses then present testified, was a day or two before really distracted, and as such tied down in her bed. But upon prayer made for her, she was instantly relieved, and restored to a sound mind.

OCT. 1, *Mon.*—I rode to Oxford; and found a few who had not yet forsaken the assembling themselves together, to whom

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Friday 28

5 Drest, prayed, in talk; 6 prayer, within with Oxlee, etc., breakfast, Barnes, conversed to many; 1.30 at Mrs. Mills', conversed, tea, prayer, visited; 4.15 at home, Mrs. Euster's, etc., tea; 8.15 Fetter Lane; 9.30 Mrs. Mac-cune brought us home, conversed; 11.

Saturday 29

5 Drest, meditated, prayed; 6 prayer, in talk, on business; 7.30 breakfast, writ to Bedd[y], Benj. Seward, etc., within to many; 1 at Mrs. Prat's, William Delamotte, Sparkes, etc., singing, conversed, dinner; 3 visited; 4 Newgate, with Jo. Wright; 5 at Mr. Bray's, tea, within; 6 Fetter Lane; 8 Exal's, singing, etc.; 9.45 Mrs. Mac-cune brought me home; 11.

Sunday 30

3½ Drest; 6.30 at Bell's, junr., tea; 7 Moorfields, 15,000, Matt. xi. 28 collected [for] Kingswood; 9.30 at Mr. Bray's, tea; 10.15 Islington, prayers, etc.; 12.30 at home, prayer, dinner, conversed to many, to the children; 3.15 prayer, at my mother's, within; 5.15 Pancras, 12,000, Acts xx. 28; 7 Fetter Lane, the women; 10 at Mr. Bray's, within; 11 at home.

OCT. 1, *Monday*

5 On business, prayer, conversed to children, singing, many here, prayer; 7 set out with Purdy; 9 at the Green Man [the original 'Farthing Pye House'], Mr. Evans', tea, conversed; 1.15 at Mr. Crouch's, Mr. Beddy, dinner, prayer, conversed; 3 set out; 7 at Mr. Fox's, many tarried, tea, singing, etc.; 9.30 within; 9.45.

I explained that 'holiness without which no man shall see the Lord.'

Tues. 2.—I went to many who once heard the word with joy; but 'when the sun arose, the seed withered away.' Yet some still desired to follow their Lord. But the world stood fawning or threatening between them. In the evening I showed them the tender mercies of God and His readiness still to receive them. The tears ran down many of their cheeks. O Thou Lover of souls,[1] seek and save that which is lost!

Wed. 3.—I had a little leisure to take a view of the shattered condition of things here. The poor prisoners, both in the castle and in the city prison, had now none that cared for their souls; none to instruct, advise, comfort, and build them up in the knowledge and love of the Lord Jesus. None was left to visit the workhouses, where also we used to meet with the most moving objects of compassion. Our little school, where about twenty poor children at a time had been taught for many years, was on the point of being broke up, there being none now either to support or to attend it; and most of those in the town, who were once knit together, and strengthened one another's hands in God, were torn asunder and scattered abroad. 'It is time for Thee, Lord, to lay to Thy hand.'

Tuesday 2

7½ Drest, Diary; 8.15 at Mr. Bully's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.45 at Mrs. Compton's, conversed, prayer; 10.30 at Mrs. Pricket's, conversed, prayer; 11.15 at Mr. Vesey's; 11.45 with Vaughan, got dinner; 1 at Mrs. Fox's, read, conversed to Mrs. Hamilton, Margaret Taylor; 2 walked with Purdy; 3 at Mrs. Plat's, within; 4 at Mrs. Fox's, tea, conversed; 5.30 prayers, at the Rector's [of Lincoln Coll., Dr. Isham], within; 6.30 at Mrs. Compton's, tea, conversed, prayer; 7 at Mr. Fox's, singing, etc., two there! Hitchman; 9 at Mrs. Ford's, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at Mr. Fox's with P. Thurst[on]'s band; 10.45 prayer; 11 ⌢ !!

Wednesday 3

7 Singing, writ; 8 Mrs. Clemenger, Ford, etc., tea, conversed; 9.30 walked with Purdy; 10.30 at Mrs. Fox's, conversed to Sar[ah] Hurst; 11 prayer, Mrs. Clemenger and N. Fox! 12 at Mr. Bully's, dinner, prayer; 1.30 set out with Purdy; 2.15 Stanton Harcourt, J. Gambold not [at home], conversed, tea; 3.30 set out; 6.15 Burford, Mr. Mazy's, within; 7 1 Cor. i. 30, 1,200; 9 supper, singing, etc.; 11.

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[1] A phrase from the Apocrypha, Wisdom xi. 26.

At eleven a little company of us met to entreat God for 'the remnant that' was 'left.' He immediately gave us a token for good. One [Mrs. Cleminger], who had been long in the gall of bitterness, full of wrath, strife, and envy, particularly against one [N. Fox], whom she had once tenderly loved, rose up and showed the change God had wrought in her soul by falling upon her neck, and, with many tears, kissing her. The same spirit we found reviving in others also; so that we left them not without hope that the seed which had been sown even here 'shall take root downward and bear fruit upward.'

About six in the evening I came to Burford; and at seven preached to, it was judged, twelve or fifteen hundred people [1] on 'Christ . . . made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.' Finding many approved of what they had heard, that they might not rest in that approbation, I explained, an hour or two after, the holiness of a Christian; and, in the morning, I showed the way to this holiness by giving both the false and the true answer to that important question, 'What must I do to be saved?'

About three in the afternoon I came to Mr. Benjamin Seward's,[2] at Bengeworth, near Evesham. At five I expounded in his house (part of the thirteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians), and at seven in the schoolhouse,[1] where I invited all who 'had nothing to pay' to come and accept of free forgiveness. In the morning I preached near Mr. Seward's house to a small serious congregation on those words, 'I

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[1] Wesley's numbers, like Whitefield's and Cennick's, must not be taken too literally. They were not the result of a careful counting of heads. Relatively, however, the congregation was larger than one would expect to find in an old-time country town of one long street and a church. Its size, however, may be accounted for by the fact that Burford lay on the coach-road from Oxford to Gloucester. (*Meth. Rec.* Winter No. 1905, p. 45.)

[2] Tyerman, in his *Life of Whitefield*, summarizes the facts with reference to the four Seward brothers. They were natives of Badsey, near Evesham, and were men of independent property. Henry, the eldest brother, was married to a Baptist wife who was a violent opposer of the Methodists. William, as early as the year 1728, was reviving Charity Schools in London. In 1738 he became acquainted with Charles Wesley and the Methodists. He found peace with God in the November of that year. He was present at the conference of Oxford Methodists in January 1739. A few weeks afterwards he became Whitefield's travelling companion, and went with him to America in August 1739. He returned to England in June 1740 for public and private reasons which are fully explained in Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 165. A family quarrel embarrassed him on his first return to England. Henry Seward was wroth at William and Benjamin for becoming Methodists. Three months before William's return to England Benjamin was taken seriously ill. His fever was called 'madness'; his letters were intercepted, and his servants set over him

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Thursday 4

6 Singing, meditated, tea; 7 Acts xvi. 30, 1,000; 8.45 at Mr. Huntly's, tea, conversed; 9.30 set out; 10.45 at West-cot, Mr. Morgan's, conversed, prayer; 12 set out; 3.15 Bengeworth [Benjamin Seward's], conversed, Mr. Taylor, tea; 5 prayer, singing, explained 1 Cor. xiii. 7, at the society, singing, etc.; 9 at home, supper, prayer, conversed, singing; 11.

Friday 5

6 Singing, meditated; 7 prayer, conversed to Mr. [Benjamin] Seward; 8 Luke v. 32, tea, conversed; 11 Diary, conversed; 12 at Mr. Cartwright's, many there, conversed, dinner; 1 set out; 6 Gloucester, The Bell, with Mr. Longden and Mr. Wigginton, supper, conversation; 10 prayer.

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as spies. Charles Wesley went to see him, but was not admitted; he wrote:

> Henry Seward fell upon me without preface or ceremony. I was the downfall of his brother, had picked his pocket, ruined his family, had come now to get more money, was a scoundrel, rascal, and so forth, and deserved to have my gown stripped over my ears. He concluded with threatening how he would beat me if he could but catch me on Bengeworth Common.

There were successive and violent altercations, Henry Seward repeatedly abusing Charles Wesley, and actually wringing his nose. Benjamin was the special friend of the Wesleys, and was with John on the memorable day of his secession from the Fetter Lane society. William attached himself more closely to Whitefield. Thomas, another brother, was a clergyman in the Church of England.

Thomas Jackson, in his *Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. i. p. 187, tells the story of Benjamin Seward's conversion very much as does Tyerman. In the spring of 1739 'he had been severely afflicted, and, in addition to much bodily suffering, endured mental perplexity and anguish. A poor travelling woman, who obtained a livelihood by selling toys for children, found him thus distressed both in mind and body, and taught him the nature and necessity of the new birth. Having recovered his health, and obtained some knowledge of the truth, he resolved to enter Holy Orders. . . . In this state he heard Mr. Whitefield preach, when his heart clave to him.' At this point Jackson confounds the three brothers, sending Benjamin instead of William to America with Whitefield, and attributing to Benjamin's wife the Calvinistic views and persecuting zeal of Henry's wife. Both William and Benjamin proposed to bear the expense of Charles Wesley's coach-hire in his preaching excursions in and around London, an offer which Charles respectfully declined.

[1] Deacle's School, built in 1732.

came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' In the evening I reached Gloucester.[1]

Saturday, the 6th, at five in the evening, I explained to about a thousand people the nature, the cause, and the condition or instrument of justification, from these words: 'To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.'

Sun. 7.—A few, I trust, out of two or three thousand were awakened by the explanation of those words: 'Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.' About eleven I preached at Randwick,[2] seven miles from Gloucester. The church was much crowded, though a thousand or upwards stayed in the churchyard. In the afternoon I explained further the same words, 'What must I do to be saved?' I believe some thousands were then present, more than had been in the morning. Oh what a harvest is here! When will it please our Lord to send more labourers into His harvest?

Between five and six I called on all who were present (about three thousand) at Stanley,[3] on a little green, near the town, to accept of Christ, as their only 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' I was strengthened to speak as I never did before, and continued speaking near two hours; the darkness of the night, and a little lightning, not lessening

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Saturday 6

5½ Drest, prayer; 6 set out; 8.30 Ebly, Mrs. Ellis, conversed, tea, garden, meditated; 12.30 conversed; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 2.45 set out; 4.45 Gloucester, Rom. iv. 5, 1,000; 6.30 at inn, tea, within; 7 at the society at Mrs. Harris's, prayer with her; 9.30 at home in talk, Diary; 10.

Sunday 7

6 Drest, on business; 7 Rom. viii. 15, 3,000; 8.30 tea, set out; 10.15 Runwick [Randwick], preached, Acts xvi. 30; 1 at Mr. Ellis's, Mr. Rawlings there, dinner; 3.45 Runwick, prayers, Acts xvi. 31; 5.30 Stanley Borough, 3,000, 1 Cor. i. 30; 7.30 Ebly, conversed, supper; 9 Matt. v. 2, 3; 10 conversed; 11.

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[1] See letter to his brother Charles, p. 276, and cf. Charles Wesley's Journal, Aug. 26, 1739. Cf. also letter (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 482).

[2] Wesley spells it Runwick. See *Meth. Mag.* 1826, p. 193.

[3] See Charles Wesley's Journal, Aug. 26, 1739.

the number, but increasing the seriousness, of the hearers. I concluded the day by expounding part of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount to a small, serious company at Ebly.[1]

Mon. 8.—About eight I reached Hampton Common,[2] nine or ten miles from Gloucester. There were, it was computed, five or six thousand persons. I exhorted them all to come unto God, as having 'nothing to pay.' I could gladly have stayed longer with this loving people, but I was now straitened for time. After sermon I therefore hastened away, and in the evening came to Bristol.

Tues. 9.—My brother and I rode to Bradford.[3] Finding there had been a general misrepresentation of his last sermon,

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Monday 8

6 Drest, tea, conversed; 8.15 Hampton Common, Luke vii. 42, 6,000; 10.15 at the inn, tea, conversed, set out, read *Pilgrim's Progress*; 2.45 Sadbury [Sodbury], dinner; 4 set out; 7 Bristol, Mr. Deschamps', tea, prayer, conversed to many; 8.45 Charles came, within, at Mrs. Grevile's, within; at Mr. Deschamps'; 10.15.

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[1] Charles Wesley, in a letter to his brother dated 'Runwick, Aug. 26,' writes: 'We dined at Mr. Ellis's, of Ebly. I met our brother Ellis, who has the blessing of believing parents; two sisters awakened; one only brother continues an abandoned prodigal.' Later he says: 'I rode back to Ebly, and was informed by Brother Okeley that he had fastened upon the poor prodigal.' That morning he had told Mrs. Ellis the story of St. Austin's conversion. 'Now I carried her the joyful news, "This thy son was dead, and is alive again."' On his way to Stanley he expounded at a gentleman's house, and, in spite of the bitter cold, preached under a large elm-tree, on the Prodigal Son, and returned to Ebly rejoicing. (*Works*, xii. p. 482.)

[2] On the edge of this common Littleworth Wesleyan Chapel has stood for more than a hundred years.

[3] A note in Charles Wesley's Journal relating to this visit by the two brothers illustrates the excited feeling everywhere at this time created by the Predestinarian Controversy. He writes: 'Oct. 9, I received a letter from Holt (was this the 'Holt' to which William Morgan retired from Oxford when he fell ill?) deterring me from coming again from Bearfield [Buryfield]. . . . I set out with my brother . . . we called at Mr. Cottle's and heard the people were much exasperated against me, it being everywhere reported that I am a strong Predestinarian. Much pains had been taken to represent me as such. We judged this a call for me to declare myself, if the weavers, who were to rise, would suffer me.' He then describes an open-air service with a congregation of two thousand: his brother prayed; he preached from 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' he appealed to the Dissenters; 'the devil fled before us, and I believe he will no more slander me with being a Predestinarian.' He goes on to tell a story of the Dissenting minister (probably Mr. Reed, see Diary), who in a rage asked the preacher how he 'durst have the impudence to speak against the Dissenters.'

as if he had asserted reprobation therein, whereby many were greatly offended, he was constrained to explain himself on that head, and to show, in plain and strong words, that God 'willeth all men to be saved.' Some were equally offended at this; but whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear, we may not 'shun to declare' unto them 'all the counsel of God.'

At our return in the evening, not being permitted to meet at Weavers' Hall, we met in a large room[1] on Temple Backs; where, having gone through the Sermon on the Mount and the Epistles of St. John, I began that of St. James, that those who had already learned the true nature of inward holiness might be more fully instructed in outward holiness, without which also we cannot see the Lord.

Wed. 10.—Finding many to be in heaviness whom I had left full of peace and joy, I exhorted them at Baptist Mills to 'look unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our faith.' We poured out our complaint before Him in the evening, and found that He was again with us of a truth. One [Betty Holder] came to us soon after I was gone home, who was still in grievous darkness. But we commended her cause to God, and He immediately restored the light of His countenance.

Thur. 11.—We were comforted by the coming in of one who was a notorious drunkard and common swearer. But he is washed, and old things are passed away. 'Such power

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Tuesday 9

5 Tea, within; 5.45 set out with Charles, etc.; 9.30 at Winsl[e]y, at Tirly, tea, conversed; 11 Bradford, Charles preached; 1.15 at Mr. Palmer's, dinner, Mr. Read, within; 6.15 Bristol, at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7 at the Malthouse, singing, etc.; 8.30 supper, prayer; 10.30.

Wednesday 10

7 Singing, prayer, within, on business; 9 at Mrs. Bromage's, tea, conversed, singing; 10.15 at the house, at home, on business; 11 at the Malthouse, Charles there; 12.30 at home; 1 writ N. [in this case the N. is in the 'i' position, and therefore ought to be either 'in' or 'ni'], conversed to many; 3.15 at Mr. Morris's, tea, conversed; 4 Baptist Mills, Heb. xii. 2, 1,500; 5.30 at El. Clark's, tea, conversed; 6 at John Haydon's, with the leaders; 5.15 with the women; 8 with the men; 9.30 at home, supper, B[etty] Holder, etc., prayer! 10.30.

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[1] Was this the 'Malthouse' of the Diary?

belongeth unto God.' In the evening our Lord rose on many who were wounded, 'with healing in His wings'; and others who till then were careless and at ease felt the two-edged sword that cometh out of His mouth.

One of these showed the agony of her soul by crying aloud to God for help, to the great offence of many, who eagerly 'rebuked her that she should hold her peace.' She continued in great torment all night, finding no rest either of soul or body. But while a few were praying for her in the morning, God delivered her out of her distress.

Fri. 12.—We had fresh occasion to observe the darkness which was fallen on many who lately rejoiced in God. But He did not long hide His face from them. On *Wednesday* the spirit of many revived: on *Thursday* evening many more found Him in whom they had believed to be 'a present help in time of trouble.' And never do I remember the power of God to have been more eminently present than this morning, when a cloud of witnesses declared His 'breaking the gates of brass, and smiting the bars of iron in sunder.'

Yet I could not but be under some concern with regard to one or two persons who were tormented in an unaccountable manner, and seemed to be indeed lunatic, as well as 'sore vexed.' But while I was musing what would be the issue of these things, the answer I received from the Word of God was,

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Thursday 11

6 Prayers, on business; 7 prayers, at Mrs. Oldfield's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.45 at home, in talk, on business, with Charles, etc.; 1 at Mr. Norman's, dinner, conversed; 2.15 at home, conversed to many, writ to S. Burdock; 4 at Captain Whitefield's, Mr. Sarney and Jekyl, conversed, tea; 6.30 at the Malthouse, singing, etc.; 8.45 at home, ate, sent for to Mr. Battlesby, he came not; 9.45 at home. ⌒̇.

Friday 12

4 Journal; 6 slept; 6.45 drest, prayers; 7.45 at Margaret Evans', tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, Journal, conversed to many; 11 Malthouse! 12.15 visited Averel Spens[er] prayer; 12.30 at home, conversed to some; 1 at the Room, prayer; 3 at Mrs. Labbe's, tea, in the coach, Mr. Wigginton, Smith, and Mrs. Labbe; 4 Fishponds, Matt. xii. 22, etc.; 5.15 in the coach, conversed, singing; 6 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 6.30 Gloucester Lane, singing, etc.; 9 at home, supper; 9.45.

'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men.'

Soon after I was sent for to one[1] of those who was so strangely torn by the devil that I almost wondered her relations did not say, 'Much religion hath made thee mad.' We prayed God to bruise Satan under her feet. Immediately we had the petition we asked of Him. She cried out vehemently, 'He is gone, he is gone!' and was filled with the spirit of love and of a sound mind. I have seen her many times since, strong in the Lord. When I asked abruptly, 'What do you desire now?' she answered, 'Heaven.' I asked, 'What is in your heart?' She replied, 'God.' I asked, 'But how is your heart when anything provokes you?' She said, 'By the grace of God, I am not provoked at anything. All the things of this world pass by me as shadows.' 'Ye have seen the end of the Lord.' Is He not 'very pitiful and of tender mercy'?

We had a refreshing meeting at one with many of our society, who fail not to observe, as health permits, the weekly fast of our Church, and will do so, by God's help, as long as they call themselves members of it. And would to God all who contend for the rites and ceremonies of the Church (perhaps with more zeal than meekness of wisdom) would first show their own regard for her discipline in this more important branch of it!

At four I preached near the Fishponds (at the desire of one who had long laboured under the apprehension of it), on the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; that is, according to the plain scriptural account, the openly and maliciously asserting that the miracles of Christ were wrought by the power of the devil.

Sat. 13.—I was with one who, being in deep anguish of spirit, had been the day before to ask a clergyman's advice.

Saturday 13

4 Journal; 6.15 slept; 6.45 drest, prayers; 7.30 at M. Wotton's, conversed; 8.30 at Mrs. Taylor's, Charles, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home,

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[1] Probably the 'one' here referred to is 'Averel Spenser,' mentioned several times in the Diary. Charles Wesley refers to her on Oct. 6. The 'one' referred to on the 13th may have been M. Wotton. Charles also adds in his Journal an interesting and significant account of a visit in company with his brother, on this Saturday, to a clergyman in Bristol, who complained of the trouble the increased number of communicants gave him, and 'produced the canon against strangers.'

He told her her head was out of order, and she must go and take physic. In the evening we called upon God for medicine, to heal those that were 'broken in heart.' And five who had long been in the shadow of death knew they were 'passed from death unto life.'

Sun. 14.—The sharp frost in the morning did not prevent about fifteen hundred from being at Hanham; to whom I called, in the words of our gracious Master, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' In the evening we claimed and received the promise for several who were 'weary and heavy laden.'

Mon. 15.—Upon a pressing invitation, some time since received,[1] I set out for Wales. About four in the afternoon I

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writ to brother Harper [husband of Emilia Wesley, who after her husband's death resided in the house at West Street Chapel], John Bray, Mr. Rutter, sister Nancy [Ann Wesley, Mrs. Lambert], conversed to man; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 visited Averel Spens[er]; 2.30 at home, conversed to some; 3 at Mrs. Williams's, communion, twenty there; at Mrs. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 4 Bowling Green, Matt. xv. 11, 12, M. Wotton came, conversed; 6 at Mr. Wigginton's, tea, conversed; 6.30 Malthouse, five there, c^d [convinced, comforted?]; 8.45 at home, Capt. Whitefield and Mr. Jekyl, conversed; 10.

Sunday 14

4 Writ to sister Patty [Martha, Mrs. Hall], Diary; 5 drest, conversed; 5.45 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea; 6 in the coach with Mr. Hopkins, Okeley, etc., conversed, singing; 7.45 Hannam, Matt. xi. 28, 1,500; 9.30 at Mrs. Willis's, communion, fifty-six, prayer; 12.15 at Mrs. England's, dinner, conversed, singing; 1.30 at home, slept; 2 Christ Church [Clifton], tea; 4 Bowling Green, 2 Cor. xiii. 5, 6,000; 5.15 at Mrs. Eyre's, tea, conversed; 6.45 at Averel Spens[er]'s, prayer; 6 Malthouse, singing, etc., some comforted! 8.15 lovefeast, prayer; 9.30 at home; 9.45.

Monday 15

4½ Writ to Fish, on business; 7 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed, many tarried, singing, prayer; 8 set out with Deschamps, Williams; 10 at the New Passage, wind high; 1 Chepstow; 2 set out, Devauden [Ddefauden], W^r. Edwards's, singing, dinner, conversed; 3.45 upon the Green, 1 Cor. i. 30, 400; 5.30 at Mr. Nexey's; 5.45 Matt. v. 3, singing, etc.; 7.45 conversed; 8.45 supper, conversed; 11.

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[1] From Howell Harris, whom he had met in Bristol in June.

preached on a little green, at the foot of The Ddefauden[1] (a high hill, two or three miles beyond Chepstow), to three or four hundred plain people on 'Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' After sermon, one who, I trust, is an old disciple of Christ, willingly received us into his house; whither many following, I showed them their need of a Saviour from these words, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' In the morning I described more fully the way to salvation: 'Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved'; and then, taking leave of my friendly host [Mr. Nexy], before two came to Abergavenny.

I felt in myself a strong aversion to preaching here. However, I went to Mr. W[aters] (the person in whose ground Mr. Whitefield preached[2]) to desire the use of it. He said, with all his heart, if the minister was not willing to let me have the use of the church; after whose refusal (for I wrote a line to him immediately) he invited me to his house. About a thousand people stood patiently (though the frost was sharp, it being after sunset) while, from Acts xxviii. 22, I simply described the plain old religion of the Church of England, which is now almost everywhere spoken against, under the new name of Methodism. An hour after, I explained it a little more fully in a neighbouring house [Mrs. James's], showing how 'God hath exalted Jesus to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance and remission of sins.'

Wed. 17.—The frost was sharper than before. However, five or six hundred people stayed, while I explained the nature of that salvation which is through faith, yea, faith alone; and

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Tuesday 16

6½ Drest, prayer; 7.15 tea, conversed; 8 at the Green, Acts xvi. 30; 10 set out; 1.30 Abergavenny, within, dinner, Diary; 3 Col. iii. 22, etc., within, lots; 3.30 at Mr. Waters', within, Acts xxviii. 22, 1,000; 5 at Mr. Waters', tea, conversed; 7 at Mrs. James', Acts v. 30, etc.; 9 at Mr. Waters', supper, conversed, prayer; 10.30 Nanny, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] Ddefauden, i.e. 'wild beasts' run.' It commands the Sugar Loaf, Skyridd Fawr, and other summits, the valleys of the Usk and the Trothy, Wentwood Forest, the Bristol Channel, and several counties.

[2] See Whitefield's Journal, April 5, 1739.

the nature of that living faith, through which cometh this salvation. About noon I came to Usk, where I preached to a small company of poor people on those words, 'The Son of Man is come to save that which was lost.' One grey-headed man wept and trembled exceedingly: and another who was there, I have since heard, as well as two or three who were at The Ddefauden, are gone quite distracted; that is, they mourn and refuse to be comforted till they 'have redemption through His blood.'

When I came to Pontypool in the afternoon, being unable to procure any more convenient place, I stood in the street, and cried aloud to five or six hundred attentive hearers to 'believe in the Lord Jesus,' that they might 'be saved.' In the evening I showed His willingness to save all who desire to come unto God through Him. Many were melted into tears. It may be that some will 'bring forth fruit with patience.'

Thur. 18.—I endeavoured to cut them off from all false supports and vain dependencies by explaining and applying that fundamental truth, 'To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.'

When we were at The Ddefauden on Monday, a poor woman, who lived six miles off, came thither in great heaviness. She was deeply convinced of sin, and weary of it; but found no way to escape from it. She walked from thence to Aber-

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Wednesday 17

6½ Drest, prayer, read *Life of Mr. Henry* [father of Matthew Henry, the commentator]; 7 at Mrs. James', conversed, tea; 8 Acts xvi. 30, 700; 9.30 at Mr. Waters', within; 10.30 set out; 12.30 Husk [Usk], at the Castle, dinner; 1 Matt. xviii. 11; 2.15 set out; 3.30 Pontypool, Mr. Griffiths not [at home], at the Cock, tea; 4.15 at the School Steps, Acts xvi. 31, 600; 5.45 at Tho. Allgood's, many tarried; 6.15 singing, etc.; 8.30 supper, conversed; 10 prayer.

Thursday 18

6½ Drest, prayer, Diary; 7.15 tea, conversed; 8.15 Rom. iv. 5, 400; 10 set out; 12 Newport, dinner, within; 1 set out, conversed; 3 Cardiff, at Mr. Tho. Glascott's, many tarried, conversed, tea; 5 at the Shire Hall, Acts xvi. 31; 6.30 at home, conversed; 7 at the Shire Hall, Matt. v. 34; 8.45 at home, supper; 9.15 at society here, conversed prayer; 11.

gavenny on Tuesday, and on Wednesday from Abergavenny to Usk. Thence, in the afternoon, she came to Pontypool, where, between twelve and one in the morning, after a sharp contest in her soul, our Lord got unto Himself the victory; and the love of God was shed abroad in her heart, knowing that her sins were forgiven her. She went on her way rejoicing to Cardiff, whither I came in the afternoon. And about five (the minister[1] not being willing I should preach in the church on a weekday) I preached in the Shire Hall (a large, convenient place) on 'Believe, and thou shalt be saved.' Several were there who laboured much to make a disturbance. But our Lord suffered them not. At seven I explained to a much more numerous audience the blessedness of mourning and poverty of spirit. Deep attention sat on the faces of the hearers, many of whom, I trust, have 'believed our report.'

Fri. 19.—I preached in the morning at Newport on 'What must I do to be saved?' to the most insensible, ill-behaved people I have ever seen in Wales. One ancient man, during a great part of the sermon, cursed and swore almost incessantly; and, towards the conclusion, took up a great stone, which he

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Friday 19

6½ Drest, prayer; 7 tea, conversed; 8.15 set out with Glascot, etc.; 10.15 Newport, Acts xvi. 30; 12.30 set out; 2.45 Cardiff; 3 within, ate; 3.45 Shire Hall, Rom. xiv. 17! 5.15 at home, dinner; 6 at the Shire Hall, Matt. v. 5, etc.; 9 at Mr. Philips's, supper, conversed, prayer; 11.15.

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[1] 'The minister who refused to allow Wesley to preach in his church on a weekday was the Rev. Thomas Collrick, or Colerick (not Coldrack, as Charles Wesley has it, *Life*, vol. i. p. 297), who was instituted in 1718 and died in 1761. A year after his refusal the vicar invited Charles Wesley to preach in his church, and this he did twice on one Sunday, and again on the following Sunday morning. The rumour of a mob so alarmed Mr. Colerick that he refused to allow the poet evangelist to preach the afternoon sermon on the second Sunday; and fear of the Bishop of Llandaff induced the vicar to repeat the refusal about six months afterwards. Of old time, two churches and two old chapels existed in Cardiff; but the flood of 1607 carried away the Church of St. Mary, which stood where the Great Western railway-station now stands; and it was not until Wesley had been long in his grave that the present St. Mary's was erected on a new site. It was therefore the pulpit of St. John's that was closed to John Wesley; the Shire Hall stood in the outer bailey of the castle' (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 175). It was nearly in the centre of the Cardiff of those days.

many times attempted to throw. But that he could not do. Such the champions, such the arms, against field-preaching!

At four I preached at the Shire Hall of Cardiff again, where many gentry, I found, were present. Such freedom of speech I have seldom had as was given me in explaining those words, 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' At six almost the whole town (I was informed) came together, to whom I explained the six last Beatitudes; but my heart was so enlarged I knew not how to give over, so that we continued three hours. Oh may the seed they have received have its fruit unto holiness, and in the end everlasting life!

Sat. 20.—I returned to Bristol. I have seen no part of England so pleasant for sixty or seventy miles together as those parts of Wales I have been in. And most of the inhabitants are indeed ripe for the gospel. I mean (if the expression appear strange) they are earnestly desirous of being instructed in it; and as utterly ignorant of it they are as any Creek or Cherokee Indians. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ. Many of them can say both the Lord's Prayer and the Belief. Nay, and some, all the Catechism; but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (nine in ten of those with whom I conversed) either of gospel salvation or of that faith whereby alone we can be saved, than Chicali or Tomo-chachi.[1] Now, what spirit is he of, who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harris or an itinerant preacher?

Sun. 21.—Finding a slackness creeping in among them who had begun to run well, both in the morning and afternoon,

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Saturday 20

6½ Prayer, drest; 7 at Mr. Howel's, many tarried, tea, conversed, prayer; 8 set out with Williams and Deschamps; 11.30 at the Rock, dinner; 12.45 set out; 1.45 at the New Passage, Diary; 4 set out, conversed; 5.30 at Mr. Grevile's, tea, W^{r}. Chapman, conversed; 6.30 at the Malthouse; 8.30 with Averel Spenser; 9 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

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[1] See vol. i. p. 159; *Gent.'s Mag.* 1740, vol. i. p. 129.

I enforced those words, 'As ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in Him.' In the evening I endeavoured to quicken them farther, by describing pure and undefiled religion; and the next day to encourage them in pursuing it, by enforcing those words of our blessed Master, 'In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world.'

Tues. 23.—In riding to Bradford, I read over Mr. Law's book on the New Birth[1]: philosophical, speculative, precarious; Behmenish, void, and vain!

Oh what a fall is there![2]

At eleven I preached at Bearfield[3] to about three thousand on the spirit of nature, of bondage, and of adoption.

Sunday 21

4½ Journal; 6 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 6.15 walked, visited, at the house, Col. ii. 6, two there; 10 at Mr. Williams', communion, thirty-nine there, prayer, singing; 12.15 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 1.30 at home, Journal; 2 Christ Church; 3.30 at home, tea; 4 Bowling Green, Col. ii. 6, 6,000; 5.15 conversed at Mrs. Eyre's, conversed; 6.15 Malthouse; 8.30 conversed to some; 9 at home, conversed; 9.45.

Monday 22

5 Prayed; 6 prayers, writ to Edmonds; 8 at Bro. Davis's, M. Cutler, etc. tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, on business; 12.45 at Mr. Wigginton's, Mrs. Grevil and Charles there, dinner; 2 at home, writ to Miss Burdock, conversed to many; 3 at M. Wotton's, Mrs. Highnam, etc., tea, conversed; 4 Brickyard, John xvi. ult., 2,000; 5.15 at Mr. Labbe's, tea, conversed; 6 at Miss Gregory's, conversed; 6.45 Gloucester Lane; 8.15 at home, supper, conversed; 9.30.

Tuesday 23

4 Writ to John Bray, my mother, Spangenberg; 5.30 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 6.15 set out with Charles, in conversation; 7 read Law on the New Birth; 9.45 Tirley; 11 Bearfield, Rom. viii. 15, 3,000; 2 Bath, John Feachem's, tea, conversed; 3 set out; 5.30 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, within; 6.45 at Sally [Jones]'s, prayer, singing; 8.30 Betty Somers ill, prayer, singing; 9 Charles came, prayer, singing, both well! 12.15 supper; 1.

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[1] In his Journal under date Friday 19th, Charles Wesley writes: 'I read part of Mr. Law on Regeneration to our society. How promising the beginning! how lame the conclusion!'

[2] Altered from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, iii. 2. 195. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 112.)

[3] Bradford (see p. 243). This was the service which his friend the Rev. Josiah Tucker ('Country Common Sense') attended. It inspired the letter of Nov. 1 (see below, p. 304).

Returning in the evening, I was exceedingly pressed to go back to a young woman [Sally Jones] in Kingswood. The fact I nakedly relate, and leave every man to his own judgement of it. I went. She was nineteen or twenty years old; but, it seems, could not write or read. I found her on the bed, two or three persons holding her. It was a terrible sight. Anguish, horror, and despair, above all description, appeared in her pale face. The thousand distortions of her whole body showed how the dogs of hell were gnawing her heart. The shrieks intermixed were scarce to be endured. But her stony eyes could not weep. She screamed out, as soon as words could find their way, 'I am damned, damned; lost for ever. Six days ago you might have helped me. But it is past. I am the devil's now. I have given myself to him. His I am. Him I must serve. With him I must go to hell. I will be his. I will serve him. I will go with him to hell. I cannot be saved. I will not be saved. I must, I will, I will be damned.' She then began praying to the devil. We began—

Arm of the Lord, awake, awake![1]

She immediately sunk down as asleep; but, as soon as we left off, broke out again, with inexpressible vehemence: 'Stony hearts, break! I am a warning to you. Break, break, poor stony hearts! Will you not break? What can be done more for stony hearts? I am damned, that you may be saved. Now break, now break, poor stony hearts! You need not be damned, though I must.' She then fixed her eyes on the corner of the ceiling, and said, 'There he is; aye, there he is. Come, good devil, come. Take me away. You said you would dash my brains out; come, do it quickly. I am yours. I will be yours. Come just now. Take me away.' We interrupted her by calling again upon God; on which she sunk down as before, and another young woman [Betty Somers] began to roar out as loud as she had done. My brother now came in, it being about nine o'clock. We continued in prayer till past eleven; when God in a moment spoke peace into the soul, first of the first tormented, and then of the other. And they both joined in singing praise to Him who had 'stilled the enemy and the avenger.'

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[1] The hymn sung was first published in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, by John and Charles Wesley, 1739. (See also p. 208, and Osborn's *Wesley Poetry*, vol. i. p. 194.) No hymn at this time was more frequently sung by the Wesleys.

Wed. 24.—I preached at Baptist Mills on those words of St. Paul, speaking in the person of one 'under the law' (that is, still 'carnal, and sold under sin,' though groaning for deliverance), 'I know that in me dwelleth no good thing.' A poor woman told me afterwards, 'I does hope as my husband won't hinder me any more. For I minded he did shiver every bone of him, and the tears ran down his cheeks like the rain.' I warned our little society, in the evening, to beware of levity, slackness in good works, and despising little things; which had caused many to fall again into bondage.

Thur. 25.—I was sent for to one [N. Roberts] in Bristol, who was taken ill the evening before. This fact, too, I will simply relate, so far as I was an ear or eye witness of it.[1] She lay on the ground, furiously gnashing her teeth, and after a while roared aloud. It was not easy for three or four persons to hold her, especially when the name of Jesus was named. We prayed; the violence of her symptoms ceased, though without a complete deliverance.

Wednesday 24

6½ Drest, set out with Purdy; 7.30 at home, Journal; 8 at Sr. [Sister] Davis', B. Morgan, etc., tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, Journal ⌒̇; 11.30 Malthouse; 12.45 at home, conversed to many; 3 at Mrs. D.'s, tea, conversed; 4 Baptist Mills, Rom. vii. 18; 5 met the leaders; 5.30 at Mrs. Hooper's, tea, conversed; 6.15 with the women; 8 with the men; 9.45 supper, conversed; 10.30.

Thursday 25

5 Prayed; 9.45 Journal; 7 prayers, Journal; 8.15 at M. Thomas's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.45 at home, Journal; 11.30 Sherif Barnes, within, Diary, conversed to some; 12.15 with N. Roberts, ill, prayer; 1.30 at An[n] Williams', dinner, conversed; 3 with N. Roberts, singing, prayer; 5 at home, writ to J. Hervey; 5.30 tea, conversed; 6 writ to Mrs. Dutton; 7 with N. Roberts, many tarried, singing, prayer; 12.15 at Mr. Deschamps'.

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[1] With reference to these fits, Charles Wesley writes in June 1743:

> I observed at Newcastle that many more of the gentry come now that the stumbling-block of the fits is taken out of their way; and I am more and more convinced it was a device of Satan to stop the course of the gospel. Since I have preached it, if I can discern anything, it never had greater success than at this time. Yet we have no fits among us, and I have done nothing to prevent them, only declared that I do not think the better of any one for crying out or interrupting my work.

In the evening, being sent for to her again, I was unwilling, indeed, afraid, to go, thinking it would not avail, unless some who were strong in faith were to wrestle with God for her. I opened my Testament on those words, 'I was afraid, and went and hid thy talent in the earth.' I stood reproved, and went immediately. She began screaming before I came into the room; then broke out into a horrid laughter, mixed with blasphemy, grievous to hear. One who from many circumstances apprehended a preternatural agent to be concerned in this, asking, 'How didst thou dare to enter into a Christian?' was answered, 'She is not a Christian. She is mine.' Q. 'Dost thou not tremble at the name of Jesus?' No words followed, but she shrunk back and trembled exceedingly. Q. 'Art thou not increasing thy own damnation?' It was faintly answered, 'Aye, aye'; which was followed by fresh cursing and blaspheming.

My brother coming in, she cried out, 'Preacher! Field-preacher! I don't love field-preaching.' This was repeated two hours together, with spitting, and all the expressions of strong aversion.

We left her at twelve, but called again about noon on *Friday* the 26th. And now it was that God showed He heareth the prayer. All her pangs ceased in a moment: she was filled with peace, and knew that the son of wickedness was departed from her.

Sat. 27.—I was sent for to Kingswood again, to one [Sally Jones] of those who had been so ill before. A violent rain

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Friday 26

6¾ Drest, at home, writ; 7.30 in talk, at the house; 8 at B. Holder's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, writ; 11 Malthouse; 12.15 at N. Roberts', prayer; ! 12.45 at the house, prayer, singing; 3 Diary, tea, conversed; 4 Journal; 5.45 at Mrs. Stephens', tea, conversed; 6.15 with N. Roberts, prayer; 6.45 Gloucester Lane; 8.30 with N. Roberts, prayer; 9 at home, supper; 10.

Saturday 27

6 Prayed; 6.30 drest, prayer; 7.30 at home, tea, writ to brother Samuel, Reed, Mills, Woods, ! Oxlee; 12.30 with N. Roberts! 1 at Mr. Whitehead's, dinner, conversed; 2.15 with N. Smith, ill, prayer; 3 set out; 3.45 at Sally Jones'; 4 at Betty Somers', prayer; 6 S[ally] well; 8 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 8.30 at N. Roberts'; 9 prayer, she well; 9.30 at home, conversed; 10.

began just as I set out, so that I was thoroughly wet in a few minutes. Just at that time, the woman (then three miles off) cried out, 'Yonder comes Wesley, galloping as fast as he can.'[1] When I was come, I was quite cold and dead, and fitter for sleep than prayer. She burst out into a horrid laughter, and said, 'No power, no power; no faith, no faith. She is mine; her soul is mine. I have her, and will not let her go.'

We begged of God to increase our faith. Meanwhile her pangs increased more and more; so that one would have imagined, by the violence of the throes, her body must have been shattered to pieces. One who was clearly convinced this was no natural disorder said, 'I think Satan is let loose. I fear he will not stop here,' and added, 'I command thee, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to tell if thou hast commission to torment any other soul?' It was immediately answered, 'I have. L[uc]y C[lea]r and S——h J——s.'[2] (Two who lived at some distance, and were then in perfect health.)

We betook ourselves to prayer again, and ceased not till she [Sally Jones] began, about six o'clock, with a clear voice and composed, cheerful look—

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow.

Sun. 28.—I preached once more at Bradford, at one in the afternoon. The violent rains did not hinder more, I believe, than ten thousand from earnestly attending to what I spoke on those solemn words, 'I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.'

Sunday 28

4 Writ Journal; 5.45 Deschamps', tea; 6.30 set out with Purdy; 9 Bath, Rom. xiv. 17; 10.15 at the inn, John Feachem, conversed; 11 set out; 12 Tirley, dinner, conversed; 1.15 Bury-field [Bradford], Acts xx. 26, 27, 10,000; 3 set out; 6.30 at Widow Jones', Cenick there; 7 Betty Somers, Lucy Clear, and S. Jones ill, prayer, singing; 1.

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[1] His journeys at this time were made, as a rule, on horseback.

[2] The names distinctly written in the Diary are Sally Jones, Betty Somers, Lucy Clear, and, later, Sally Robins. In the text we have filled in the names about which there can be no doubt, leaving the others blank. The extreme probability is that some little confusion or misprinting has occurred in the text. It is possible that S——h J——s is really Sarah, or Sally, Robins, unless we may assume a second 'Sarah [Sally] Jones.' (See also Cennick's parallel account.)

Returning in the evening, I called at Mrs. J[ones]'s [Widow Jones], in Kingswood. S[ally] J[ones] and L[uc]y C[lea]r were there. It was scarce a quarter of an hour before L[uc]y C[lea]r fell into a strange agony, and presently after S[all]y J[one]s. The violent convulsions all over their bodies were such as words cannot describe. Their cries and groans were too horrid to be borne; till one of them, in a tone not to be expressed, said, 'Where is your faith now? Come, go to prayers. I will pray with you. "Our Father, which art in heaven."' We took the advice from whomsoever it came, and poured out our souls before God, till Lucy Clear's agonies so increased that it seemed she was in the pangs of death. But in a moment God spoke: she knew His voice, and both her body and soul were healed.

We continued in prayer till near one, when S[arah] J[ones]'s voice was also changed, and she began strongly to call upon God. This she did for the greatest part of the night. In the morning we renewed our prayers, while she was crying continually, 'I burn! I burn! Oh, what shall I do? I have a fire within me. I cannot bear it. Lord Jesus! Help!'—Amen, Lord Jesus! when Thy time is come.

Wed. 31.—I strongly enforced on those who imagine they believe and do not, 'As the body without the spirit is dead,

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Monday 29

6¾ Prayer, tea, conversed; 9 at home, writ Journal; 12.30 at Mrs. Thomas's, dinner, conversed; 1.30 with N. Roberts, prayer, she well; 2 visited, at home, conversed; 3.45 Brickyard, Acts xviii. 22, 2,500; 5.15 visited; 5.30 at home, Mrs. Le-port, tea, conversed; 6.15 visited N. Roberts, prayer; 6 at home, writ; 8.15 supper, conversed; 10.

Tuesday 30

5 Prayed! 6 writ to Capt. Whitefield; 7 prayers, at Mrs. Turner's band, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, on business; 12.15 drest, conversed to some; 12.45 visited N. Roberts; 1.30 at Mr. Willis's, dinner; 2.45 at the house, Isa. liii. 5, 6; 5 at James Burges', Sally Robins, Jones, Betty Somers, prayer; 6.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 7 at the New Room; 8.30 at the United Society [first time the term occurs]; 9.15 at Mrs. Linnington's, supper together; 11.

Wednesday 31

6 Prayed, prayers; 7.45 at Bro. Sayse's, conversed, prayer; 8.15 at the Room with Molly Deacon's band, conversed, tea, prayer; 9.30 at

so faith without works is dead also.' The power of God was in an unusual manner present at the meeting of the bands in the evening. Six or seven were deeply convinced of their unfaithfulness to God, and two filled again with His love. But poor Mary W[otton] remained as one without hope.[1] Her soul refused comfort. She could neither pray herself, nor bear to hear us. At last she cried out, 'Give me the book, and I will sing.' She began giving out line by line (but with such an accent as art could never reach)—

Why do these cares my soul divide,
  If Thou indeed hast set me free?
Why am I thus, if God hath died,
  If God hath died to purchase me?
Around me clouds of darkness roll;
  In deepest night I still walk on:
Heavily moves my damnèd soul——[2]

Here we were obliged to interrupt her. We again betook ourselves to prayer, and her heart was eased, though not set at liberty.[3]

M. Lewis's with her band, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, conversed to some; 11 Malthouse ṁ; 12.45 at home, conversed to many; 1.30 at Mrs. Gregory's, conversed, at M. Purnell's, conversed, prayer; 2 visited; 2.30 at Anthony Williams', Charles, etc., tea; 3.30 Baptist Mills, 2,000, 2 Cor. ii. 11; 4.45 with Nanny Smith, prayer; 5 visited, at Sister P[urnell]'s, conversed; 5.30 at our Room, the women, in conversation, prayer, M. Wotton, B. Linf[ord], B. Oldfield, Margaret Evans, M. Smith, M. Lowman, B. Latcham; 8.30 with our men, within, prayer; 9.15 with M. Wotton, prayer; 9.45 supper; 11 at home.

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[1] The names of the 'six or seven' are preserved in the Diary. The two 'filled again with His love' are not named separately, only the one—Mary Wotton, whose case was so distressing; she is named twice (see also p. 291). These scenes took place in 'our Room.'

[2] *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739, p. 148, where line 7 reads: 'Heavily moves my *fainting* soul.' Line 8 (missing above) is: 'My comfort and my God are gone.' See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 175.

[3] Charles Wesley writes: 'OCT. 30, *Tues.*: My brother preached his farewell sermon to the sorrowful colliers.' He does not say where, nor, indeed, when. Two preaching-services are recorded in the Diary: (1) On Sunday, Oct. 28, he preached at Bury-field, Bradford, to 10,000; (2) On Monday, at the Brickyard, to 2,500; and (3) at Baptist Mills, on Wednesday afternoon, to 2,000. The following day he left, early in the morning, for London.

Nov. 1, *Thur.*—I set out,[1] and the next evening came to Reading, where a little company of us met in the evening; at which the zealous mob was so enraged, they were ready to tear the house down. Therefore I hope God has a work to do in this place. In Thy time let it be fulfilled!

About this time I received a letter from the author of those reflections which I mentioned July 31[2]; an extract of which I have subjoined:

Reverend Sir,

As I wrote the Rules and Considerations (in No. 25 of 'Country Common Sense') with an eye to Mr. Whitefield, yourself, and your opposers, from a sincere desire to do some service to Christianity, according to the *imperfect* notions I had at that time of the real merits of the cause, I, at the same time, resolved to take any opportunity that should offer for my *better* information.

On this principle it was that I made one of your audience, October 23, at Bradford. And because I thought I could form the best judgement of you and your doctrines from your sermon, I resolved to hear that first, which was the reason that, although by accident I was at the same house, and walked two miles with you to the place you preached at, I spoke little or nothing to you. I must confess, sir, that the discourse you made that day, wherein you pressed your hearers in the closest manner, and with the authority of a true minister of the gospel, not to stop at *faith* ONLY, but to add to it *all virtues*, and to show forth their *faith* by every kind of *good works*, convinced me of the great wrong done you by a public report, common in people's mouths, that you preach *faith* without *works*; for that is the only ground of prejudice which any true Christian can have, and is the sense in which your adversaries would take your words when they censure them. For that we are justified by faith *only* is the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of His apostles, and the doctrine of the Church of England. I am ashamed that, after having lived twenty-nine years since my baptism into this faith, I should speak of it in the lame, unfaithful, I may say false, manner I have done in the paper above mentioned! What mere darkness is man when truth hideth her face from him!

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[1] This journey—the route, companionship, halting-places, and occupations *en route*—is described in the Diary with some detail. In London his lodging was again with Bray, at whose house he arrived on Saturday afternoon.

[2] See above, p. 249, where it is shown that the author here referred to was not Dr. Stebbing, but the Rev. Josiah Tucker of All Saints', Bristol, who wrote in Raikes's *Gloucester Journal* under the *nom de plume* of 'Country Common Sense.'

Man is by nature a sinner, the child of the devil, under God's wrath, in a state of damnation. The Son of God took pity on this our misery. He made Himself man; He made Himself sin for us—that is, He hath borne the punishment of our sin; 'the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes we are healed.' To receive this boundless mercy, this inestimable benefit, we must have faith in our Benefactor, and through Him in God. But, then, true faith is not a lifeless principle, as your adversaries seem to understand it. They and you mean quite another thing by *faith*. They mean a bare believing that Jesus is the Christ. You mean a living, growing. purifying principle which is the root both of inward and outward holiness; both of purity and good works, without which no man can have faith—at least no other than a dead faith.

This, sir, you explained in your sermon at Bradford, Sunday, October 28, to near ten thousand people, who all stood to hear you with awful silence and great attention. I have since reflected how much good the clergy might do if, instead of shunning, they would come to hear and converse with you; and in their churches and parishes would farther enforce those catholic doctrines which you preach, and which, I am glad to see, have such a surprising good effect on great numbers of souls.

I think, indeed, too many clergymen are culpable in that they do not inform themselves better of Mr. Whitefield, yourself, and your doctrines from your own mouths. I am persuaded if they did this with a Christian spirit the differences between you would soon be at an end. Nay, I think those whose flocks resort so much to hear you ought to do it out of their pastoral duty to them; that if you preach good doctrine they may edify them on the impressions so visibly made by your sermons; or, if evil, they may reclaim them from error.

I shall conclude this letter with putting you in mind, in all your sermons, writings, and practice, nakedly to follow the naked Jesus.[1] I mean, to preach the pure doctrine of the gospel without respect of persons or things. Many preachers, many reformers, many missionaries have fallen by not observing this—by not having continually in mind, 'Whoever shall break the least of these commandments, and teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.'

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[1] A young man (Moravian Letter, July 2, 1739) with whom Wesley talked was resolved 'naked to follow a naked Master,' having been turned out of doors by his friends the night before. For the first reference to this phrase see vol. i. p. 179. Whitefield used it in a letter, written on July 26, 1739, concerning another young man, who, threatened with disinheritance, was willing 'naked to follow a naked Christ.' See his *Works*, vol. i. p. 56.

PART THE FOURTH

THE JOURNAL

FROM NOVEMBER 1, 1739, TO SEPTEMBER 3, 1741

When I had waited (for they spake not, but stood still, and answered no more), I said, I will answer also my part, I also will show mine opinion. Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto man. For I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away.—JOB xxxii. 16, 17, 21, 22.

The facts contained in Part IV carry the story of Wesley's work forward from the close of 1739 *to September* 3, 1741. *The Preface, however, and large portions of the Part itself are concerned with events of a later date, namely, the circumstances attendant on the final separation of the Wesleys and their followers from the newly organized Anglo-Moravian Church. Students of this deeply interesting period of English Church history will be at a disadvantage unless, before reading the Journal itself, they first carefully note Wesley's assigned reasons for a publication which is more controversial than journalistic. The Preface, dated three years later than the most recent event recorded, is the necessary commentary upon the Part. It will be noted that Wesley does not call it a Preface but an Address. The section of the Journal which it introduces describes not only the definite separation of Methodism from Moravianism, but also the gradual severance of ties which had united in one common evangelical movement Arminian and Calvinistic Methodism. Wesley resolutely cut Methodism adrift from 'Stillness' on the one hand and what he regarded as unscriptural Predestinarianism on the other.*

TO THE

MORAVIAN CHURCH,[1]

MORE ESPECIALLY THAT PART OF IT NOW OR LATELY RESIDING IN ENGLAND

1. I am constrained, at length, to speak my present sentiments concerning you, according to the best light I have: and this, not only upon my own account, that, if I judge amiss, I may receive better information; but for the sake of all those who either love or seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Many of these have been utterly at a loss how to judge; and the more so because they could not but observe (as I have often done with sorrow of heart), that scarce any have wrote concerning you (unless such as were extravagant in your commendation), who were not evidently prejudiced against you. Hence they either spoke falsely, laying to your charge things which you knew not; or, at least, unkindly, putting the worst construction on things of a doubtful nature, and setting what perhaps was not strictly right in the very worst light it would bear. Whereas (in my apprehension) none is capable of judging right, or assisting others to judge right, concerning you, unless he can speak of you as he does of the friend who is as his own soul.

2. Yet it is not wholly for their sake, but for your own also that I now write. It may be the 'Father of lights,' the Giver of 'every good gift,' may even by a mean instrument speak to your hearts. My continual desire and prayer to God is that you may clearly see 'what is

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[1] 'So called by themselves, though improperly' (Wesley). Instead of unqualified praise by Wesley, in the Fourth Journal the Moravians receive a mixture of praise and censure. Wesley's mind was in transition. By addressing the Preface especially to that part of the Moravian Church 'now or lately residing in England' he evidently meant the migratory German ministers, more than the untravelled, unofficial members of the English brethren. His first footnote, denying the correctness of the title 'Moravian Church,' shows that he was investigating their ecclesiastical claims. On a proposal to suppress all anti-Moravian references, see letter of John Wesley to Stedman (*Wesley Banner*, vol. i. p. 140). On the whole subject dealt with in the Preface, see J. Hutton's *Life*, pp. 155-6; also the closing notes on this Extract, below, p. 500.

that good and perfect will' of the Lord; and fully discern how to separate that which is precious among you from the vile.

3. I have delayed thus long because I loved you, and was therefore unwilling to grieve you in anything; and likewise because I was afraid of creating another obstacle to that union which (if I know my own heart in any degree) I desire above all things under heaven. But I dare no longer delay, lest my silence should be a snare to any others of the children of God; and lest you yourselves should be more confirmed in what I cannot reconcile to the Law and the Testimony. This would strengthen the bar which I long to remove; and were that once taken out of the way, I should rejoice to be a door-keeper in the house of God, a hewer of wood or drawer of water, among you. Surely I would follow you to the ends of the earth, or remain with you in the uttermost parts of the sea.

4. What unites my heart to you is the excellency (in many respects) of the doctrine taught among you: your laying the true foundation, 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself'; your declaring the free grace of God the cause, and faith the condition, of justification; your bearing witness to those great fruits of faith, 'righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost'; and that sure mark thereof, 'He that is born of God doth not commit sin.'

5. I magnify the grace of God which is in many among you, enabling you to love Him who hath first loved us; teaching you, in whatsoever state you are, therewith to be content; causing you to trample under foot the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life; and, above all, giving you to love one another in a manner the world knoweth not of.

6. I praise God that He hath delivered, and yet doth deliver, you from those outward sins that overspread the face of the earth. No cursing, no light or false swearing, no profaning the name of God, is heard among you. No robbery or theft, no gluttony or drunkenness, no whoredom or adultery, no quarrelling or brawling (those scandals of the Christian name), are found within your gates. No diversions but such as become saints, as may be used in the name of the Lord Jesus. You regard not outward adorning, but rather desire the ornament of a serious, meek, and quiet spirit. You are not slothful in business, but labour to eat your own bread; and wisely manage 'the mammon of unrighteousness,' that ye may have to give to others also, to feed the hungry, and cover the naked with a garment.

7. I love and esteem you for your excellent discipline, scarce inferior to that of the apostolic age; for your due subordination of officers, every one knowing and keeping his proper rank; for your exact division of the people under your charge, so that each may be fed with food convenient for them; for your care that all who are employed

in the service of the Church should frequently and freely confer together; and, in consequence thereof, your exact and seasonable knowledge of the state of every member, and your ready distribution either of spiritual or temporal relief, as every man hath need.

8. Perhaps, then, some of you will say, 'If you allow all this, what more can you desire?' The following extract will answer you at large, wherein I have first given a naked relation (among other things) of many facts and conversations that passed between us in the same order of time as they occurred; and then summed up what I cannot approve of yet, that it may be tried by the Word of God.

9. This I have endeavoured to do with a tender hand: relating no more than I believed absolutely needful; carefully avoiding all tart and unkind expressions, all that I could foresee would be disobliging to you, or any farther offensive than was implied in the very nature of the thing; labouring everywhere to speak consistently with that deep sense which is settled in my heart that you are (though I cannot call you Rabbi, infallible) yet far, far better and wiser than me.

10. And if any of you will smite me friendly, and reprove me; if you will show me wherein I have erred, either in the matter or manner of the following relation, or any part thereof, I will, by the grace of God, confess it before angels and men, in whatsoever way you shall require.

Meanwhile do not cease to pray for

Your weak, but still affectionate Brother,
JOHN WESLEY.

LONDON,
June 24, 1744.

THE JOURNAL

From November 1, 1739, *to September* 3, 1741

1739. Nov. 1, *Thur.*—I left Bristol, and on Saturday came to London. The first person I met with there was one [Mrs. Turner] whom I had left strong in faith and zealous of good works; but she now told me Mr. Molther[1] had fully convinced her she never had any faith at all; and had advised her, till she received faith, to be 'still,' ceasing from outward works; which she had accordingly done, and did not doubt but in a short time she should find the advantage of it.

In the evening Mr. Bray also was highly commending the being 'still' before the Lord. He likewise spoke largely of the great danger that attended the doing of outward works, and of the folly of people that keep running about to church and sacrament, 'as I,' said he, 'did till very lately.'

Nov. 1, *Thursday*

4 Writ, drest; 5.15 at Deschamps', tea, many tarry, prayer; 6.15 set out with Purdy and Deschamps; 7 at Widow Jones', conversed, prayer; 7.45 set out, prayed; 9.45 Marshfield, Diary, tea, conversed; 11 set out, prayer ♈, prayer, read Bunyan's *Life*; 2 Caln, dinner; 3 set out, prayed, Bunyan; 5.30 Marlborough, Bunyan; 6 tea, Diary, Journal, prayer; 8.

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[1] Philip Henry Molther, an Alsatian by birth, educated at the University of Jena, came under the influence of Zinzendorf, who appointed him private tutor to his son, and after some time ordained and sent him as a missionary to Pennsylvania. Molther arrived in London on Oct. 18, 1739, and, a few days later, was introduced to the Fetter Lane society by Hutton, who, on his return from visiting Zinzendorf (Oct. 24), was anxious to bring the society under Moravian teaching. Molther was an instrument ready to hand. He taught a kind of 'Quietism' called 'stillness,' and succeeded in persuading many of the members that the faith which they professed to have in Christ was not the true faith, and that they must remain 'still,' without using the 'so-called' means of grace, until they received faith. Wesley's reply to this heresy was the founding of a new means of grace, specially intended for those who, not yet having received the gift of faith, nevertheless desired to flee from the wrath to come. This new society undoubtedly met in the Foundery. Some months later a fragment of the old Fetter Lane society followed the Wesleys to the Foundery: hence the 'United Societies.'

Sun. 4.—Our society met at seven in the morning, and continued silent till eight. One [Spangenberg] then spoke of looking unto Jesus, and exhorted us all to lie still in His hand.

In the evening I met the women of our society at Fetter Lane, where some of our brethren strongly intimated that none of them had any true faith, and then asserted, in plain terms: (1) that, till they had true faith, they ought to be 'still'; that is (as they explained themselves), to abstain from the means of grace, as they are called—the Lord's Supper in particular; (2) that the ordinances are not means of grace, there being no other means than Christ.

Friday 2

5 Drest, prayers; 6 set out, read *Pilgrim's Progress*[1]; 8 Hungerford, tea; 9 set out, *Pilgrim's Progress*; 11.45 Wooll-ton; 12 dinner; 1.30 set out, read Bunyan on the Law and Works; 3.30 Reading, at the inn, in talk; 4 at Sally Cennick's, Mrs. Cenick not [? at home], prayer, conversed, tea, read my Journal; 6.30 many came, Acts v.! 8.30 supper, Journal, prayer; 11.

Saturday 3

5 Singing, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.15 set out, Bunyan; 9.30 Slough; 10 tea; 10.30 set out, Bunyan; 1 Brentford, dinner; 2 set out; 4.15 at Mr. Bray's, tea, conversed with Mrs. Turner; 5.30 meditated, prayer; 6 conversed with Mr. Bray; 8.15 Brown came, supper, conversed, writ to Charles; 10.15.

Sunday 4

7 Fetter Lane; 7.30 Molther and Spangenberg came; 8 Spangenberg preached; 9 at Mr. Bray's, tea, conversed; 10.15 Islington, prayers, communion; 1 at home, dinner, conversed with Oxlee, etc., prayer; 2.30 with my mother, she better, tea, conversed; 4.30 at Mr. Bray's; 5 at Winchester Yard, John v. 5, 6; 6.45 Fetter Lane, conversed, prayer; 9.15 Islington, supper, conversed with Bro. Hall, Oxlee, etc., prayer; 10. [Obviously he was lodging again at Islington, perhaps in the same house with his mother, the Halls, etc.]

Monday 5

5 Meditated, prayed; 6 prayer; 6.30 within with Oxlee, Fern, and Mrs. Ham[ilto]n, prayer; 8 at Mr. Spangenberg's, tea, conversed; 11.15 at my mother's, read Journal; 12.30 dinner, Journal; 3.15 at S.[2] Thacker's band, conversed, singing; 4.15 Islington, within; 5 Acts xv. 7, 8; 7.30 Winchester Yard, many ill; 9.30 at Mr. Bray's, supper; 10.30 at home.

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[1] Whitefield, in one of his letters to Wesley (Sept. 1740), interpreted or misinterpreted him as 'thinking meanly' of Bunyan and other Puritan writers.

[2] In the Diary following, the letter 'S' may be read as meaning 'Sister.'

Wed. 7.—Being greatly desirous to understand the ground of this matter, I had a long conference with Mr. Spangenberg.[1] I agreed with all he said of the power of faith. I agreed that 'whosoever is' by faith 'born of God doth not commit sin.' But I could not agree either that none has any faith so long as he is liable to any doubt or fear; or, that till we have it, we ought to abstain from the Lord's Supper or the other ordinances of God.

At eight our society met at Fetter Lane. We sat an hour without speaking. The rest of the time was spent in dispute, one having proposed a question concerning the Lord's Supper, which many warmly affirmed none ought to receive till he had 'the full assurance of faith.'

Tuesday 6

5 Prayed, Diary; 6 prayer, conversed, singing; 7.30 at Mr. Bray's; 8.15 at Mrs. Mills', tea, conversed, prayer; 10.45 at Mr. Bray's, Spangenberg came, conversed; 12.15 he went, meditated, writ to Capt. Whitefield and sister Nancy; 1.15 dinner, conversed; 3.30 at M[argare]t Clark's, in talk; 4 St. James's, Acts v.; 5.15 at Margaret Clark's, tea, within; 7 Dowgate Hill, Matt. xii.; 9.30 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

Wednesday 7

5 Meditated, prayed, Diary; 6 prayer, writ *Christian Perfection*; 8 within to some; at my mother's, tea, conversed; 10.15 at home, writ Law m̍; 1.45 at Mr. Bray's, in talk; 2.15 at Mrs. Clagget's, conversed; 3.15 at S^{r}. Hodges' band, tea, conversed, prayer; 5.15 Fetter Lane, Phil. iii. 7, at Mr. Bray's, tea, conversed; 8 Fetter Lane; 10 conversed to Simpson; 11 at home.

Thursday 8

5 Meditated, prayed; 6 prayer, writ Law; 7.30 breakfast, Law, conversed to some; 11 at Mrs. Vaughan's band, conversed, prayer, Mrs. Mills came; 1 at M[argaret] Clark's, at Mrs. Mac-cune's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 at Mr. Bray's, etc.; 4 at Mrs. Bell's, jnr., conversed; 4.30 at M. Cannon's, conversed; 5 at Mrs. Crouch's, tea, conversed; 6 Turner's Hall, John vi. 5; 8 Savoy society, Ephes. ii. 6; 9.45 at Mr. Bray's, within; 10.30 at home, within, with S. Hamilton, etc.; 10.45.

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[1] Spangenberg, with whom Wesley was friendly at Savannah, arrived in London (Oct. 24) on his way to Germany. Hutton wrote to Zinzendorf, unknown to Wesley or Spangenberg himself, asking that Spangenberg might be permitted to stay in London for some time, to which Zinzendorf replied that he would freely 'relinquish him to England, if God shall so will and he himself be so disposed; but for the present it is necessary that he be resigned to go to Germany.' (See Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 44; also vol. i. p. 152.)

I observed every day more and more the advantage Satan had gained over us. Many of those who once knew in whom they had believed were thrown into idle reasonings, and thereby filled with doubts and fears, from which they now found no way to escape. Many were induced to deny the gift of God, and affirm they never had any faith at all, especially those who had fallen again into sin, and, of consequence, into darkness; and almost all these had left off the means of grace, saying they must now cease from their own works; they must now trust in Christ alone; they were poor sinners, and had nothing to do but to lie at His feet.

Till *Saturday* the 10th, I think I did not meet with one woman of the society who had not been upon the point of casting away her confidence in God. I then indeed found one who, when many (according to their custom) laboured to persuade her she had no faith, replied, with a spirit they were not able to resist, 'I know that the life which I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me; and He has never left me one moment, since the hour He was made known to me in the breaking of bread.'[1]

What is to be inferred from this undeniable matter of fact—one that had not faith received it in the Lord's Supper? Why: (1) that there are means of grace—that is, outward ordinances—whereby the inward grace of God is ordinarily conveyed to man, whereby the faith that brings salvation is conveyed to them who before had it not; (2) that one of these means is the Lord's Supper; and (3) that he who has not this faith ought to wait for it in the use both of this and of the other means which God hath ordained.

Fri. 9.—I showed how we are to examine ourselves, whether we be in the faith; and afterwards recommended to all, though

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Friday 9

5 Meditated, prayed; 8 prayer, within, Journal; 9 at Bro. Holland's, tea conversed, Sympson there; 10.15 at Mrs. Ewster's, conversed, singing, prayer; 11 at James Hutton's, C[harles] D[elamotte] came, conversed; 1 at home, at Mrs. Drummond's, with Brown, conversed; 2.30 at S[ister] Anderson's, Betty Hopson there, conversed, tea, 4.15 Islington house, many tarried, tea, conversed; 5 2 Pet. i.; 7 at Mr. Bray's, Mrs. Mac-cune, supper; 8 Fetter Lane, Matt. xxvi.; 9.45 at home; 10.

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[1] The allusion is probably to his mother.

especially to them that believed, true 'stillness'; that is, a patient waiting upon God, by lowliness, meekness, and resignation, in all the ways of His holy law and the works of His commandments.

All this week I endeavoured also by private conversation to 'comfort the feeble-minded,' and to bring back 'the lame' which had been 'turned out of the way,' if haply it might be healed.[1]

Saturday 10

5 Prayed, meditated; 6 prayer, conversed, prayer; 7.45 at Mr. Bray's; 8 at James Hutton's, Spangenberg and Molther, conversed, tea, Halle, conversed; at Margaret Clark's, shaved, conversed; 11.15 at Mr. Bray's.

[Here the Diary ends, and does not resume until June 1, 1740.]

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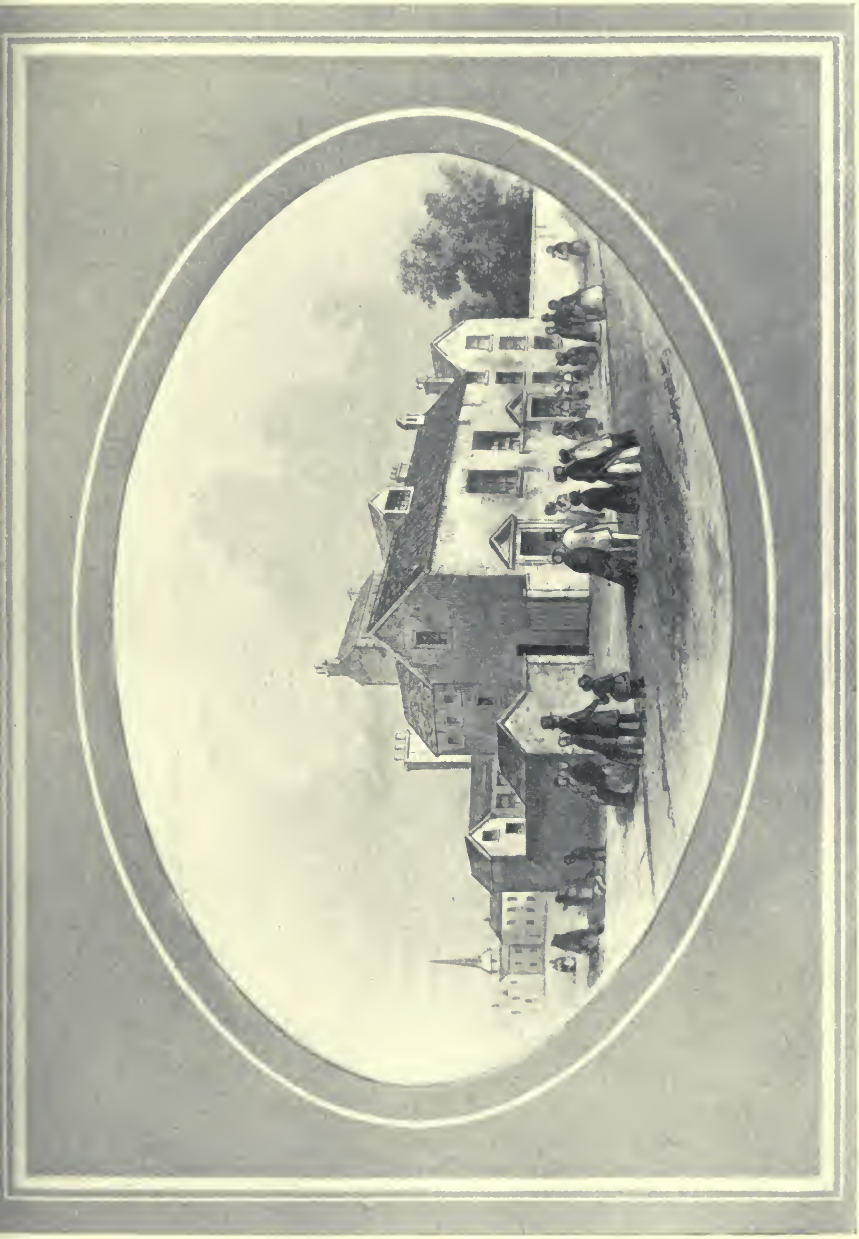
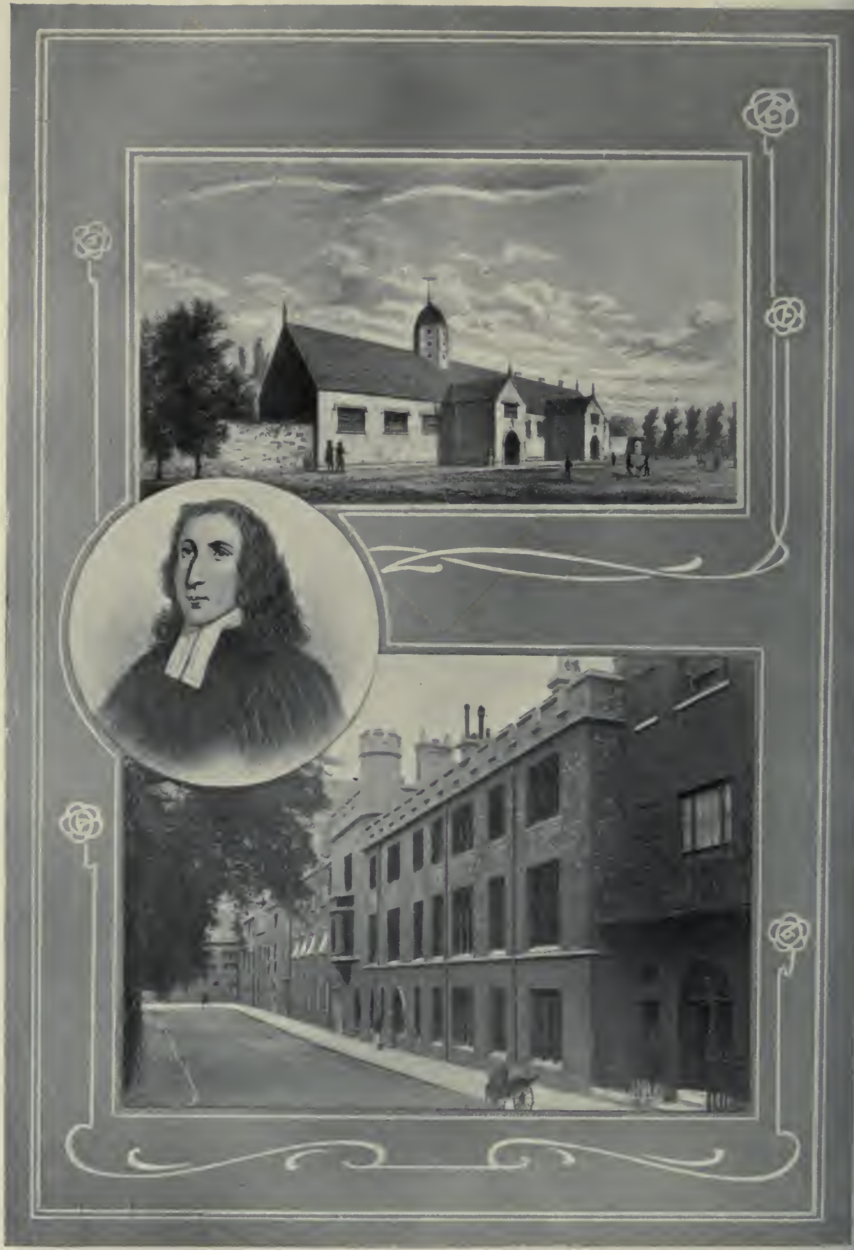
[1] Emphasis has been laid by many writers upon the precise date of the founding of the United Societies. The 'Rules of Society' give this as 'the latter end of the year 1739,' when 'eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin. . . . I appointed a day when they might all come together . . . every week—namely, on Thursday—in the evening. . . . This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, then in other places.' Methodism, however, like other great movements, had many beginnings. Wesley recognized three. In the beginning or 'rise' of Methodism referred to in the text two all-important facts are to be noted: (1) unlike the founding of the Fetter Lane Religious Society on May 1, 1738, under the advice of Peter Böhler, this had no connexion whatever with Moravianism; and (2) the Wesleys at last had a meeting-place of their own. We cannot say with certainty at what date Wesley acquired the Foundery buildings. Apparently he began to work on the site of the dismantled King's Foundery before the wrecked buildings had been put into habitable repair. Two gentlemen, it is said, urged Wesley in November 1739 to preach at the Foundery. He afterwards bought the place, and repaired and adapted it for Methodist purposes at a cost of £800. Fifteen hundred people could sit on the plain benches of this meeting-house. The band-room and schoolroom stood behind, with Wesley's own premises above them. There was also a home for his preachers, with a coach-house and stable. Wesley's Charity School, conducted by Silas Told, was held here; here his mother found a home during her last days; here she died in peace in 1742, being laid to rest in Bunhill Fields, near the Foundery. See a graphic account of a service at the Foundery in 1739, while as yet they had no seats (*Meth. Mag.* 1804, p. 126).

The ruined building known as the King's Foundery stood in Windmill Street (now Tabernacle Street), Moorfields. In 1716 it was determined to recast the cannon taken by Marlborough from the French, and stored before the Foundery and in the adjacent artillery-ground. On the day appointed a vast number of people were gathered to view the process, and temporary galleries had been erected for their accommodation. Amongst the number was a young Swiss, Andrew Schalch, of Schaffhausen, who, having been permitted to inspect the works, had detected some humidity in the moulds, and gave warning to Colonel Armstrong, the Surveyor-



THE FOUNDERY, UPPER MOORFIELDS.



1. BLUNDELL'S SCHOOL, TIVERTON. 2. SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR.
3. WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.

Mon. 12.[1]—I left London, and in the evening expounded, at Wycombe, the story of the Pharisee and the publican. The next morning a young gentleman overtook me on the road, and, after a while, asked me if I had seen Whitefield's Journals. I told him I had. 'And what do you think of them?' said he. 'Don't you think they are d——d cant, enthusiasm from end to end? I think so.' I asked him, 'Why do you think so?' He replied, 'Why, he talks so much about joy and stuff, and inward feelings. As I hope to be saved, I cannot tell what to make of it.' I asked, 'Did you ever feel the love of God in your heart? If not, how should you tell what to make of it? Whatever is spoke of the religion of the heart, and of the inward workings of the Spirit of God, must appear enthusiasm to those who have not felt them; that is, if they take upon them to judge of the things which they own they know not.'

At four in the afternoon I came to Oxford, and to a small company in the evening explained the nature and extent of that salvation wherewith, 'by grace, we are saved through faith.'

General of the Ordnance, of the danger that was likely to arise when the hot metal should be poured into them. The Colonel, finding that Schalch was perfectly conversant with all the principles of the foundery art, advised the people of their danger, and himself quitted the Foundery with as many persons as could be induced to believe him. When the liquid metal was poured into the moulds an explosion occurred, as Schalch had predicted, and part of the roof was blown off. Many of the spectators were injured and the workmen burnt. Colonel Armstrong afterwards interviewed Schalch, and charged him with instructions from the Government to choose a suitable place within twelve miles of the metropolis, to which the Royal Foundery should be removed. He fixed upon the rabbit-warren at Woolwich as suitable for his purpose. He was put in charge of the erection of works, and was afterwards appointed Master Founder to the Board of Ordnance. This historic explosion provided Methodism with its own first home in London, and led to the establishment of Woolwich Arsenal.

[1] It is a significant fact that the Diary closes on Saturday, Nov. 10. The following day, according to Whitehead, who quotes from Wesley's unpublished Journal, the first service at the Foundery was held: 'Nov. 11, *Sun.*—I preached . . . at five in the evening to seven or eight thousand, in the place which had been the King's Foundery for cannon' (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 125). The Diary, having failed us at this critical point, when its assistance was most of all needed, does not resume until June 1, 1740. This means that a volume of the Diary has disappeared from the original collection. The fact that Whitehead alone of all the biographers has the special information which the Diary probably contained raises the presumption that in all probability the little volume fell into his hands, and was never restored to its proper place in the collection. In one or two instances diaries were given to private friends.

The next evening I showed what it is to believe, as well as, more largely, what are the fruits of true believing, from those words of the apostle, 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.'

Thur. 15.—My brother and I set out for Tiverton.[1] About eleven I preached at Burford. On *Saturday* evening I explained, at Bristol, the nature and extent of Christian perfection; and at nine in the morning preached at Bath on 'I know that in me dwelleth no good thing.'

In the afternoon I exhorted four or five thousand people at Bristol neither to neglect nor rest in the means of grace. In the evening I endeavoured to lift up the hands that hung down by declaring, 'He will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax.'

Mon. 19.—I earnestly exhorted those who had believed to beware of two opposite extremes—the one, the thinking while they were in light and joy, that the work was ended when it was but just begun; the other, the thinking when they were in heaviness, that it was not begun because they found it was not ended.

At eight I exhorted the society to wait upon God in all His ordinances; and in so doing to be still, and suffer God to carry on His whole work in their souls. In that hour He was pleased to restore His light to many that sat in darkness, two of whom, till then, thought He had quite 'cast out their prayer, and turned His mercy from them.'

Tues. 20.—We set out, and on *Wednesday* the 21st, in the afternoon, came to Tiverton. My poor sister[2] was sorrowing almost as one without hope. Yet we could not but rejoice at hearing from one who had attended my brother in all his weakness that, several days before he went hence, God had given him a calm and full assurance of his interest in Christ. Oh may every one who opposes it be thus convinced that this doctrine is of God!

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[1] This journey was occasioned by the sudden death of their eldest brother, Samuel Wesley, head master of Blundell's School, Tiverton. He died Nov. 5, after four hours' illness. Stevenson (*Wesley Family*, p. 250) gives the letter from Mr. Amos Matthews, of Tiverton, addressed to Charles Wesley, which had conveyed the news. It was published in the *Life* prefixed to S. Wesley's *Poems*. Since May of this year letters of criticism and defence of the 'new' experimental preaching had been passing between Samuel and John Wesley. (See *Priestley Letters*; *Works*, vol. xii.) Samuel was candid, perhaps convinced, and died with 'the assurance.'

[2] Ursula Wesley, daughter of John Berry, M.A., vicar of Wotton, 1691–1730. Only one of her children was living at the time of her husband's death, a daughter aged twelve, who lived to marry a Mr. Earle, of Barnstaple. Mrs. Samuel Wesley died in the third year of her widowhood, outlived by her mother, Mrs. Berry. In the cloisters at Westminster Abbey there is a plain stone recording the death of infant children of

Sat. 24.—We accepted an invitation to Exeter from one who came thence to comfort my sister in her affliction. And on *Sunday* the 25th (Mr. D.[1] having desired the pulpit, which was readily granted both for the morning and afternoon), I preached at St. Mary's, on 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' Dr. W——[2] told me after sermon, 'Sir, you must not preach in the afternoon.' 'Not,' said he, 'that you preach any false doctrine. I allow all that you have said is true. And it is the doctrine of the Church of England. But it is not guarded. It is dangerous. It may lead people into enthusiasm or despair.'

I did not readily see where the stress of this objection (so frequently started) lay. But upon a little reflection, I saw it plain. The real state of the case is this: religion is commonly thought to consist of three things—harmlessness, using the means of grace, and doing good, as it is called; that is, helping our neighbours, chiefly by giving alms. Accordingly, by a religious man is commonly meant one that is honest, just, and fair in his dealings; that is constantly at church and sacrament; and that gives much alms, or (as it is usually termed) does much good.

Now, in explaining those words of the Apostle, 'The kingdom of God' (or true religion, the consequence of God's dwelling and reigning in the soul) 'is not meat and drink,' I was necessarily led to show that religion does not properly

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Samuel and Ursula Wesley. It was discovered by Dean Stanley, and the inscription was cut by his orders. The stone is carefully preserved. For the virtues of Ursula see 'A Character' in S. Wesley's *Poems*; and for Samuel himself see the Preface.

[1] Is 'Mr. D.' the 'one' who invited them to Exeter? J. Wesley Thomas, in a series of papers on Exeter Methodism (*W.M. Mag.*, 1871), suggests Mr. Dunscombe, afterwards a zealous outdoor preacher, and later a Quaker. In *Meth. Mag.* 1797 (Supp.) there is a long and interesting letter to Wesley (dated Dec. 25, 1739), from a Mr. Lawford Godfrey, a Quaker of Exeter, who had evidently heard Wesley's sermon on this occasion.

[2] Either J. Walker or Robert Wight (or Wright), rector of St. Mary Arches.

consist in any or all of these three things; but that a man might both be harmless, use the means of grace, and do much good, and yet have no true religion at all. And sure it is, had God then impressed this great truth on any who before was ignorant of it, that impression would have occasioned such heaviness in his soul as the world always terms despair.

Again, in explaining those words, 'The kingdom of God' (or true religion) 'is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,' I insisted that every follower of Christ ought to expect and pray for that 'peace of God which passeth all understanding,' that 'rejoicing in hope of the glory of God,' which is even now 'unspeakable and full of glory'; and above all (as being the very life and soul of religion, without which it is all dead show), 'the love of God shed abroad in' his 'heart by the Holy Ghost given unto him.' But all this is 'enthusiasm from end to end' to those who have the form of godliness but not the power.

I know, indeed, there is a way of explaining these texts so that they shall mean just nothing; so that they shall express far less of inward religion than the writings of Plato or Hierocles. and whoever 'guards' them thus (but God forbid I should do it) will undoubtedly avoid all danger of either driving people into this despair or leading them into this enthusiasm.

Tues. 27.—I writ Mr. D. (according to his request) a short account of what had been done in Kingswood, and of our present undertaking there. The account was as follows:

> Few persons have lived long in the West of England who have not heard of the colliers of Kingswood: a people famous, from the beginning hitherto, for neither fearing God nor regarding man; so ignorant of the things of God that they seemed but one remove from the beasts that perish; and therefore utterly without desire of instruction, as well as without the means of it.
>
> Many last winter used tauntingly to say of Mr. Whitefield, 'If he will convert heathens, why does not he go to the colliers of Kingswood?' In spring he did so. And as there were thousands who resorted to no place of public worship, he went after them into their own wilderness, 'to seek and save that which was lost.' When he was called away, others went into 'the highways and hedges, to compel them to come in.' And, by the grace of God, their labour was not in vain. The scene is already changed. Kingswood does not now, as

a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naturally lead thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamour and bitterness, of wrath and envyings. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of the people are mild, gentle, and easy to be entreated. They 'do not cry, neither strive,' and hardly is their 'voice heard in the streets'; or, indeed, in their own wood, unless when they are at their usual evening diversion, singing praise unto God their Saviour.

That their children, too, might know the things that make for their peace, it was some time since proposed to build a house in Kingswood; and, after many foreseen and unforeseen difficulties, in June last the foundation was laid. The ground made choice of was in the middle of the wood, between the London and Bath roads, not far from that called Two-Mile-Hill, about three measured miles from Bristol.

Here a large room was begun for the school, having four small rooms at either end for the schoolmasters (and, perhaps, if it should please God, some poor children) to lodge in. Two persons are ready to teach,[1] so soon as the house is fit to receive them, the shell of which is nearly finished; so that it is hoped the whole will be completed in spring, or early in the summer. [It is proposed, in the usual hours of the day, to teach chiefly the poorer children to read, write, and cast accounts; but more especially (by God's assistance) to 'know God, and Jesus Christ, whom He hath sent.' The older people, being not so proper to be mixed with children (for we expect scholars of all ages, some of them grey-headed) will be taught in the inner rooms, either early in the morning, or late at night, so that their work may not be hindered).][2]

It is true, although the masters require no pay, yet this undertaking is attended with great expense. But let Him that 'feedeth the young ravens' see to that. He hath the hearts of all men in His hand. If He put it into your heart, or into that of any of your friends, to assist in bringing this His work to perfection, in this world look for no recompense; but it shall be remembered in that day when our Lord shall say, 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these My brethren, ye did it unto Me.'

Wed. 28.—We left Tiverton, and the next day reached

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[1] Robert Ramsey and Gwillam Snowde (see pp. 334-6 and 521).

[2] Thomas Marriott, who sends this omitted paragraph to the *W.M. Mag.* 1843, p. 206, says: 'The letter [to Mr. Thomas Price, of Cardiff, and dated Bristol, Dec. 6, 1739] is begun and finished by Mr. Wesley; but that part which is transcribed from [? in] his Journal, is in the handwriting of Mr. Purdy,' &c. For an account of Purdy, see Wesley's *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 139; also Moravian *Messenger*, March 29, 1906, p. 79.

Bristol. On *Friday* many of us joined in prayer for one that was grievously tormented. She raged more and more for about two hours, and then our Lord gave her rest.

Five were in the same agony in the evening. I ordered them to be removed to the door, that their cries might neither drown my voice nor interrupt the attention of the congregation. But after sermon they were brought into the room again, where a few of us continued in prayer to God (being determined not to go till we had an answer of peace) till nine the next morning. Before that time three of them sang praise to God; and the others were eased, though not set at liberty.

DEC. 4, *Tues.*—I was violently attacked by some who were exceeding angry at those who cried out so; 'being sure,' they said, 'it was all a cheat, and that any one might help crying out, if he would.' J[oseph] Bl[ack][1] was one of those who were sure of this. About eight the next morning, while he was alone in his chamber, at private prayer, so horrible a dread overwhelmed him that he began crying out with all his might. All the family was alarmed. Several of them came running up into his chamber; but he cried out so much the more, till his breath was utterly spent. God then rebuked the adversary; and he is now less wise in his own conceit.

Thur. 6.—I left Bristol, and (after preaching at Malmesbury and Burford in the way) on *Saturday* the 8th came into my old room at Oxford, from which I went to Georgia.[2] Here, musing on the things that were past, and reflecting how many that came after me were preferred before me, I opened my Testament on those words (oh may I never let them slip!), 'What shall we say then? That the Gentiles, which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness. But Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law.'

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[1] Joseph Black. Charles Wesley writes in his Journal, Oct. 1, 1739: 'Many find power to believe, either in or soon after hearing. So it was with Joseph Black. On Friday night in bed he was taken suddenly ill; lost all his strength; lay speechless. Soon after he found the power of God overshadowed him. . . . He revived in both soul and body, and was endued with the power to apply Christ to himself in particular.'

[2] Does not this show that he retained his room at Lincoln College?

Sun. 9.—I expounded in the evening to a small but deeply serious company, 'There is one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus'; and exhorted them earnestly to go straight to Him, with all their miseries, follies, and sins.

Tues. 11.—I visited Mrs. Plat, one who, having long sought death in the error of her life, was brought back to the great Shepherd of her soul the first time my brother preached faith in Oxford. In the midst of sickness and pain, and the deepest want, she was calmly rejoicing in God. By this faith may I be thus saved! so as in the midst of heaviness, through manifold temptations, without raiment, or food, or health, or friends, to 'rejoice with joy unspeakable.'

Thur. 13.—I had some hours' conversation with a serious man, who offered many considerations to show 'that there are no unholy men on earth, and that there are no holy men; but that, in reality, all men are alike, there being no inward difference between them.'

I was at first in doubt what could lead a man of learning and sense into so wonderful an opinion. But that doubt was soon cleared. He had narrowly observed those whom the world calls good men, and could not but discern that the difference between them and the others was merely external; their tempers, their desires, their springs of action, were the same. He clearly saw, although one man was a thief, a common swearer, a drunkard, and another not; although this woman was a liar, a prostitute, a Sabbath-breaker, and the other clear of these things; yet they were both lovers of pleasure, lovers of praise, lovers of the present world. He saw self-will was the sole spring of action in both, though exerting itself in different ways; and that the love of God no more filled and ruled the heart of the one than of the other. Hence, therefore, he inferred well, 'If these persons are holy, there are none unholy upon earth: seeing thieves and prostitutes have as good a heart as these saints of the world.' And whereas some of these said, 'Nay, but we have faith; we believe in and rely on Christ,' it was easily replied, 'Yea, and such a faith in Christ, such a reliance on Him to save them in their sins, have nine in ten of all the robbers and murderers of whom ye yourselves say, "Away with them from the earth."'

In the afternoon I was informed how many wise and learned men (who cannot in terms deny it, because our Articles and Homilies are not yet repealed) *explain* justification by faith. They say: (1) Justification is twofold: the first in this life, the second at the last day. (2) Both these are by faith alone; that is, by objective faith, or by the merits of Christ, which are the object of our faith. And this, they say, is all that St. Paul and the Church mean by 'We are justified by faith only.' But they add (3) We are not justified by subjective faith alone, that is, by the faith which is in us. But works also must be added to this faith, as a joint condition both of the first and second justification.

The sense of which hard words is plainly this: God accepts us both here and hereafter only for the sake of what Christ has done and suffered for us. This alone is the *cause* of our justification. But the *condition* thereof is, not *faith alone*, but *faith and works* together.

In flat opposition to this I cannot but maintain (at least, till I have a clearer light): (1) That the justification which is spoken of by St. Paul to the Romans, and in our Articles, is *not twofold.* It is one, and no more. It is the present remission of our sins, or our first acceptance with God. (2) It is true that the merits of Christ are the *sole cause* of this our justification; but it is not true that this is all which St. Paul and our Church mean by our being justified by faith only; neither is it true that either St. Paul or the Church mean, by faith, the merits of Christ. But (3) By our being justified by faith only, both St. Paul and the Church mean that the *condition* of our justifica-is *faith alone*, and *not good works*; inasmuch as 'all works done before justification have in them the nature of sin.' Lastly, that faith which is the sole condition of justification is the faith which is in us by the grace of God. It is 'a sure trust which a man hath that Christ hath loved him and died for him.'

During my short stay here I received several unpleasing accounts of the state of things in London, a part of which I have subjoined:

Many of our sisters are shaken: J[enn]y C[hambers] says that she never had faith. Betty and Esther H[opson] are grievously torn by reasonings; the former, I am told, is going to Germany.[1] On Wednesday night there are but few come to Fetter Lane till near nine o'clock. And then, after the names are called over, they presently depart. It appears plain our brethren here have neither wisdom enough to guide nor prudence enough to let it alone.

Mr. B——n[2] expounds much, and speaks so slightingly of the means of grace that many are much grieved to hear him; but others are greatly delighted with him. Ten or fourteen of them meet at our Brother Clarke's[3] with Mr. Molther, and seem to consult about things as if they were the whole body. These make a mere jest of going to church or to the sacrament. They have much confounded some of our sisters, and many of our brothers are much grieved.

In another letter, which I received a few days after this, were these words:

Dec. 14, 1739.

This day I was told, by one that does not belong to the bands, that the society would be divided. I believe Brother Hutton, Clarke, Edmonds, and Bray are determined to go on according to Mr. Molther's directions, and to *raise a church*,[4] as they term it; and I suppose above half our brethren are on their side. But they are so very confused, they do not know how to go on; yet are unwilling to be taught, except by the Moravians.

We long to see you; nay, even those would be glad to see you who will not be directed by you. I believe, indeed, things would be much better if you would come to town.

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[1] 'Jane Chambers, seamstress, born in Edinburgh, May 26, 1711; married Br. William Hammond, Jan. 22, 1750; went to Northampton' (Hutton's *Memoirs*, p. 95). For other names mentioned here see Diary above; Hutton's *Memoirs*, pp. 33, 95, &c.; and Charles Wesley's Journal.

[2] Perhaps Richard Brampton.

[3] Almost certainly Matthew Clarke. His signature appears with others after the letter to Count Zinzendorf, May 2, 1738. Molther professed to be shocked at the 'singing and shouting' in the Fetter Lane society, and formed a society of his own, consisting at first of ten or fifteen persons meeting in a private house.

[4] See vol. i. p. 277, note 2. Zinzendorf, Hutton, Spangenberg, and others earnestly wished to see an English Moravian Church organized, but Zinzendorf was acute enough to perceive that if this could be done without any breach with the English Church or the Religious Societies or the Oxford Methodists it would be an advantage. There is no reason to believe that he had abandoned his ideal of a Moravian Church, in fellowship with the Lutheran Church in Germany, and, in England, with the Established Church. On the other hand, the Wesleys must have seen clearly that a fanaticism like Molther's 'stillness,' if adopted by the Religious Societies of London, would effectually cut them off from the English Church. They deprecated the setting up of a new Church.

Wed. 19.—I accordingly came to London, though with a heavy heart. Here I found every day the dreadful effects of our brethren's reasoning and disputing with each other. Scarce one in ten retained his first love; and most of the rest were in the utmost confusion, biting and devouring one another. I pray God ye be not consumed one of another.

Mon. 24.—After spending part of the night at Fetter Lane, I went to a smaller company, where also we exhorted one another with hymns and spiritual songs, and poured out our hearts to God in prayer. Toward morning one of them was overwhelmed with joy and love, and could not help showing it by strong cries and tears. At this another was much displeased, saying it was only nature, imagination, and animal spirits. O Thou jealous God, lay not this sin to her charge! And let us not be wise above what is written.

Sun. 30.—One came to me by whom I used to profit much. But her conversation was now too high for me. It was far above out of my sight. My soul is sick of this sublime divinity. Let *me* think and speak as a little child! Let *my* religion be plain, artless, simple! Meekness, temperance, patience, faith, and love, be these *my* highest gifts; and let the highest words wherein I teach them be those I learn from the book of God!

Mon. 31.—I had a long and particular conversation with Mr. Molther himself. I weighed all his words with the utmost care; desired him to explain what I did not understand; asked him again and again, 'Do I not mistake what you say? Is this your meaning, or is it not?' So that I think, if God has given me any measure of understanding I could not mistake him much.

As soon as I came home I besought God to assist me, and not suffer 'the blind to go out of the way.' I then wrote down what I conceived to be the difference between us in the following words:

As to faith, you believe:

1. There are no degrees of faith, and that no man has any degree of it before all things in him are become new, before he has the full assurance of faith, the abiding witness of the Spirit, or the clear perception that Christ dwelleth in him.

2. Accordingly you believe there is no justifying faith, or state of justification, short of this.

3. Therefore you believe our Brother Hutton, Edmonds, and others had no justifying faith before they saw you.

4. And, in general, that that gift of God which many received since Peter Böhler came into England—viz. 'a sure confidence of the love of God to them'—was not justifying faith.

5. And that the joy and love attending it were from animal spirits, from nature, or imagination; not 'joy in the Holy Ghost,' and the real 'love of God shed abroad in their hearts.'

Whereas I believe:

1. There are degrees in faith, and that a man may have some degree of it before all things in him are become new—before he has the full assurance of faith, the abiding witness of the Spirit, or the clear perception that Christ dwelleth in him.

2. Accordingly, I believe there is a degree of justifying faith (and consequently a state of justification) short of, and commonly antecedent to, this.

3. And I believe our Brother Hutton, with many others, had justifying faith long before they saw you.

4. And, in general, that the gift of God which many received since Peter Böhler came into England—viz. 'a sure confidence of the love of God to them'—was justifying faith.

5. And that the joy and love attending it were not from animal spirits, from nature, or imagination; but a measure of 'joy in the Holy Ghost,' and of 'the love of God shed abroad in their hearts.'

As to the way to faith, you believe:

That the way to attain it is to wait for Christ, and be still—that is,

Not to use (what we term) the means of grace;

Not to go to church;

Not to communicate;

Not to fast;

Not to use so much private prayer;

Not to read the Scripture;

(Because you believe these are not means of grace; that is, do not ordinarily convey God's grace to unbelievers; and

That it is impossible for a man to use them without trusting in them);

Not to do temporal good;

Nor to attempt doing spiritual good.

(Because, you believe, no fruit of the Spirit is given by those who have it not themselves;

And that those who have not faith are utterly blind, and therefore unable to guide other souls.)

Whereas I believe:

The way to attain it is to wait for Christ and be still;

In using all the means of grace.

Therefore I believe it right for him who knows he has not faith (that is, that conquering faith),[1]

To go to church;

To communicate;

To fast;

To use as much private prayer as he can, and

To read the Scripture.

(Because I believe these are 'means of grace'; that is, do ordinarily convey God's grace to unbelievers; and

That it is possible for a man to use them, without trusting in them.)

To do all the temporal good he can;

And to endeavour after doing spiritual good.

(Because I know many fruits of the Spirit are given by those who have them not themselves;

And that those who have not faith, or but in the lowest degree, may have more light from God, more wisdom for the guiding of other souls, than many that are strong in faith.)

As to the manner of propagating the faith, you believe (as I have also heard others affirm):

That we may, on some accounts, use guile:

By saying what we know will deceive the hearers, or lead them to think the thing which is not.

By describing things a little beyond the truth, in order to their coming up to it.

By speaking as if we meant what we do not.

But I believe:

That we may not 'use guile' on any account whatsoever;

That we may not, on any account, say what we know will, and design should, deceive the hearers;

That we may not describe things one jot beyond the truth, whether they come up to it or no; and,

That we may not speak, on any pretence, as if we meant what indeed we do not.

Lastly, as to the fruits of your thus propagating the faith in England, you believe:

Much good has been done by it;

Many unsettled from a false foundation;

Many brought into true stillness, in order to their coming to the true foundation;

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[1] See vol. i. p. 465.

Some grounded thereon who were wrong before, but are right now.

On the contrary, I believe that very little good, but much hurt, has been done by it:

Many who were beginning to build holiness and good works on the true foundation of faith in Jesus, being now wholly unsettled and lost in vain reasonings and doubtful disputations;

Many others being brought into a false, unscriptural stillness; so that they are not likely to come to any true foundation;

And many being grounded on a faith which is without works; so that they who were right before are wrong now.

1740. JAN. 1, *Tues.*—I endeavoured to explain to our brethren the true, Christian, scriptural stillness, by largely unfolding those solemn words, 'Be still, and know that I am God.'

Wed. 2.—I earnestly besought them all to 'stand in the old paths,' and no longer to subvert one another's souls by idle controversies and strife of words. They all seemed convinced. We then cried to God to heal all our backslidings; and He sent forth such a spirit of peace and love as we had not known for many months before.

Thur. 3.—I left London, and the next evening came to Oxford, where I spent the two following days in looking over the letters which I had received for the sixteen or eighteen years last past. How few traces of inward religion are here! I found but one among all my correspondents who declared (what, I well remember, at that time I knew not how to understand) that God had 'shed abroad His love in his heart,' and given him the 'peace that passeth all understanding.' But who believed his report? Should I conceal a sad truth, or declare it for the profit of others? He was expelled out of his society as a madman[1]; and, being disowned by his friends, and despised and forsaken of all men, lived obscure and unknown for a few months, and then went to Him whom his soul loved.

Mon. 7.—I left Oxford. In the evening I preached at Burford; the next evening at Malmesbury.

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[1] Is this the Fellow of Lincoln whom John Wesley mentions in a letter to his mother, Aug. 17, 1733?

The thing that gives offence here is the being singular with regard to time, expense, and company. This is evident beyond exception, from the case of Mr. Smith, one of our Fellows, who no sooner began to husband his time, to retrench unnecessary expenses, and to avoid his irreligious acquaintances, but he was set upon, by not only all those acquaintances, but many others too, as if he had entered into a conspiracy to cut all their throats. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 14.)

Wed. 9.—I once more described the 'exceeding great and precious promises' at Bristol.

Sat. 12.—I explained the former part of Hebrews vi., and many were 'renewed again to repentance.'

Sun. 13.—While the sacrament was administering at the house of a person that was sick in Kingswood, a woman, who had been before much tempted of the devil, sunk down as dead. One could not perceive, by any motion of her breast, that she breathed, and her pulse was hardly discernible. A strange sort of dissimulation this! I would wish those who think it so only to stop their own breath one hour, and I will then subscribe to their opinion.

Mon. 14.—I began expounding the Scriptures in order at the New Room at six in the morning; by which means many more attend the college[1] prayers (which immediately follow) than ever before. In the afternoon I preached at Downend, four miles from Bristol, on 'God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in His Son'; and on *Tuesday* the 15th, at Siston, five miles from Bristol, on 'the blood' which 'cleanseth us from all sin.' After preaching I visited a young man dangerously ill, who a day or two after cried out aloud, 'Lord Jesus, Thou knowest that I love Thee! And I have Thee, and will never let Thee go'; and died immediately.

Thur. 17.—I preached at Kendalshire,[2] six miles from Bristol, on 'Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin.'

Sun. 20.—My heart was enlarged at Kingswood in declaring 'Ye are saved through faith.' And the woman who had been so torn of the devil last week was now made partaker of this salvation; being above measure filled with the love of God, and with all peace and joy in believing.

Mon. 21.—I preached at Hanham, four miles from Bristol.

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[1] i.e. the Cathedral on College Green.

[2] Kendalshire was known to very few persons in Bristol. It is a small cluster of cottages, down a lane which turns off from the high road from Bristol to Yate, at a point nearly opposite to the turning leading down the hollow to Winterburn, six miles from Bristol, as Wesley says. Tradition has attached itself to Miss Flook's house, the older part of which is plainly older than Wesley's time, and in which Methodist preaching has been sustained until very recent days. A venerable, heavily-built preaching-desk, known as 'Wesley's,' is still preserved there. Cennick preached at Kendalshire (letter to Wesley, Bristol, Sept. 10, 1739). Wesley preached there again on Sept. 8, 1784, 'where,' he writes, 'I do not remember to have preached for near forty years.'

In the evening I made a collection in our congregation for the relief of the poor, without Lawford's Gate[1]; who having no work (because of the severe frost),[2] and no assistance from the parish wherein they lived, were reduced to the last extremity. I made another collection on *Thursday*, and a third on *Sunday*; by which we were enabled to feed a hundred, sometimes a hundred and fifty a day, of those whom we found to need it most.

Tues. 22.—I preached at Bridge Gate, six miles from Bristol; and *Thursday* the 24th at Westerleigh, eight miles from thence. In the evening, at the New Room, I expounded Exodus xiv. And we found that God's arm is not shortened, and rejoiced before Him with reverence. I was a little surprised, in going out of the room, at one who catched hold of me, and said abruptly, 'I must speak with you, and will. I have sinned against light and against love. I have sinned beyond forgiveness. I have been cursing you in my heart, and blaspheming God ever since I came here. I am damned; I know it; I feel it; I am in hell; I have hell in my heart.' I desired two or three, who had confidence in God, to join in crying to Him on her behalf. Immediately that horrid dread was taken away, and she began to see some dawnings of hope.

Fri. 25.[3]—Another was with me, who, after having tasted the heavenly gift, was fallen into the depth of despair. But it was not long before God heard the prayer, and restored to her the light of His countenance.

One came to me in the evening to know if a man could not be saved without the faith of assurance. I answered: '(1) I cannot approve of your terms, because they are not scriptural. I find no such phrase as either "faith of assurance" or "faith of adherence" in the Bible. Besides, you speak as if there were two faiths in one Lord. Whereas, St. Paul tells us there is but one faith in one Lord. (2) By "Ye are saved by faith," I understand, ye are saved from your inward and outward sins. (3) I never yet knew one soul thus saved without what you call "the faith of assurance"; I mean a sure confidence that, by the merits of Christ, he was reconciled to the favour of God.'

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[1] The Poorhouse ('without Lawford's Gate,' in part still standing in Pennywell Road) was a frequent Saturday morning preaching-place of Whitefield and the Wesleys.

[2] *Gent's Mag.* 1740, vol. i. p. 35.

[3] On this day Wesley received a singularly affectionate letter from James Hutton (see article on 'Wesley and the Moravians' in *Wesley Studies*, p. 95).

Sat. 26.—I was strongly convinced that if we asked of God, He would give light to all those that were in darkness. About noon we had a proof of it: one that was weary and heavy-laden, upon prayer made for her, soon finding rest to her soul. In the afternoon we had a second proof—another mourner being speedily comforted. M[oll]y D[eaco]n was a third, who about five o'clock began again to rejoice in God her Saviour; as did M——y H——y,[1] about the same hour, after a long night of doubts and fears.

Thur. 31.—I went to one in Kingswood who was dangerously ill; as was supposed, past recovery. But she was strong in the Lord, longing to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Some of her words were, 'I was long striving to come to my Saviour, and I then thought He was afar off; but now I know He was nigh me all that time: I know His arms were round me; for His arms are like the rainbow, they go round heaven and earth.'

I had now determined, if it should please God, to spend some time in Bristol. But, quite contrary to my expectation, I was called away in a manner I could not resist. A young man [2] who had no thoughts of religion had come to Bristol a few months before. One of his acquaintance brought him to me; he approved of what he heard, and for a while behaved well; but soon after his seriousness wore off; he returned to London, and fell in with his old acquaintance: by some of these he was induced to commit a robbery on the highway, for which he was apprehended, tried, and condemned. He had now a strong desire to speak with me, and some of his words (in a letter to his friend) were, 'I adjure him, by the living God, that he come and see me before I go hence.'

FEB. 1, *Fri.*—I set out, and on *Sunday* the 3rd, declared the grace of God at Newbury, from those words of the prophet,

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[1] Probably Mary Hanney, mentioned by Charles Wesley in his Journal, Sept. 28, 1739.

[2] Gwillam Snowde (see also Feb. 12, 1740, Jan. 11, 1742) was placed with Robert Ramsey as teacher at the school at Kingswood. They left three or four months later, and returned to London.

'I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely.' And though the church was full of (chiefly) genteel, well-dressed people, they behaved as if they knew God was there.

Mon. 4.—I came to Reading, and met with a few still hungering and thirsting after righteousness. A few more I found at Windsor in the evening. The next afternoon I reached London.

Wed. 6.—I went to the poor young man who lay under sentence of death. Of a truth God has begun a good work in his soul. Oh may it be brought to perfection!

I think it was the next time I was there that the Ordinary of Newgate came to me, and with much vehemence told me he was sorry I should turn Dissenter from the Church of England. I told him if it was so I did not know it, at which he seemed a little surprised, and offered at something by way of proof, but which needed not a reply.

Our twentieth Article defines a true Church, 'a congregation of faithful people, wherein the true word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered.' According to this account the Church of England is that body of faithful people (or holy believers) in England among whom the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered. Who, then, are the worst Dissenters from this Church? (1) Unholy men of all kinds; swearers, Sabbath-breakers, drunkards, fighters, whoremongers, liars, revilers, evil-speakers; the passionate, the gay, the lovers of money, the lovers of dress or of praise, the lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God: all these are Dissenters of the highest sort, continually striking at the root of the Church, and themselves in truth belonging to no Church, but to the synagogue of Satan. (2) Men unsound in the faith; those who deny the Scriptures of truth, those who deny the Lord that bought them, those who deny justification by faith alone, or the present salvation which is by faith: these also are Dissenters of a very high kind; for they likewise strike at the foundation, and, were their principles universally to obtain, there could be no true Church upon earth. Lastly, those who unduly administer the sacraments; who (to instance but in one point) administer the Lord's Supper to such as have neither the power nor the form of godliness. These, too, are gross Dissenters from the Church of England, and should not cast the first stone at others.

Tues. 12.—The young man who was to die the next day gave me a paper, part of which was as follows:

> As I am to answer to the God of justice and truth, before whom I am to appear naked to-morrow,
>
> I came to Bristol with a design to go abroad, either as a surgeon or in any other capacity that was suiting. It was there that I unfortunately saw Mr. Ramsey. He told me, after one or two interviews, that he was in the service of Mr. John Wesley, and that he would introduce me to him; which he did. I cannot but say I was always fond of the doctrine that I heard from him; however, unhappily I consented with Mr. Ramsey, and I believe between us we might take more than thirty pounds out of the money collected for building the school in Kingswood.
>
> I acknowledge the justice of God in overtaking me for my sacrilege in taking that money which was devoted to God. But He, I trust, has forgiven me this and all my sins, washing them away in the blood of the Lamb. GWILLAM SNOWDE.
>
> *February* 12, 1740.

I knew not in the morning whether to rejoice or grieve when they informed me he was reprieved for six weeks, and afterwards that he was ordered for transportation. But known unto God are all His works!

Wed. 20.—I explained at Deptford the nature of Christian faith and salvation. Many seemed to receive the word with joy. Others complained, 'Thou bringest strange things to our ears'; though some of them had not patience to hear what this new doctrine was.

Thur. 21.—I had a long conference with those whom I esteem very highly in love. But I could not yet understand them on one point—Christian openness and plainness of speech. They pleaded for such a reservedness and closeness of conversation as I could in no wise reconcile with St. Paul's direction, 'By manifestation of the truth' to commend 'ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.' Yet I scarce knew what to think, considering they had the practice of their whole Church on their side, till I opened my Testament on these words: 'What is that to thee? Follow thou Me.'

Tues. 26.—Complaint was made again (as indeed had been done before, and that not once or twice only), that many of our brethren, not content with leaving off the ordinances of God themselves, were continually troubling those that did not, and disputing with them, whether they would or no. The same complaint was made the next night also, at the meeting of the society. I then plainly set before them the things they had done, expostulated the case with them, and earnestly besought them not to trouble or perplex the minds of their brethren any more; but at least to excuse those who still waited for God in the ways of His own appointment.[1]

MARCH 1, *Sat.*—Many that were in heaviness being met together, we cried to God to comfort their souls. One of these soon found that God heareth the prayer. She had before been under the physician's hands; her relations taking it for granted she was 'beside herself.' But the Great Physician alone knew how to heal her sickness.

Mon. 3.—I rode by Windsor to Reading, where I had left two or three full of peace and love. But I now found some from London had been here, grievously troubling these souls also; labouring to persuade them (1) that they had no faith at all, because they sometimes felt doubt or fear; and (2) that they ought to be still; not to go to church, not to communicate, not to search the Scriptures: 'because,' say they, 'you cannot do any of these things without trusting in them.'[2]

After confirming their souls we left Reading, and on *Wednes-*

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[1] The dispute which led to the division between the Wesleys and the Moravians has little interest now except as an illustration of the great results which may follow from causes that seem to us almost infinitesimal. Molther's doctrine of 'Stillness' was at the root of the dispute. It was an example of fanatical misinterpretation of a few scripture texts, promulgated amongst simple-minded people by a fervent enthusiast who came to them, endorsed by Zinzendorf's great name and all the associations of Halle and Herrnhut. If the Wesleys refused to be moved from their doctrinal steadfastness, it was largely because they had been brought up in the doctrine of the Articles, Homilies, and Formularies of the Church of England; and also because they had learned to apply principles of sound reasoning to their exposition of Holy Scripture.

For the Moravian version of these transactions and disputes see *Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp. 47, 53-5, &c. On April 12, 1740, Wesley writes [Fetter Lane Archives] to James Hutton: 'Dear Jemmy . . . suffer people to use the means of grace. If this caution is needless I shall rejoice.' See also Charles Wesley's Journal, April 20 and following days.

[2] James Wood must be in error when he makes Matthew Errington's conversion date from a sermon of Wesley's at the Foundery on March 4, 1740. (*Arm. Mag.* 1789, p. 22.) He cites it as a national fast-day.

day the 5th came to Bristol. It was easy to observe here in how different a manner God works now from what He did last spring. He then poured along like a rapid flood, overwhelming all before Him. Whereas now—

He deigns His influence to infuse,
Secret, refreshing as the silent dews.[1]

Convictions sink deeper and deeper. Love and joy are more calm, even, and steady. And God, in many, is laying the axe to the root of the tree, who can have no rest in their spirits till they are fully renewed in the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness.

Wed. 12.—I found a little time (having been much importuned) to spend with the soldier in Bridewell who was under sentence of death. This I continued to do once a day, whereby there was also an opportunity of declaring the gospel of peace to several desolate ones that were confined in the same place.

Tues. 18.[2]—In the evening, just after I had explained, as they came in course, those comfortable words of God to St. Paul, 'Be not afraid; but speak, and hold not thy peace: for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee; for I have much people in this city,' a person spoke aloud in the middle of the room, 'Sir, I am come to give you notice that, at the next Quarter Sessions, you will be prosecuted for holding a seditious conventicle.'

Tues. 25.[3]—The morning exposition began at five, as I hope it will always for the time to come.

Thur. 27.—I had an interview with Joseph Chandler, a young Quaker, who had sometimes spoke in their meeting, with whom I had never exchanged a word before; as indeed I knew him not either by face or name. But some had been at the pains of carrying him, as from me, a formal challenge to dispute; and had afterwards told him that I had declared, in the open society, I challenged Joseph Chandler to dispute; and he promised to come, but broke his word. Joseph immediately sent to know, from my own mouth, if these things were so. If those who probably count themselves better Christians had but done like this honest Quaker, how many idle tales, which they now potently believe, would, like this, have vanished into air!

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[1] See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 112.

[2] Writing to Zinzendorf, March 13, 1740, Hutton says: 'J. W. and C. W., both of them, are dangerous snares to young women; several are in love with them. I wish they were once married to some good sisters, but I would not give them one of my sisters if I had many' (*Life*, p. 47).

[3] On the 25th Wesley wrote to Whitefield a letter which must have been delayed in delivery, for Whitefield's answer to it is dated Sept. 26, and he had in the meantime written three other letters to Wesley.

Fri. 28.—From these words, 'Then was Jesus led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil,' I took occasion to describe that wilderness state, that state of doubts, and fears, and strong temptation, which so many go through, though in different degrees, after they have received remission of sins.

Sat. 29.—I spent another hour with one I had twice conversed with before; and with much the same effect. He asked wherein the doctrine I preach differed from the doctrine preached by other ministers of the Church. I told him, 'I hope not at all from that which is preached by many other ministers. But from that which is preached by some it differs thus: I preach the doctrine of the Church, and they do not.' After he had long and zealously laboured to prove that all ministers preached as I did, and there was no difference of doctrine at all, I was obliged to leave him abruptly; and should indeed have feared that my time had been spent to small purpose but for one piece of history which I then learned, viz. that he had gone to the Bishop, before his lordship left Bristol, and informed him that I said in the public congregation I had had a conference with the Bishop and twelve clergymen, and had put them all to silence. Was his lordship so informed? And could he believe even this? O Joseph Chandler, Joseph Chandler!

I think it was about this time that the soldier was executed. For some time I had visited him every day. But when the love of God was shed abroad in his heart I told him, 'Do not expect to see me any more. He who has now begun a good work in your soul will, I doubt not, preserve you to the end. But I believe Satan will separate us for a season.' Accordingly, the next day, I was informed that the commanding officer had given strict orders, neither Mr. Wesley nor any of his people should be admitted, for they were all atheists. But did that man die like an atheist? Let my last end be like his![1]

APRIL 1, *Tues.*—While I was expounding the former part of the twenty-third chapter of the Acts (how wonderfully suited to the occasion! though not by my choice) the floods began to lift up their voice. Some or other of the children of Belial had laboured to disturb us several nights before; but now it seemed as if all the host of the aliens were come together with one consent. Not only the court and the alleys,[2] but all the street, upwards and downwards, was filled with people, shouting, cursing, and swearing, and ready to swallow the ground with fierceness and rage. The Mayor [Stephen Clutterbuck] sent order that they should disperse. But they set him at nought. The chief constable came next in person, who was, till then, sufficiently prejudiced against us. But they insulted him also in so gross a manner as, I believe, fully opened his eyes. At length the Mayor sent several of his officers, who took the ringleaders into custody, and did not go till all the rest were dispersed. Surely he hath been to us 'the minister of God for good.'[3]

Wed. 2.—The rioters were brought up to the Court, the Quarter Sessions being held that day. They began to excuse themselves by saying many things of me. But the Mayor cut them all short, saying, 'What Mr. Wesley is, is nothing to you. I will keep the peace: I will have no rioting in this city.'

Calling at Newgate in the afternoon, I was informed that the poor wretches[4] under sentence of death were earnestly desirous to speak with me, but that it could not be, Alderman [Michael] Beecher having just then sent an express order that they should not. I cite Alderman Beecher[1] to answer for these souls at the judgement-seat of Christ.

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[1] Shot April 1 for desertion.

[2] This 'street' was the Horsefair. From this two 'alleys,' shown in the map by John Payne, 1742, led up to the walls of the 'New Room.' One of these gave access to the Room, and is still in use; the enclosed 'court' also remains. The latter contains the original entrance to the Room and the worn stone steps leading up to the common room, with preachers' lodgings, including Wesley's rooms, on either side (see p. 196).

[3] More so than either he or Wesley at this time knew. It was before this Stephen Clutterbuck that the affidavit of Captain Robert Williams was sworn, which, being published in Charlestown, precipitated, if it did not occasion, the publication of the 'First Extract' of Wesley's Journal. See vol. i. p. 85.

[4] Benjamin Fletcher and William Lewis, executed at Gloucester, April 14 for robberies on Durdham Down, Bristol.

Thur. 3.—I went into the Room weak and faint. The scripture that came in course was, 'After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers.' I know not whether God hath been so with us from the beginning hitherto: He proclaimed, as it were, a general deliverance to the captives. The chains fell off; they arose and followed Him. The cries of desire, joy, and love were on every side. Fear, sorrow, and doubt fled away. Verily Thou hast 'sent a gracious rain upon Thine inheritance, and refreshed it when it was weary.'

On Good Friday I was much comforted by Mr. T[ucker]'s[2] sermon at All Saints, which was according to the truth of the gospel; as well as by the affectionate seriousness wherewith he delivered the holy bread to a very large congregation. May the good Lord fill him with all the life of love, and with all 'spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus'!

At five, preaching on John xix. 34, 'A soldier pierced his side, and there came forth blood and water,' I was enabled to speak strong words, both concerning the atoning blood and the living, sanctifying water. Many were deeply convinced of their want of both, and others filled with strong consolation.

Mon. 7.—At the pressing instance of Howell Harris, I again set out for Wales. In the evening I preached 'repentance and remission of sins' at Llanvaches,[3] three miles from the New Passage.

Tues. 8.—I preached at Pontypool on 'By grace ye are saved, through faith.' And in the evening at Llanhithel, three miles from thence, on 'I know that in me dwelleth no good thing.'

Wed. 9.—After reading prayers in Llanhithel church, I preached on those words, 'I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely.' In the afternoon Howell Harris told me how earnestly many had laboured to prejudice him against me; especially those who had gleaned up all the idle stories at Bristol, and retailed them in their own country. And yet these are good Christians! These whisperers, tale-bearers, backbiters, evil-speakers! Just such Christians as murderers or adulterers. 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.'

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[1] One of the Sheriffs, brother of Rev. Henry Beecher of Temple Church, who repelled Charles Wesley and the colliers from the Lord's Table on July 27 of this year.

[2] His correspondent of July 31, 1739.

[3] The mother church of the Congregationalists in Wales was here. Young's *History of Methodism in Wales*, p. 55.

In the evening I expounded, at Cardiff, the story of the Pharisee and publican.

The next day, *Thursday* the 10th, after preaching thrice, I rode to Watford,[1] five miles from Cardiff, where a few of us joined together in prayer, and in provoking one another to love and to good works.

Fri. 11.—I preached in Llantarnam church on 'By grace ye are saved through faith.' In the afternoon I preached at Penrheol, near Pontypool. A few were cut to the heart, particularly Mrs. A——d, who had some time before given me up for a Papist; Mr. E——s,[2] the curate, having averred me to be such, upon his personal knowledge, at her house in Pontypool. I afterwards called, 'O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord': and there was a shaking indeed. Three or four came to me in such mourning as I had scarcely seen; as did a poor drunkard, between eleven and twelve, who was convinced by the word spoken on Tuesday.

Sat. 12.—After preaching at Llanvaches in the way, in the afternoon I came to Bristol, and heard the melancholy news that——, one of the chief of those who came to make the disturbance on the 1st instant, had hanged himself. He was cut down, it seems, alive; but died in less than an hour. A second of them had been for some days in strong pain; and had many times sent to desire our prayers. A third came to me himself, and confessed he was hired that night, and made drunk on purpose; but when he came to the door, he knew not what was the matter, he could not stir nor open his mouth.

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[1] Watford (or Wadford) Fawr, or Plas Watford, or, as Whitefield spells the name, 'Waterford'—the residence of Mr. Thomas Price, one of Howell Harris's converts. In this house Whitefield's wedding-feast was held. Here Charles Wesley preached twice in one day, and here the Calvinistic Methodist Church was formed, Whitefield being the first Moderator. See under date Oct. 5, 1741; also C. Wesley's Journal, Nov. 15, 1740; *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 83; and an article by R. Butterworth in *W.M. Mag.* Nov. 1902.

[2] This may have been Mr. Ellis.

Mon. 14.—I was explaining the 'liberty' we have 'to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus,' when one cried out, as in an agony, 'Thou art a hypocrite, a devil, an enemy to the Church. This is false doctrine. It is not the doctrine of the Church. It is damnable doctrine. It is the doctrine of devils.' I did not perceive that any were hurt thereby; but rather strengthened, by having such an opportunity of confirming their love toward Him, and returning good for evil.

Tues. 15.—I received the following note:

> SIR,—This is to let you understand that the man which made the noise last night is named John Beon. He now goes by the name of John Darsy. He is a Romish priest. We have people enough here in Bristol that know him.

Sat. 19.—I received a letter from Mr. Simpson,[1] and another from Mr. William Oxlee,[2] informing me that our poor brethren in Fetter Lane were again in great confusion; and earnestly desiring that, if it were possible, I would come to London without delay.

Mon. 21.—I set out, and the next evening reached London.

Wed. 23.—I went to Mr. Simpson. He told me all the confusion was owing to my brother,[3] who would preach up the ordinances: 'Whereas believers,' said he, 'are not subject to ordinances; and unbelievers have nothing to do with them. They ought to be still; otherwise they will be unbelievers all the days of their life.'

After a fruitless dispute of about two hours, I returned home with a heavy heart. Mr. Molther was taken ill this day. I believe it was the hand of God that was upon him. In the evening our society met; but cold, weary, heartless, dead. I found nothing of brotherly love among them now; but a harsh, dry, heavy, stupid spirit. For two hours they looked one at another, when they looked up at all, as if one half of them was afraid of the other; yea, as if a voice was sounding in their ears, 'Take ye heed every one of his neighbour; trust ye not in any brother; for every brother will utterly supplant, and every neighbour will walk with slanders.'

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[1] One of the Oxford Methodists. Soon after being ordained he had a good living in Leicestershire. Later he sold the living and joined the Moravians. Lady Huntingdon endeavoured to win him back, for she had a high regard for him. (See Charles Wesley's Journal, April 3, 1740, and onwards; below, June 10, 1743; and the *Countess of Huntingdon's Life*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48.)

[2] One of the signatories of the letter to Zinzendorf, May 2, 1738. (Hutton *Memoirs*, p. 33.)

[3] See Charles Wesley's Journal, April 20 and following days, for a graphic account of these disputes. Later on Charles Wesley himself seemed inclined to the 'stillness' doctrine.

I think not so few as thirty persons spoke to me in these two days who had been strongly solicited: (1) To deny what God had done for their souls; to own they never had living faith. (2) To be still till they had it; to leave off all the means of grace; not to go to church; not to communicate; not to search the Scripture; not to use private prayer—at least, not so much, or not vocally, or not at any stated times.

Fri. 25.[1]—My brother and I went to Mr. Molther again, and spent two hours in conversation with him. He now also explicitly affirmed, (1) that there are *no degrees* in faith; that none has any faith who has ever any doubt or fear; and that none is justified till he has a clean heart, with the perpetual indwelling of Christ and of the Holy Ghost; and (2) that every one who has not this ought, till he has it, to be '*still*'—that is, as he explained it, not to use the ordinances, or means of grace, so called. He also expressly asserted: (1) That to those who have a clean heart the ordinances are not matter of duty. They are not commanded to use them; they are free; they may use them, or they may not. (2) That those who have not a clean heart ought not to use them (particularly not to communicate); because God neither commands nor designs they should (commanding them to none, designing them only for believers); and because they are not means of grace—there being no such thing as means of grace but Christ only.

Ten or twelve persons spoke to me this day also, and many more the day following, who had been greatly troubled by this new gospel, and thrown into the utmost heaviness; and, indeed, wherever I went, I found more and more proofs of the grievous confusion it had occasioned, many coming to me day by day who were once full of peace and love, but were now again plunged into doubts and fears and driven even to their wit's end.

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[1] On *Thursday* the 24th Wesley preached from 1 Cor. xv. 36, and afterwards spoke to the society on the ordinances, proving them to be 'both means of grace and commands of God.'

I was now utterly at a loss what course to take, finding no rest for the sole of my foot. These 'vain janglings' pursued me wherever I went, and were always sounding in my ears.

Wed. 30.—I went to my friend (that was !) Mr. St[onehouse], at Islington. But he also immediately entered upon the subject, telling me now he was fully assured that no one has any degree of faith till he is perfect as God is perfect. I asked, 'Have *you*, then, *no degree* of faith ?' He said, 'No ; for I have not a clean heart.' I turned and asked his servant, 'Esther, have you a clean heart ?' She said, 'No ; my heart is desperately wicked ; but I have no doubt or fear. I know my Saviour loves me, and I love Him ; I feel it every moment.' I then plainly told her master, 'Here is an end of your reasoning. This is the state the existence of which you deny.'

Thence I went to the little society here,[1] which had stood untainted from the beginning. But the plague was now spread to them also. One of them, who had been long full of joy in believing, now denied she had any faith at all ; and said, till she had, she would communicate no more. Another, who said she had the 'faith that overcometh the world,' added, she had not communicated for some weeks ; and it was all one to her whether she did or no, for a believer was not subject to ordinances.

In the evening one of the first things started at Fetter Lane was the question concerning the ordinances. But I entreated we might not be always disputing, but rather give ourselves unto prayer.

I endeavoured all this time, both by explaining in public those scriptures which had been misunderstood, and by private conversation, to bring back those who had been led out of the way ; and having now delivered my own soul,[2] on *Friday*, May 2, I left London ; and, lying at Hungerford that night, the next evening came to Bristol.

Sun. 4.—I preached in the morning at the school, and in the afternoon at Rose Green, on 'I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'

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[1] The society at Islington raised by James Hutton, who hired the room in which it met.

[2] 'My brother exhorted to love, but in vain.' (Charles Wesley's Journal, same date.)

Mon. 5.—I expounded those words, 'I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you,' and described the state of those who have forgiveness of sins, but have not yet a clean heart.

Wed. 7.—I prayed with a poor helpless sinner who had been 'all his lifetime subject to bondage.' But our Lord now proclaimed deliverance to the captive, and he rejoiced with joy unspeakable. All the next day his mouth was filled with praise, and on *Friday* he fell asleep.

Thur. 8.—I was greatly refreshed by conversing with several who were indeed as little children, not artful, not wise in their own eyes, not doting on controversy and 'strife of words,' but truly 'determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'

Fri. 9.—I was a little surprised at some who were buffeted of Satan in an unusual manner by such a spirit of laughter as they could in no wise resist, though it was pain and grief unto them. I could scarce have believed the account they gave me had I not known the same thing ten or eleven years ago. Part of Sunday my brother and I then used to spend in walking in the meadows and singing psalms.[1] But one day, just as we were beginning to sing, he burst out into a loud laughter. I asked him if he was distracted; and began to be very angry, and presently after to laugh as loud as he. Nor could we possibly refrain, though we were ready to tear ourselves in pieces, but we were forced to go home without singing another line.

Tues. 13.—In the evening I went to Upton,[2] a little town five or six miles from Bristol, and offered to all those who had ears to hear, 'repentance and remission of sins.' The devil knew his kingdom shook, and therefore stirred up his servants to ring bells and make all the noise they could. But my voice prevailed, so that most of those that were present heard 'the word which is able to save their souls.'

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[1] The incident occurred in the early days of the Holy Club. John and Charles Wesley were at Oxford together from the autumn of 1729 to 1730.

[2] The clergyman of Upton, the Rev. Mr. Barry, violently opposed Cennick in the following June. (Letter to John Wesley, *Meth. Mag.* suppl. 1797, p. 29.)

Wed. 14.—I visited one of our colliers, who was ill of the small-pox. His soul was full of peace, and a day or two after returned to God that gave it.

Sat. 17.—I found more and more undeniable proofs that the Christian state is a continual warfare, and that we have need every moment to 'watch and pray, lest we enter into temptation.' Outward trials indeed were now removed, and peace was in all our borders. But so much the more did inward trials abound; and 'if one member suffered, all the members suffered with it.' So strange a sympathy did I never observe before: whatever considerable temptation fell on any one, unaccountably spreading itself to the rest, so that exceeding few were able to escape it.

Sun. 18.—I endeavoured to explain those important words of St. Peter, 'Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as if some strange thing happened unto you.' *Μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένῃ*: literally, 'Marvel not at the burning in you which is for your trial.'

Wed. 21.—In the evening such a spirit of laughter was among us that many were much offended. But the attention of all was fixed on poor L[ucretia] S[mith],[1] whom we all knew to be no dissembler. One so violently and variously torn of the Evil One did I never see before. Sometimes she laughed till almost strangled; then broke out into cursing and blaspheming; then stamped and struggled with incredible strength, so that four or five could scarce hold her; then cried out, 'O eternity, eternity! Oh that I had no soul! Oh that I had never been born!' At last she faintly called on Christ to help her, and the violence of her pangs ceased.

Most of our brethren and sisters were now fully convinced that those who were under this strange temptation could not help it. Only E—th B—— and Anne H——n[2] were of another mind, being still sure any one might help laughing if she would. This they declared to many on *Thursday*; but on *Friday* the 23rd God suffered Satan to teach them better. Both of them were suddenly seized in the same manner as the rest, and laughed whether they would or no, almost without ceasing. Thus they continued for two days, a spectacle to all; and were then, upon prayer made for them, delivered in a moment.

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[1] See above, p. 180.

[2] Probably Elizabeth Brown and Anne Holton. Charles Wesley wrote to his brother (Oct. 24 (?), 1740): 'Ann Holton (once justified) is now in the false assurance of faith; living in all worldly-mindedness, passion, and reviling; "and for all that," she says, "No man shall rob her of her confidence." She will not, no, she will not receive the sentence of death, and must therefore sink with her broken reed into hell.' (R. Thursfield Smith Collection.)

Mon. 26.—S——a Ha——g,[1] after she had calmly rejoiced several days in the midst of violent pain, found at once a return of ease, and health, and strength; and arose and went to her common business.

JUNE 1, *Sun.*—I explained 'the rest which remaineth for the people of God,' in the morning at Kingswood School, and in the evening at Rose Green to six or seven thousand people. I afterwards exhorted our society (the time being come that I was to leave them for a season) to 'pray always,' that they might not faint in their minds, though they were 'wrestling not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places.'

Mon. 2.—I left Bristol,[2] and rode by Avon and Malmesbury (where I preached in the evening) to Oxford. Two or three

JUNE 1, *Sunday*

5 Walked, meditated; 6.15 tea, conversed; 6.45, Heb. iii. 18, 19; 9 at Mrs. Willis's, communion; 11.5 prayer, some ill, they well! 12.15 at Mrs. Deschamps', dinner, at home, writ, the leaders; 4 at Mr. Deschamps'; 5 at Rose Green, Heb. iii. 18, 19, 7,000! 7 united society, Eph. vi., Grace Stephens; 9 Molly Richardson, etc., visited; prayer; 11.30.

Monday 2

4 On business, prayer, singing; 6.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 6.45 set out with Bro. Purdy and Nowers; 12.15 at Avon, conversed; 1 dinner; 2 conversed to Miss Gotley; 3.30 tea, conversed; 4.30 set out with Mr., Mrs., and Miss Gotley, etc., conversed with her; 6.30 Malmsbury at Mr. Lyne's, with Mrs. Lyne, conversed; 7.30 at the Cross Hays, Heb. iii. 18, 19, 300; 8.45 at Mr. Punter's; 9 prayer; 9.15 at Mr. Lyne's, supper, conversed; 10.15 at Mr. Punter's.

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[1] Susanna Harding, mentioned by Charles Wesley, Journal, June 26, 1741, was evidently a maid servant at the house of Howell Harris's host in Bristol.

[2] 'At a meeting held at Lady Huntingdon's house, it was unanimously agreed by Mr. Ingham, Mr. Stonehouse, and others, that she should write an account of the proceedings [of the *still* Moravians] to Mr. Wesley, and urge his presence in London as speedily as possible' (*Countess of Huntingdon's Life*, vol. i. p. 36).

even here had not yet been persuaded to cast away their confidence—one of whom was still full of her first love, which she had received at the Lord's Table.

Thur. 5.—I came to London; where, finding a general temptation prevail of leaving off good works in order to an increase of faith, I began on *Friday* the 6th to expound the Epistle of St. James, the great antidote against this poison. I then went[1] to Mr. S[tonehouse] once again, to try if he could yet come to any agreement; but, oh what an interview was there! He seriously told me he was going to sell his living; only the purchaser did not seem quite willing to come up to his price. He

Tuesday 3

5 Drest, on business, tea, conversed; 6.45 set out with Mr. Canter, conversed; 8.45 Purton, ate, conversed; 9.45 set out, conversed; 1.15 Highworth, ⁀, tea; 12.15 set out; 5 Oxford, at Mrs. Fox's; 6 within, tea, slept; 7 society, Heb. iii. 18, 19, conversed to some; 9.45 at college; 10.

Wednesday 4

5 On business; 6 set out with Robson and Nowers; 8 at Bro. Gambold's; 9 conversed, tea, prayer; 11.45 Oxford, at college, sorted papers; 1.15 with Hutchins [Richard, sub-rector of Lincoln College] and Vesey; 1.30 at Viney's, Spaltzer, etc., within; 3.15 at Mr. Bully's, Gambold, Robson, etc., tea, conversed; 4.15 at Mrs. Compton's, conversed, at Mrs. Plat's, conversed! 7 at Mr. Fox's, 1 Pet. i. 11! 9 tea, within; 10.30.

Thursday 5

4 Drest, on business; 5 set out with Nowers and Purdy, conversed; 7.15 Tetsworth; 8 tea, conversed; 8.15 set out, conversed; 10.30 at Mr. Crouch's, conversed, ate; 11 Simpson came! conversed, prayer with sick woman; 11.15 set out; 1.30 Uxbridge, dinner; 2.30 set out, conversed; 5.30 at the Foundery; 6 tea, within; 6.30 Charles preached; 8.30 supper, the society, some ill; 11! [The Foundery is now his London home.]

Friday 6

5½ Drest, meditated; 6 James i. 1, etc.; 7 within, chocolate, within; 9.30 walked with H[owell] Harris, Charles, etc.; 10.15 at Mr. Stonehouse's with Molther, conversed; 2 at home, society prayer, many ill; 3 with my mother, tea, conversed; 5 Redriff [Rotherhithe], Ezek. xxxiii.; 6.30 Wapping; 7 1 Pet. iv., many ill! 8.30 at home, conversed, supper; 10.15.

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[1] With his brother Charles, Howell Harris, and J. Purdy (see Charles Wesley's Journal), where they had an interview with Molther.

would fain have proved to me the lawfulness of doing this; and in order thereto he averred roundly (1) that no honest man can officiate as a minister in the Church of England; (2) that no man can, with a good conscience, join in the prayers of the Church, 'because,' said he, 'they are all full of horrid lies.'

Mon. 9.—A woman [Jane Davis] came to me from Deptford, sent (as she said) from God. I gave her the hearing; and she spoke great words and true. But I remembered, 'Judge nothing before the time.'

Wed. 11.—I went with Mr. Ingham to Islington, purposely to talk with Mr. Molther. But they said he was so ill he

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Saturday 7

5¼ Drest, meditated; 6 James i. 7, chocolate, conversed; 8.15 Diary; 9 on business; 10 with Charles, H. Harris, and Purdy at Mrs. Ewster's; 12 conversed; 12.45 at Bro. Bell's, he not; 1 M. Cannon's, conversed; 2 at Mr. Knolton's, Telchig, etc., dinner, conversed; 3.30 at Bro. Bell's, conversed, tea; 5 at Bowes's society, 1 Pet. iv.; 6 at Bro. Bray's, conversed to him; 6.45 tea, conversed; 7.15 at home, writ; 8 the women bands, R. Robinson! prayer; 10 conversed; 10.15 ⏜.

Sunday 8

6 Drest, Diary, meditated; 7 Heb. iii. 18, 19; 8.30 chocolate, conversed; 9 meditated, prayed; 10 S. Paul's, communion, one ordained; 1.45 at home, dinner, meditated, in talk, on business; 4 meditated, writ; 5 Ezek. xxxiii. 7, the women's lovefeast, prayer, etc.; 10.30.

Monday 9

5½ Drest, in conversation; 6 James i. 7, conversed to some, chocolate; 8 writ names of society, ⏜; 11 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Wild's, dinner, conversed; 3 prayer, tea; 5.15 at home, conversed with Jane Davis; 6.30 Heb. iii. 18, 19, many ill; 8.15 the women, conversed, prayer; 10 writ to Hague, etc.; 3.30.

Tuesday 10

5¾ Drest, James i. 7, met first band; 7.30 Bro. Ingham came, conversed, tea, 8.30; 9 conversed with Bro. Ingham, etc.; 12 conversed to many; 2.30 at Mr. Garnault's, dinner; 4.30 at Mr. Harris's, tea, conversed; 6 at Mr. Crouch's, conversed; 6.30 2 Cor. v., many ill; 9 at Bro. Bowes', the leaders; 10.30 at home, ate; 10.45.

Wednesday 11

5¾ Drest, James i., with the band; 8 Ingham came, tea, within; 9.30 Islington, at Mr. Stonehouse's, Molther ill again! conversed; 11.30 at home, conversed to many; 3 at S. [S. as a rule means 'sister'] Ibbetson's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at S. Hodges, the band, tea, conversed; 7 at home, supper; 8 at our society, explained! 11.

could not be spoken to. In the evening[1] I went to Fetter Lane, and plainly told our poor, confused, shattered society wherein they had erred from the faith. It was as I feared: they could not receive my saying. However, I am clear from the blood of these men.

Fri. 13.—A great part of our society joined with us in prayer, and kept, I trust, an acceptable fast unto the Lord.

Thursday 12

5¾ Drest, James i., the band; 8 tea, conversed; 9.30 writ for society; 12 H. Harris and bro. Hall went; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mr. Watkin's, dinner; 3.45 at home, writ for society; 5.30 at S. Kennick's, tea, conversed! 6.30 at home, writ names; 8.45 society, four ill, prayer; 10.30.

Friday 13

5½ Conversed, prayer, James i., the band; 8 tea, conversed; 9 writ for society; 11.15 conversed to many; 1 many here, conversed, prayer, many ill, one well! 4.15 at Mrs. Mills', tea, conversed; 5.30 Redriff, Rom. iv. 5; 8 at home, supper, conversed; 9.15 conversed with M. Cannon and S. Jo[hn]son; 10.15.

Saturday 14

5½ Meditated, drest, James ii. 7, the band; 8 tea, on business, writ N.; 11 read letters; 1 on business; 1.30 at S. Ibbetson's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 at S. Hamilton's band, conversed, singing, tea; 4.45 at Bro. Shaw's, conversed; 6 at Mr. Pellet's, conversed; 7.30 at Mr. Exal's, tea, conversed; 8 Ezek. xxxvi.; 9.45 at home, within, 10.45.

Sunday 15

5½ Drest, tea; 6.30 Charles preached; 8.30 men and women leaders; 9 settled, ill; 9.45 S. Paul's; 12.30 at Bro. Dandy's, dinner; 2 conversed, singing; 2.30 at home, on business; 4.30 tea, conversed, 5; 7 the women bands; 9.45 at Mrs. Witham's, supper, conversed; 11.15.

Monday 16

5½ Drest; 6 James ii. 7, the band, chocolate, conversed with Ingham; 11 on business; 12 conversed to many; 2.30 at S. Vaughan's, dinner, conversed; 4.15 at the House [i.e. the Foundery], the bands, within; 5 Ezek. xxxvi.; 6.30 at Mr. Crouch's, Matt. v.; 8 at my band; 9.15 at home, conversed; 10.15.

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[1] See Charles Wesley's graphic account. He writes: 'We gathered up our wreck,—*raros nantes in gurgite vasto*: for nine out of ten were swallowed up in the dead sea of stillness. Oh why was not this done six months ago?' Charles Wesley's Journal, vol. i, p. 239.

Wed. 18.—My brother set out for Bristol. At six I preached in Marylebone Fields (much against my will, but I believed it was the will of God), 'repentance and remission of sins.' All was quiet, and the far greater part of the hearers seemed deeply attentive. Thence I went to our own society of Fetter Lane; before whom Mr. Ingham (being to leave London on the morrow) bore a noble testimony for the ordinances of God and the reality of weak faith. But the short answer was, 'You are blind, and speak of the things you know not.'

Thur. 19.—We discovered another snare of the devil. The woman of Deptford had spoke plain to Mr. Humphreys,[1] ordering him not to preach, to leave off doing good, and, in a word, to be still. We talked largely with her, and she was humbled in the dust, under a deep sense of the advantage Satan had gained over her.

Tuesday 17

5½ Meditated, James ii. 7, Journal, chocolate, writ Journal, in talk; 12 conversed to many; 1.30 dinner, conversed to many; 4 writ, conversed; 5 at B. Spring's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 visited Mrs. Ward, prayer, conversed; 7 visited Bro. Turner; 7.30 at home, the society, conversed, prayer; 10 supper, within; 11.15.

Wednesday 18

5½ Prayed, James ii. 7, Journal, chocolate, Journal, in talk; 12 conversed to some, Charles went to Bristol; 1 conversed to many, within; 3.15 at S[ister] Hodges', at Mr. Williams', tea, conversed; 4.15 at S. Timberlake's, tea, conversed; 5.15 at Mr. Keen's; 6 Mary[le]bone, Acts v. 30! 7.45 at home, supper; 8.39 society, Ingham there; 10.30 at home.

Thursday 19

5½ Prayed, drest, James ii., chocolate, Journal; 11 within, Journal; 12 conversed to many: 2 at Mr. Bowles', dinner, conversed; 4.15 at Deptford, Mrs. Davis, conversed, prayer; 5.15 at Mr. Church's, tea, conversed; 6.30 the Foundery, Eph. vi.; 8 supper, society, Mr. Acourt's, prayer, conversed; 10.45.

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[1] Joseph Humphreys. (See Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 346–7, 402.) He was employed by Wesley as a sort of Moravian lay preacher as early as 1738, and was greatly attached to him. At this time he was acting as Moravian minister at Deptford. Joseph Humphreys, 'the first lay preacher that assisted me in England' (see below, Sept. 1790). Thomas Maxfield was the first of the *Methodist* Society who so acted. Humphreys was a Moravian lay member. He afterwards joined Whitefield, Rowlands, Howell Harris, Cennick, and others in formally organizing, Jan. 5, 1743, Welsh Calvinistic Methodism. See below, p. 445.

In the evening Mr. Acourt complained that Mr. Nowers[1] had hindered his going into our society. Mr. Nowers answered, 'It was by Mr. C. Wesley's order.' 'What,' said Mr. Acourt, 'do you refuse admitting a person into your society only because he differs from you in opinion?' I answered, 'No; but what opinion do you mean?' He said, 'That of election. I hold a certain number is elected from eternity. And these must and shall be saved. And the rest of mankind must and shall be damned. And many of your society hold the same.' I replied, 'I never asked whether they hold it or no. Only let them not trouble others by disputing about it.' He said, 'Nay, but I will dispute about it.' 'What, wherever you come?' 'Yes, wherever I come.' 'Why, then, would you come among us, who you know are of another mind?' 'Because you are all wrong, and I am resolved to set you all right.' 'I fear your coming with this view would neither profit you nor us.' He concluded, 'Then I will go and tell all the world that you and your brother are false prophets. And I tell you, in one fortnight you will all be in confusion.'

Fri. 20.—I mentioned this to our society, and, without entering into the controversy, besought all of them who were weak in the faith not to 'receive one another to doubtful disputations,' but simply to follow after holiness, and the things that make for peace.

Friday 20

5½ Prayed, drest, James ii., chocolate, conversed, Mr. Wallis came; 8.45 Journal; 12 conversed to many; 1 prayer; 3 at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed; 4 at Miss Kent's, tea, conversed; 5 Redriff, John iii. 7; 7.30 Wapping, Mark iii. 8; 8 at Mrs. Burton's, supper, conversed; 9.45 at home, Diary; 10.45.

Saturday 21

5½ Drest, James iii., chocolate, Journal; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Seaton's, Mr. Mac-cune, dinner, conversed; 4 visited, communion; 5 Whitechappel, Matt. v. 2, 3, 4; 7.15 at home, supper, the women, conversed, prayer; 10.15.

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[1] Charles Wesley mentions in his Journal the conversion of Mrs. Acourt and Mrs. Nowers, April 1, 1739, and April 20, 1739. Mr. Nowers had been a member of the congregation at Herrnhaag, but had recently left them. For Mrs. Nowers see June 28, 1746, below. Edward Nowers is in John Wall's band at the Foundery in June 1745, and his wife, Margaret Nowers, in S. Lewin's band. (Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, pp. 34, 37.)

Sun. 22.—Finding there was no time to delay, without utterly destroying the cause of God, I began to execute what I had long designed—to strike at the root of the grand delusion. Accordingly, from those words of Jeremiah, 'Stand ye in the way, ask for the old paths,' I took occasion to give a plain account, both of the work which God had begun among us and of the manner wherein the enemy had sown his tares among the good seed, to this effect:[1]

After we had wandered many years in the *new path* of salvation by *faith and works*, about two years ago it pleased God to show us the *old way* of salvation by *faith only*. And many soon tasted of this salvation, 'being justified freely, having peace with God, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God,' and having His 'love shed abroad in their hearts.' These now ran the way of His commandments: they performed all their duty to God and man. They walked in all the ordinances of the Lord; and through these means, which He had appointed for that end, received daily grace to help in time of need, and went on from faith to faith.

But eight or nine months ago certain men arose, speaking contrary to the doctrines we had received. They affirmed that we were all in a wrong way still; that we had no faith at all; that faith admits of no degrees, and consequently weak faith is no faith; that none is justified till he has a clean heart, and is incapable of any doubt or fear.

They affirmed also that there is no commandment in the New Testament but 'to believe'; that no other duty lies upon us; and that when

Sunday 22

5 Prayed, tea, drest; 6.30 Jer. vi. 16; the women leaders; 10 at S. Paul's, at home, El. Ash, etc., dinner; 3 at Dr. Heylin's church; 5 Kennington, 1 Pet. i. 9; 7 at Mrs. Seaton's, tea; at the lovefeast; 10 at home, conversed; 11.15.

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[1] The sections of Journal following are expositions delivered extempore in the early morning to the society-meeting, as it was wont, in the Foundery band-room. For this duty, as we learn from the Diary, he prayed and robed. Usually he went fasting. Returning to his rooms, he drank chocolate, or tea, and at once proceeded to write, in his Journal, or in sermon form, or in a paper for use in society-meetings, the substance of the exposition that morning given. So that we have here perfect examples of those early morning expository exercises to which Wesley attached so much importance as means of building up and safeguarding the societies. These services were continued far into the next century. In a less strenuous age they gradually disappeared, being partially replaced by the 'week-night preaching-service.'

The text or chapter on which the exposition is founded is given first in the Diary. The method adopted is the one he learnt and himself used in the schools at Oxford. He is still the 'tutor,' the University 'lecturer.'

a man does believe he is not bound or obliged to do anything which is commanded there: in particular, that he is not subject to ordinances, that is (as they explained it), is not bound or obliged to pray, to communicate, to read or hear the Scriptures; but may or may not use any of these things (being in no bondage), according as he finds his heart free to it.

They farther affirmed that a believer cannot use any of these as a means of grace; that indeed there is no such thing as any means of grace, this expression having no foundation in Scripture; and that an unbeliever, or one who has not a clean heart, ought not to use them at all; ought not to pray, or search the Scriptures, or communicate, but to 'be still'—that is, leave off these 'works of the law'; and then he will surely receive faith, which, till he is still, he cannot have.

All these assertions I propose to consider. The first was, that weak faith is no faith.

By weak faith I understand: (1) That which is mixed with fear, particularly of not enduring to the end. (2) That which is mixed with doubt, whether we have not deceived ourselves, and whether our sins be indeed forgiven. (3) That which has not yet purified the heart fully, not from all its idols. And thus weak I find the faith of almost all believers to be, within a short time after they have first peace with God.

Yet that weak faith is faith appears: (1) From St. Paul: 'Him that is weak in faith, receive.' (2) From St. John, speaking of believers who were little children, as well as of young men and fathers. (3) From our Lord's own words: 'Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?' 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? I have prayed for thee (Peter), that thy faith fail thee not.' Therefore he then had faith. Yet so weak was that faith, that not only doubt and fear, but gross sin in the same night prevailed over him.

Nevertheless he was 'clean, by the word' Christ had 'spoken to him'—that is, justified; though it is plain he had not a clean heart.

Therefore, there are degrees in faith; and weak faith may yet be true faith.

Mon. 23.—I considered the second assertion, that there is but one commandment in the New Testament, viz. 'to believe';

Monday 23

5½ Prayed, Matt. v., Journal, on business; 12 conversed to some; 2.30 at Mrs. Vaughan's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at the House,[1] John xvi.; 7 at Mr. Craven's, Isa. liii. 5, 6; 8 at Mr. Dawson's, Mrs. Mills there, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.15 at home, conversed; 11.

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[1] Wesley at this time never uses the word 'chapel.' In Bristol it is 'the Room,' in Kingswood 'the School,' in London 'the House.'

that no other duty lies upon us, and that a believer is not obliged to do anything as commanded.

How gross, palpable a contradiction is this to the whole tenor of the New Testament! every part of which is full of commandments, from St. Matthew to the Revelation! But it is enough to observe: (1) That this bold affirmation is shamelessly contrary to our Lord's own words, 'Whosoever shall break one of the least of these commandments, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.' For nothing can be more evident than that He here speaks of more than one, of several commandments, which every soul, believer or not, is obliged to keep as commanded. (2) That this whole scheme is overturned from top to bottom by that other sentence of our Lord, 'When ye have done all that is commanded you, say, We have done no more than it was our duty to do.' (3) That although to do what God commands us is a believer's privilege, that does not affect the question. He does it nevertheless as his bounden duty, and as a command of God. (4) That this is the surest evidence of his believing, according to our Lord's own words, 'If ye love Me' (which cannot be unless ye believe), 'keep My commandments.' (5) That to desire to do what God commands, but not as a command, is to affect, not freedom, but independency. Such independency as St. Paul had not; for though the Son had made him free, yet was he not without law to God, but under the law to Christ: such as the holy angels have not; for they fulfil His commandments, and hearken to the voice of His words: yea, such as Christ Himself had not; for 'as the Father' had given Him 'commandment,' so He 'spake.'

Tues. 24.—The substance of my exposition in the morning, on 'Why yet are ye subject to ordinances?' was—

From hence it has been inferred that Christians are not subject to the ordinances of Christ; that believers need not, and unbelievers may not, use them; that these are not obliged, and those are not permitted, so to do; that these do not sin when they abstain from them; but those do sin when they do not abstain.

But with how little reason this has been inferred will sufficiently appear to all who consider: (1) That the ordinances here spoken of by St. Paul are evidently Jewish ordinances, such as 'Touch not,

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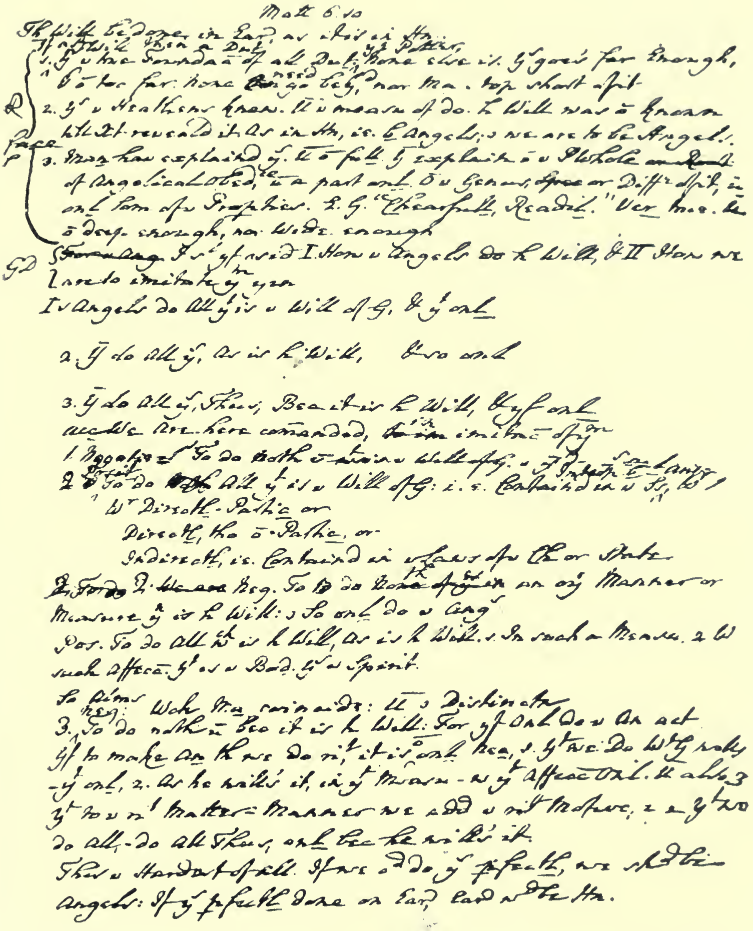
Tuesday 24

5½ Prayed, Col. ii., with the band; 8 tea, conversed, Journal; 11 conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Milbourn's, tea, conversed; 3.30 at Mr. Bray's, with Bro. Seward, within; 5 at Bro. Spring's; 6 conversed, at Mrs. ——— tea, conversed; 6.30 at home, Heb. x.; 8 supper conversed, writ to Charles; 10.30.



Matt 6.10

Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven.
[illegible] Will then a Duty
1. It is the Foundation of all Duty; None else is it. It goes far enough,
It is not too far: None need go beyond, nor may stop short of it.
2. Yet the Heathens knew the measure of doing the Will was not known
till Christ revealed it: As in Heaven, i.e. by Angels; so we are to be Angels.
3. Many have explained it. But not fully. They explain not the Whole ~~[illegible]~~
of Angelical Obedience, but a part only. Not the General, [illegible] or Diffusive spirit, in
only some of the Properties. E.G. "Cheerfully, Readily." Very true. But
not deep enough, nor Wide enough.
~~Forming~~ It is to be considered I. How the Angels do the Will, & II How we
are to imitate them [illegible]

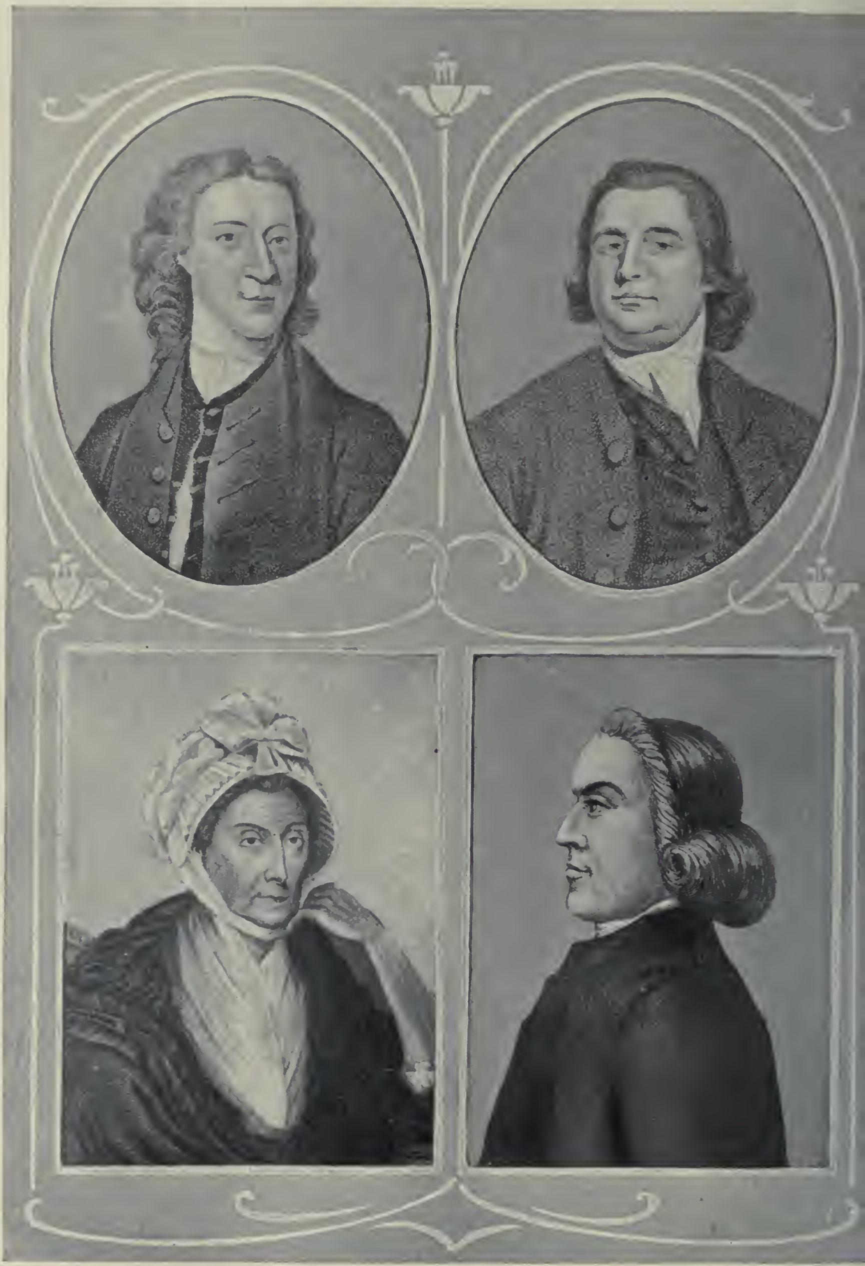
I. The Angels do All that is the Will of G. & that only

2. They do All this, As is his Will, & so only

3. They do All this, Then; Because it is his Will, & for that only
And We Are here commanded, to imitate them
1. Negatively: To do Nothing but the Divine Will of G. [illegible]
2. Positively: To do All that is the Will of G: i.e. Contained in the Scriptures, [illegible]
Whether Directly-Particularly or
Directly, tho not Particularly, or
Indirectly, i.e. Contained in the Laws of the Church or State
~~2. Forms~~ 2. ~~[illegible]~~ Neg. To do None [illegible] in any Manner or
Measure but is his Will: so only do the Angels
Pos. To do All which is his Will, As is his Will: i.e. In such a Measure & with
such Affection [illegible] Spirit.

[illegible] Distinct [illegible]
3. Neg. To do nothing but because it is his Will: For this only Does an act
[illegible] to make [illegible] we do right, it is only because [illegible] that we Do [illegible]
[illegible] only, 2. As he wills it, in the Manner [illegible] Affection [illegible]
[illegible] Matter & Manner we add the right Motive, [illegible]
do all, do all Thus, only because he wills it.
This is Hardest of all. If we could do this perfectly, we should be
Angels: If it is perfectly done on Earth, Earth would be Heaven.

FACSIMILE NOTES OF ONE OF WESLEY'S EARLY MORNING EXPOSITIONS.



1. JOHN CENNICK. 2. JOHN NELSON.
3. SELINA, LADY HUNTINGDON. 4. HOWELL HARRIS.

taste not, handle not'; and those mentioned a few verses before concerning meats and drinks, and new moons, and Sabbaths. (2) That, consequently, this has no reference to the ordinances of Christ, such as prayer, communicating, and searching the Scriptures. (3) That Christ Himself spake that 'men' ought 'always to pray'; and commands 'not to forsake the assembling ourselves together,' to search the Scriptures, and to eat bread and drink wine, in remembrance of Him. (4) That the commands of Christ oblige all who are called by His name, whether (in strictness) believers or unbelievers; seeing 'whosoever breaketh the least of these commandments shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven.'

In the evening I preached on 'Cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward.'

Ye who have known and felt your sins forgiven, cast not away your confidence, (1) though your joy shall die away, your love wax cold, and peace itself be roughly assaulted; though (2) you should find doubt or fear, or strong and uninterrupted temptation; yea, though (3) you should find a body of sin still in you, and thrusting sore at you that you might fall.

The first case may be only a fulfilling of your Lord's words, 'Yet a little while, and ye shall not see Me.' But He 'will come unto you again, and your hearts shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you.'

Your being in strong temptation, yea, though it should rise so high as to throw you into an agony, or to make you fear that God had forgotten you, is no more a proof that you are not a believer than our Lord's agony, and His crying, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' was a proof that He was not the Son of God.

Your finding sin remaining in you still is no proof that you are not a believer. Sin does remain in one that is justified, though it has not dominion over him. For he has not a clean heart at first, neither are 'all things' as yet 'become new.' But fear not, though you have an evil heart. Yet a little while, and you shall be endued with power from on high, whereby you may 'purify yourselves, even as He is pure'; and be 'holy, as He which hath called you is holy.'

Wed. 25.—From those words, 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God,' I took occasion to speak of the ordinances of God as they are means of grace.

Wednesday 25

5½ Prayed, drest, 2 Tim. iii.; 7 writ sermon, chocolate, writ to Miss Jason, sister Nancy, Mrs. Dutton, Mr. Birket, and Davidson; 12 conversed

Although this expression of our Church, 'means of grace,' be not found in the Scripture; yet, if the sense of it undeniably is, to cavil at the term is a mere strife of words.

But the sense of it is undeniably found in Scripture. For God hath in Scripture ordained prayer, reading or hearing, and the receiving the Lord's Supper, as the ordinary means of conveying His grace to man. And first, prayer. For thus saith the Lord, 'Ask, and it shall be given you. If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God.' Here God plainly ordains prayer as the means of receiving whatsoever grace we want; particularly that wisdom from above which is the chief fruit of the grace of God.

Here, likewise, God commands all to pray who desire to receive any grace from Him. Here is no restriction as to believers or unbelievers, but least of all as to believers; for such, doubtless, were most of those to whom He said, 'Ask, and it shall be given you.'

We know, indeed, that the prayer of an unbeliever is sin. Yet let him remember that which is written of one who could not then believe, for he had not so much as heard the gospel: 'Cornelius, thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God.'

Thur. 26.—I showed, concerning the Holy Scriptures: (1) That to search (that is, read and hear them) is a command of God. (2) That this command is given to all, believers or unbelievers. (3) That this is commanded or ordained as a means of grace, a means of conveying the grace of God to all, whether unbelievers (such as those to whom He first gave this command, and those to whom faith cometh by hearing) or believers, who by experience know that 'all Scripture is profitable,' or a means to this end, 'that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished to all good works.'

Fri. 27.—I preached on 'Do this in remembrance of Me.'

In the ancient Church, every one who was baptized communicated

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to many; 2 dinner; 3 walked to Deptford, at S[ister] Church's, tea, conversed; 5.30 society; 8 Heb. iv. 11; 8.15 at home, supper; 8.45 society, conversed, prayer; 10.45.

Thursday 26

5½ Prayed, John v. 39, conversed to many, tea, writ sermon, writ for society; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Garnault's, dinner, conversed; 4 visited at Mrs. Cutler's, tea, conversed; 5 at Mrs. Westry's, tea, conversed; 6.30 Mark ix.; 7 many ill; 8 supper; 8.30 society, El. Badby! conversed, prayer; 11.

daily. So in the Acts we read, they 'all continued daily in the breaking of bread, and in prayer.'

But in latter times many have affirmed that the Lord's Supper is not a converting, but a confirming ordinance.

And among us it has been diligently taught that none but those who are converted, who have received the Holy Ghost, who are believers in the full sense, ought to communicate.

But experience shows the gross falsehood of that assertion that the Lord's Supper is not a converting ordinance. Ye are the witnesses. For many now present know, the very beginning of your conversion to God (perhaps, in some, the first deep conviction) was wrought at the Lord's Supper. Now, one single instance of this kind overthrows the whole assertion.

The falsehood of the other assertion appears both from Scripture precept and example. Our Lord commanded those very men who were then unconverted, who had not yet received the Holy Ghost, who (in the full sense of the word) were not believers, to do this 'in remembrance of' Him. Here the precept is clear. And to these He delivered the elements with His own hands. Here is example equally indisputable.

Sat. 28.—I showed at large: (1) That the Lord's Supper was ordained by God to be a means of conveying to men either preventing, or justifying, or sanctifying grace, according to their several necessities. (2) That the persons for whom it was

Friday 27

5½ Prayed, Luke xxii. 19; conversed to many, writ N., tea, writ N.; 12 conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3.15 at Mr. Craven's, in talk; 4.15 at Mr. Jones's, tea, conversed: 5 Rag Fair, Eph. ii. 8; visited two, at home, Seward came, conversed; 8.15 he went, supper, conversed; 10.

Saturday 28

5½ Drest, Luke xxii. 19, conversed to some, tea; 9 writ for Bro. Nowers! 9.30 writ to Habersham, Burnside, Lindal [these, except Habersham, who was Whitefield's lay friend and helper, were old Georgia friends]; 1 Brownfield, Mrs. Fallowfield; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Hog's,[1] dinner, conversed; 4.15 New[ing]ton, at S. Bellerigd [contracted, probably, for Bellerig—d=guard]; 5 conversed to J. Bourn; 5.15 at Mr. Spenser's, Mr. Drake, etc.; 6 in talk; 6.30 tea, conversed; 6.30 Long Lane, Luke xviii.! 8.30 at home, supper, within, on business; 10.30.

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[1] Thomas Hogg in 1741 wrote 'A Short Account of God's Dealings' with him. He became leader of one of the bands at the Foundery, and died in June 1750. Charles Wesley preached his funeral sermon at Spitalfields to a crowded congregation.

ordained are all those who know and feel that they want the grace of God, either to restrain them from sin, or to show their sins forgiven, or to renew their souls in the image of God. (3) That inasmuch as we come to His table, not to give Him anything, but to receive whatsoever He sees best for us, there is no previous preparation indispensably necessary, but a desire to receive whatsoever He pleases to give. And (4) That no fitness is required at the time of communicating, but a sense of our state, of our utter sinfulness and helplessness; every one who knows he is fit for hell being just fit to come to Christ in this as well as all other ways of His appointment.

Sun. 29.—I preached in the morning at Moorfields, and in the evening at Kennington, on Titus iii. 8, and endeavoured at both places to explain and enforce the apostle's direction that those 'who have believed be careful to maintain good works.' The works I particularly mentioned were praying, communicating, searching the Scriptures; feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, assisting the stranger, and visiting or relieving those that are sick or in prison. Several of our brethren of Fetter Lane being met in the evening, Mr. Simpson told them I had been preaching up the works of the law; 'which,' added Mr. V[iney],[1] 'we believers are no more bound to obey than the subjects of the King of England are bound to obey the laws of the King of France.'

Sunday 29

5 Drest, tea, meditated; 6.30 Moorfields, Titus iii. 8, collected for the Negro school; 9 the leaders; 10 St. Paul's; 1 at home, dinner; 1.30 the women leaders; 2.45 Dr. Heylin's, at Mr. Spencer's, tea; 5.15 Kennington, Titus iii. 8! 7.30 at Mrs. Beller's [see previous page (28th)], supper, conversed; 9 at home, the women!

Monday 30

5½ Drest, prayed, Rom. xiv. 1, within; 8 tea, writ for society; 12 conversed to many; 2 at S[ister] Johnson's, dinner, conversed; 4 Islington, at Mrs. Scot's, within, tea; 4.45 Matt. xviii.; 5.45 Southwark; 7 Matt. xviii., supper; 8.45 at home, prayer, conversed; 10.

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[1] Viney is first mentioned as translating into English the addresses of Peter Böhler. He was at Heerendyk with Wesley in 1738, and from there, on May 25, 1739, addressed his 'Letter from an English brother of the Moravian persuasion in Holland, to the Methodists in England, lamenting the irregularity of their present proceedings.' See above, p. 4, also below, Feb. 19 and May 16, 1744. (See also Benham's *Hutton*, p. 140.)

JULY 2, *Wed.*—I went to the society; but I found their hearts were quite estranged.

Fri. 4.—I met a little handful of them who still stand in the old paths; but how long they may stand God knoweth, the rest being continually pressing upon them.

JULY 1, *Tuesday*

5½ Prayed, 1 John v. 3, conversed to many, tea, writ for society; 11.30 conversed to many; 2.30 at Bro. Hobbins's, dinner, with the sick woman, communion, visited; 5 at Bro. Spring's, tea, conversed to many; 6.30 Heb. vii. 25; 8 within, supper; 8.30 at Mr. Bowes', in talk; 9.45 at home; 10.30.

Wednesday 2

5½ Prayed, 1 Tim. ii. 4, conversed to many; 8 tea, writ Preface to *Hymns* [*Hymns and Sacred Poems*]; 11.30 conversed to many; 3 at M. Gilby's, tea, conversed; 4.15 at Mr. Osgood's, conversed; 5 at Mr. Keene's, tea, conversed; 6 Mary[le]bone, Rom. xiv. 17; 7.30 at Mrs. Lane's, conversed; 8.30 at our society; 9.30 at S. Westry's, conversed, prayer; 10.30.

Thursday 3

5½ Prayed, Eph. vi. 1, conversed to many; 8 tea, writ Preface; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Nightingale's, dinner; 3.30 at Mrs. Kendrick's, conversed; 4 at Mrs. Seaton's, the band, tea, conversed; 5.30 at Mrs. Reeve's, tea, conversed; 6.15 1 Cor. ii. 2; 8 supper, society! 10.30.

Friday 4

5½ Prayed, Matt. vi. 7, writ Preface; 11.30 conversed to many; 2.15 prayer; 3 conversed to many; 4 tea, at S. Kent's; 5.15 Redriff; 7 at S. Robinson's, conversed; 8 at home, supper; 8.30 the leaders, conversed, prayer, conversed to N. Smith; 10.45.

Saturday 5

5½ Prayed, 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2, at Mr. Garnault's, Preface ⌒; 8 tea, Preface; 10.30 at C. Riv[ington]'s, conversed; 11.45 at home, on business; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. West's, conversed, Seward, bro. Hall, etc., dinner; 3.45 at Mrs. Hunt's, her son! prayer; 4.15 at Mrs. Hawthorn's, tea, conversed; 6.15 Whitechapel society, Luke xiii. 12; 8.15 at home, supper, conversed; on business 10; 10 at Bro. Garnault's.

Sunday 6

7 Writ to many, tea; 9.30 at home, the man, prayer, S. Paul's; 1 at home, dinner, the women leaders, in conversation, prayer; 3.30 writ letters, tea; 5 Acts ii. 19; 7 women's lovefeast; 10.45.

Wed. 9.—I came to an explanation once more with them all together; but with no effect at all.

Monday 7

5½ Drest, 1 John v. 1; 7 at Mr. Garnault's, writ Journal; 8.15 tea; 11 Journal; 11.30 at home, on business, conversed to many; 2 dinner, visited; 3.45 Islington, at S[ister] Vaughan's, conversed; 4.15 with the band, 1 Pet. i. 9; 6.30 at Mrs. Dean's, tea, conversed; 7 Long Lane, 1 Pet. i. 9; 8.30 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

Tuesday 8

5½ Drest, James iii., at Mr. Garnault's, writ for society; 12 conversed to many; 2 at S. Horner's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.15 at Mr. Barnes's, conversed, tea; 5.15 at N. Morris's, tea, conversed; 6.15 Exod. xiv. 13; 8 supper, society, many ill! 10 lay down; 12.15.

Wednesday 9

5½ Drest, James iii., at Bro. Garnault's, Journal, tea, Journal; 11 at home, on business, conversed to many; 2 christened Eliz. Ash, Rebecca Perkins, Susan Smithers; 4 at Mrs. Sutherland's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at home, supper; 8 Fetter Lane; 8.30 at Bro. Pattison's; 9 christened h[is] son; 9 Fetter Lane, explained! 11.

Thursday 10

5½ Drest, James iii., Bro. Garnault's, Journal; 11.30 at home, conversed to many; 2.30 at Bro. Dawson's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 4 at S. Seaton's, band, conversed; 5 at S. Hog's, tea, conversed; 6 at home, preached; 7 supper, society; 8.30 Islington, Bro. Molther preached; 9.45 at home, in talk; 10.30.

Friday 11

5½ Prayed, James iii., at Bro. Garnault's, Journal; 8.30 tea, Journal; 11 at home, conversed to many; 1 prayer; 3 tea, at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed; 5 Redriff, Matt. v. 20; 6.30 Wapping, Matt. v. 4; 8.30 at home, supper, the leaders; 10.15.

Saturday 12

5½ Prayer, drest, James iii., at Bro. Garnault's, Journal; 9 tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, writ N.; 11 conversed to many; 12 read letters; 2 dinner; 3 letters; 5.15 visited; 6 at Mr. Spenser's, tea; 6.30 Long Lane, Eccles. vii. 16; 8.30 at home, supper; 9.30 on business; 10.30.

Sunday 13

5¼ Drest, tea, within; 6.30 Phil. iii. 8, the bands; 9.45 St. Paul's; 12.45 at women leaders; 3.30 writ N.; 5 Kennington, Luke x. 42; 6 rain! 6.30 Bro. Patterson's, conversed; 7 at home, the women; 8 at Bro. Patterson's, his child; 9 at home, singing; 10.30.

Tues. 15.—We had yet another conference at large, but in vain; for all continued in their own opinions.

Wed. 16.—One desired me to look into an old book, and give her my judgement of it, particularly of what was added at the latter end. This, I found, was *The Mystic Divinity of Dionysius*; and several extracts nearly allied thereto, full of the same 'super-essential darkness.' I borrowed the book, and, going in the evening to Fetter Lane, read one of those extracts, to this effect:

> The Scriptures are good, prayer is good, communicating is good, relieving our neighbour is good; but to one who is not born of God, none of these is good, but all very evil. For him to read the Scriptures, or to pray, or to communicate, or to do any outward work, is deadly poison. First, let him be born of God. Till then let him not do any of these things. For if he does, he destroys himself.

After reading this twice or thrice over, as distinctly as I could, I asked, 'My brethren, is this right, or is it wrong?' Mr. Bell[1] answered immediately, 'It is right; it is all right.

Monday 14

5½ Drest, James iv., Garnault's, Journal, writ to Charles; 8.30 tea, Journal; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 dinner; 3.30 Islington; 4 the bands! 4.30 1 Cor. i. 20, etc.; 6.30 at Mrs. Bolt's, tea; 7 Southwark, Phil. iii.; 8.30 at home, supper, on business; 10.

Tuesday 15

5½ Drest, James iv., Garnault's, Journal; 8.30 tea, Journal; 12 at home, conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Witham's, dinner, conversed; 4.30 at home, writ to M. Jason; 5.30 at S. Horner's, tea, conversed; 6.30 1 Cor. vi. 11; 8 Fetter Lane! 11.

Wednesday 16

5½ Drest, James iv., Garnault's, Journal; 8.30 tea, Journal; 11.45 at home, conversed to many; 2 visited; 2.30 at home, dinner; 3.30 at Mrs. Redford's, tea, conversed; 4.45 at Bro. Hodge's, conversed; 5.30 at Mrs. Lane's, tea, conversed; 6 Mary[le]bone, Hos. xiv. 4! 7.30 at S. Ibbetson's, conversed; 8.15 Fetter Lane, much talk; 11 at home, supper; 11.30.

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[1] Watchcase-maker in Vine Court, Bishopsgate Street. In 1744 he was labouring in Fetter Lane society, then 'Vice-Elder of the Married Men.' He went away from the congregation. (*Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 89.)

It is the truth. To this we must all come, or we never can come to Christ.' Mr. Bray said, 'I believe our brother Bell did not hear what you read, or did not rightly understand.' But Mr. Bell replied short,[1] 'Yes, I heard every word; and I understand it well. I say, it is the truth; it is the very truth; it is the inward truth.'

Many then laboured to prove that my brother and I laid too much stress upon the ordinances. To put this matter beyond dispute, 'I,' said Mr. Bowes,[2] 'used the ordinances twenty years; yet I found not Christ. But I left them off only for a few weeks, and I found Him then. And I am now as close united to Him as my arm is to my body.'

One asked whether they would suffer Mr. Wesley to preach at Fetter Lane.[3] After a short debate it was answered, 'No; this place is taken for the Germans.' Some asked whether the Germans had converted any soul in England; whether they had not done us much hurt instead of good, raising a division of which we could see no end; and whether God did not many times use Mr. Wesley for the healing of our divisions when we were all in confusion. Several roundly replied, 'Confusion! What do you mean? We were never in any confusion at all.' I said, 'Brother Edmonds,[4] you ought not to say so, because I have your letters now in my hands.' Mr. Edmonds replied, 'That is not the first time I have put darkness for light, and light for darkness.'

We continued in useless debate till about eleven. I then gave them up to God.

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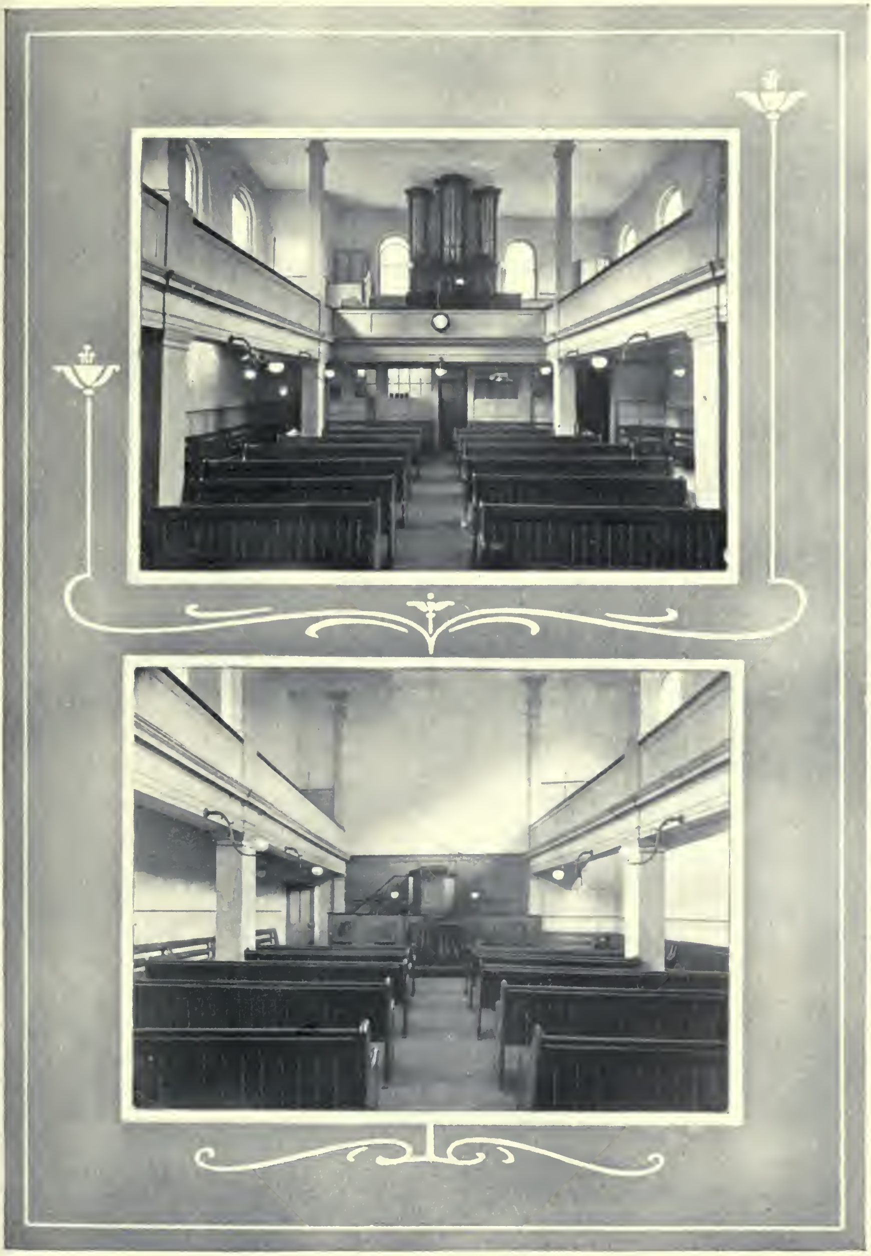
[1] Charles Wesley calls him 'Honest Bell,' because he was outspoken in his error where others were evasive. For a graphic description of the crisis, see Charles Wesley's Journal, June 1740.

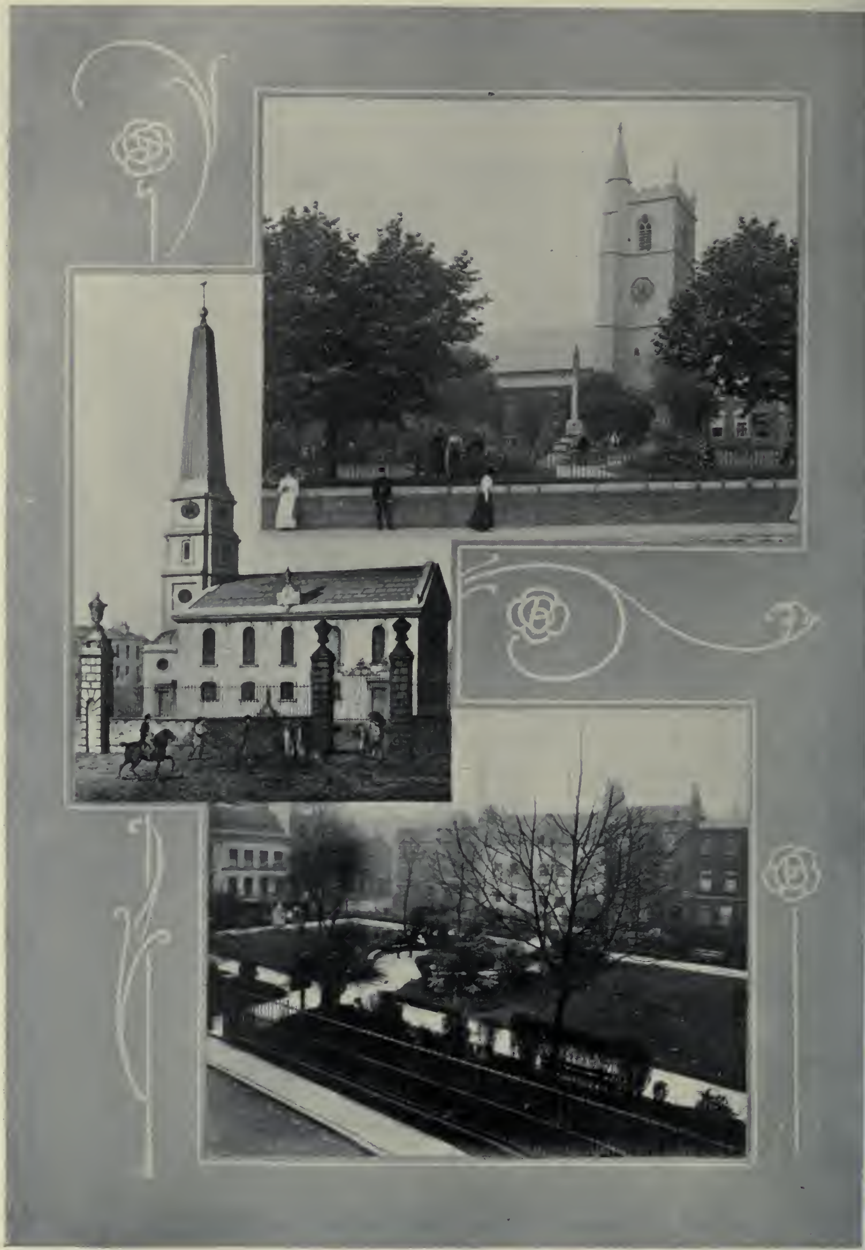
[2] Of George Yard, Little Britain, in whose house a society met.

[3] This question and the answer to it refer to Fetter Lane Chapel, which was taken on lease from Lady Day, 1740, by James Hutton, from a Mr. Ketterage. It was evidently unoccupied by the society when the question was asked, probably undergoing repairs, as it had been disused for eight years. Up to this time the meetings of the society were held in 'the room' of a court off Fetter Lane. The reply to the question would confirm Wesley in the resolution he had already made to sever his connexion with the Fetter Lane society. In the Fetter Lane Archives is an MS. written by William Holland, one of the original members, giving information about the chapel. (See *Homes, Haunts, and Friends of Wesley*, p. 92.)

[4] See above, p. 327.



TWO VIEWS OF FETTER LANE CHAPEL.



1. ‘OUR PARISH CHURCH,’ BRISTOL (ST. JAMES).
2. ‘OUR PARISH CHURCH,’ LONDON (ST. LUKE’S, OLD STREET, 1820).
3. CHARLES SQUARE, HOXTON (*see* PAGES 457, 461, ETC.).

Fri. 18.—A few of us joined with my mother in the great sacrifice of thanksgiving; and then consulted how to proceed with regard to our poor brethren of Fetter Lane.[1] We all saw the thing was now come to a crisis, and were therefore unanimously agreed what to do.

Sun. 20.—At Mr. Seward's earnest request, I preached once more in Moorfields, on the 'work of faith,' and the 'patience of hope,' and the 'labour of love.' A zealous man was so kind as to free us from most of the noisy, careless hearers (or spectators rather), by reading, meanwhile, at a small distance, a chapter in *The Whole Duty of Man.*[2] I wish neither

Thursday 17

5½ Prayed, James iv., Garnault's, Journal, tea; 9.15 writ for society; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mr. Mason's, dinner, conversed! 4.15 at Mrs. Witham's band, tea, conversed; 5.30 at Bro. Bell's, many tarried, tea; 6.15 at home, Mark ix. 23, society! 10 conversed to some, prayer; 10.30.

Friday 18

5½ Drest, James v., Garnault's, Journal, tea, Journal; 10 at Mary Cannon's, conversed; 11.15 at home, on business, conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3 communion, nineteen there, agreed to leave the society! 4 tea, To. Cox; 5.15 Redriff, 1 Cor. xiii.; 6.30 Wapping, John xvi. 9, three ill, visited; 8.30 at home, supper; 9 Br. Hage, etc., conversed, prayer, 10.15.

Saturday 19

5½ Prayed, James v., Garnault's, Journal; 8.45 at N. Roberts's; 10 tea, conversed; 10.45 at S. Horner's, conversed; 11.30 at home, conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Scot's, dinner, conversed; 3 at home, Mr. Doleman,[3] conversed; 4.15 within, tea; 5 at Mrs. West's, tea, conversed; 6.30 Long Lane! 8.30 at home, within, supper, conversed, 10.15.

Sunday 20

5½ Drest, tea, meditated; 6.30 Moorfields, 1 Thess. i. 4; 8.30 the leaders, conversed, prayer; 10 Coleman Street Church, communion; 12.30 at home, meditated, dinner; 1.30 women leaders; 5 Kennington, Gal. vi.; 7.15 at home, the women; 8.15 Fetter Lane lovefeast, parted; 9.15 at home; the women; 11.15!

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[1] Lady Huntingdon and Benj. Ingham were present. See full account in *Countess of Huntingdon's Life*, vol. i. p. 36.

[2] First printed in 1657; is in the list of books lent by the Holy Club at Oxford (1st Oxford Diary). It was attacked by Whitefield (see *Life*, vol. i. p. 453), but afterwards inserted by Wesley in his *Christian Library*.

[3] See below, p. 521, for an interesting comment by Wesley on this remarkable case.

he nor they may ever read a worse book; though I can tell them of a better—the Bible.

In the evening I went with Mr. Seward[1] to the lovefeast in Fetter Lane; at the conclusion of which, having said nothing till then, I read a paper, the substance whereof was as follows:

> About nine months ago certain of you began to speak contrary to the doctrine we had till then received. The sum of what you asserted is this:
>
> 1. That there is no such thing as *weak faith*: That there is no justifying faith where there is ever any doubt or fear, or where there is not, in the full sense, a new, a clean heart.
> 2. That a man ought not to use those ordinances of God which our Church terms 'means of grace,' before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean heart.
>
> You have often affirmed that to search the Scriptures, to pray, or to communicate before we have this faith is to seek salvation by works; and that till these works are laid aside no man can receive faith.
>
> I believe these assertions to be flatly contrary to the Word of God. I have warned you hereof again and again, and besought you to turn back to the Law and the Testimony. I have borne with you long, hoping you would turn. But as I find you more and more confirmed in the error of your ways, nothing now remains but that I should give you up to God. You that are of the same judgement, follow me.

I then, without saying anything more, withdrew, as did eighteen or nineteen of the society.[2]

Monday 21

5½ Drest, 1 John i. 7, met two bands; 8.30 visited; 9 at Mrs. Redford's, tea, conversed, prayer; 11 at home, on business, conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Wild's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 the bands; 4.30 Zech. xiii.; 6.30 at Mrs. Bolt's, tea, conversed; 7 Long Lane, Acts i.; 9 at home, conversed; 10.15.

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[1] Mr. Benjamin Seward.

[2] The disruption of the Fetter Lane society led the pro-Moravian party to reorganize themselves as a 'Society' of the Moravian Brethren. Ten months, however, elapsed before stewards were appointed. On Oct. 30, 1742, this reorganized society of seventy-two persons was constituted a 'Church,' or 'Congregation,' of the Brethren's Unity, by Spangenberg, acting for Zinzendorf. William Holland was appointed elder, and James Hutton warden. The effects of the disruption on Wesley's career and work were beneficial in promoting the objects of his mission—the revival of religion in the nation, and especially in the Church, and the spread of scriptural holiness throughout the land.

Tues. 22.—Mr. Chapman,[1] just come from Germany, gave me a letter from one of our (once) brethren there; wherein, after denying the gift of God which he received in England, he advised my brother and me no longer to take upon us to teach and instruct poor souls, but to deliver them up to the care of the Moravians, who alone were able to instruct them. 'You,' said he, 'only instruct them in such errors that they will be damned at last'; and added, 'St. Peter justly describes you, who "have eyes full of adultery, and cannot cease from sin"; and take upon you to guide unstable souls, and lead them in the way of damnation.'

Wed. 23.—Our little company met at *The Foundery*,[2] instead of Fetter Lane. About twenty-five of our brethren God hath given us already, all of whom think and speak the same thing; seven- or eight-and-forty likewise of the fifty women that were in band desired to cast in their lot with us.

Tuesday 22

5½ Drest, 1 John i., met a band, conversed to some; 8.30 at ——; 9 visited; 11.30 at home, within, on business, conversed to many; 2 at Peter Sims's, Chapman there! dinner; 3.30 visited many; 5 at S. Huntly's, tea, visited; 6.30 at home, Acts i.; 8 supper, society, conversed, prayer! 11.

Wednesday 23

5½ Drest, 1 John ii. 1, the band; 8.45 tea, conversed to some, visited; 11.45 conversed to many; 2.15 took boat; 3.45 Deptford, at S. Clavel's, tea, conversed; 5 at the Barn, Rom. iii. 21! 7.45 at home, supper; 8.15 the bands, conversed, prayer, Bro. Cawle went; 9.45 in talk, on business; 10.30.

Thursday 24

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii. 2, the band; 9.30 at Mr. Thorold's with Seward, James Hutton, etc., conversed, Dr. Doddridge and Molther came, conversed; 12 prayer; 1 at home, conversed to some; 1.30 at Mr. Wilkinson's, christened his son; 3 dinner! 4.45 visited, communion; 5.30 at Mrs. Seaton's, the band, tea, conversed; 6.15 Acts ii.; 8 society! 10.15.

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[1] Uncertain identity. Chapman of Pembroke; or Rev. W. Chapman of Bath; or George Chapman of Lime Street, butcher.

[2] Completing the separation initiated Nov. 9, 1739 (see above, p. 315). The Foundery had been occupied by Wesley since Nov. 11, 1739.

Friday 25

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii. 3, 4, the band; 8.30 tea, conversed, on business; 9 writ N.; 11.30 conversed to many; 1 prayer; 3 communion; at S[ister] Gaskard's; 4 tea, visited; 5 Redriff, 1 John iii. 1; 6.15 Wapping, Zech. xiii.! visited, at Mrs. Burton's, supper, conversed; 10.15.

Saturday 26

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii. 7, the band; 8.30 S. Ibison's, tea, conversed; 12 Mrs. Seaton, Mac-cune, in conversation; 12 at home, conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Lewin's, dinner, conversed, singing; 4.15 at S. Kent's, conversed; 4.30 at S. Wollard's, tea, conversed; 5.15 at S. Woodroffe's, tea, conversed; 6.30 Long Lane, Acts ii. 8, visited; 9 at home, supper, conversed; 10.15.

Sunday 27

5½ Drest, tea; 6.30 Rom. iv. 5; 8.30 the leaders, conversed, prayer; 10 prayer with my mother; 10 Coleman St. Ch.; 12.45 at home, dinner; 1.30 the women leaders, conversed, prayer; 3 conversed with Nanny Morris; 3.30 tea, conversed; 5 Kennington, 2 Cor. iii. 17; 7.15 at home, the women, supper, conversed, prayer! 10.15.

Monday 28

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii., the band; 8.30 at Bro. Garnault's, tea, conversed; 9.45 at home, writ N.; 12 conversed to many; 3 at S. Vandrelst's, tea, conversed; 4.30 Islington, 1 John iv. 1, 2; 6.30 at Mrs. Bolt's, tea, conversed; 7 Long Lane, Acts ii., visited; 9.15 at home, supper, conversed; 11.

Tuesday 29[1]

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii., the band; 8.30 at S. Waldron's, conversed, tea, prayer; 10 at S. Aspernel's, tea, conversed; 10.30 at home, on business; 11 writ names; 12 conversed to many; 2.45 at Mr. Craven's; 4 dinner, within; 6.30 at home, Acts ii.; 7.45 supper, the women bands! 10.30.

Wednesday 30

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii., the band, tea, conversed; 9.15 writ names; 12.15 conversed to many; 2 christened three women, one man; 3.15 at S. Belinn's, tea, conversed; 5 at Mrs. ——, tea, conversed; 6 Mary[le]bone, 1 Tim. ii. 4; 7.45 at home, supper, conversed; 8.30 the bands; 10.30.

Thursday 31

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii., the band; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 writ names; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mrs. West's, dinner; 3.45 at Mrs. Sutherland's tea, conversed; 5.45 at S. Mac-cune's band; 6.15 Acts ii., supper; 8 society, prayer; 9.45 within; 10.30.

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[1] On this day he wrote to Howell Harris (see *W.M. Mag.* 1849, p. 65).

AUG. 1, *Fri.*[1]—I described that 'rest' which 'remaineth for the people of God.'

Sun. 3.—At St. Luke's,[2] our parish church, was such a sight as, I believe, was never seen there before: several hundred communicants, from whose very faces one might judge that they indeed sought Him that was crucified.

Mon. 4.—I dined with one [Mr. Standex], who told me, in all simplicity, 'Sir, I thought last week there could be no such rest as you described; none in this world, wherein we should be so free as not to desire ease in pain. But God has taught me better. For on Friday and Saturday, when I was in the

AUGUST 1, *Friday*

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii., the band; 8 at Mrs. ——, tea, conversed, visited; 10 at home, writ names; 11.45 conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3 communion; 4 at Bro. Price's, tea, at S. Mills's tea, conversed; 5.15 Redriff, Heb. iii. ult.; 6.15 Wapping, Matt. vii. 8! visited; prayer! 8.30 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

Saturday 2

5½ Prayed, 1 John ii.; conversed, visited; 7.30 Bro. Bell, Simpson, Knolton, Horn, tea, conversed; 9 at S. Harrison's, Waldron's, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, writ to Charles, S. Reyon, S. Gregory; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Sadler's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 at Miss Malton's, conversed, tea; 4.30 at Mr. Barnes's, tea, conversed; 5.45 at Mr. Chamberlain's, conversed; 6.30 Long Lane, Acts ii.: 8.30 at Bro. Crouch's, supper, conversed, at home; 10.30.

Sunday 3

5½ Meditated, tea, conversed; 6.30 Gal. vi. 3; 8 the leaders, conversed, prayer; 9.30 visited; 10 St. Luke's, communion; 1.30 at home, dinner, conversed; 2.15 the leaders; 3.30 visited, S. Drable; 5 Kennington, Zech. xii. 10; 7 at home, the women's lovefeast, supper; 10.

Monday 4

5½ Prayed, 1 John iii., the band; 8 at S. Harrison's, S. Waldron came, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, writ letters; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mr. Standex's, dinner, conversed; 3.15 at Mrs. Redford's, conversed, at Mr. Standex's, tea; 4.45 Islington, Isaiah xii.! 6.15 at Mrs. Coyet's, tea, conversed; 7 Long Lane, Acts ii.! 9.15 at home, supper; 10.

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[1] Samuel Mason writes under date July 26: 'Mr. Wesley has published another large collection of hymns, of his and his brother's making, in which he has as strong expressions against election as in his sermon on 'Free Grace.'

[2] In Old Street. The church had been built in 1733, and its first rector was Dr. W. Nicholls, who was also vicar of St. Giles', Cripplegate. (See p. 368.)

strongest pain, I never once had one moment's desire of ease, but only that the will of God might be done.'

In the evening many were gathered together at Long Lane on purpose to make a disturbance; having procured a woman to begin, well known in those parts, as neither fearing God nor regarding man. The instant she broke out I turned full upon her and declared the love our Lord had for *her* soul. We then prayed that He would confirm the word of His grace. She was struck to the heart, and shame covered her face. From her I turned to the rest, who melted away like water, and were as men that had no strength. But surely some of them shall find who is their 'rock and their strong salvation.'

Sat. 9.—Instead of the letters I had lately received, I read a few of those formerly received from our poor brethren who

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Tuesday 5

5½ Prayed, 1 John iii.; conversed to some; 7.30 writ to Hernhuth; 8 tea, writ; 11.15 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mrs. Angel's; 3 dinner, conversed; 4 at S[ister] Tanner's, conversed, tea, prayer; 5 at Bro. Savage's, tea, conversed; 6.30 at home, Acts ii.! supper; 8 B. Half[ord] came, ill, with them, conversed, prayer; 11.

Wednesday 6

5½ Prayed, 1 John iii.; writ to H. Huth; 8 with the band, prayer; 8.15 tea, letter; 11.30 conversed to many; 2 extend to Sarah Drable; 3 at Bro. Thornton's, tea, at the house, in talk: 5.15 at Mr. Watkin's, tea, conversed; 6.15 at Bro. Thornton's, at Mrs. Roberts's; 7.15 at home, supper, conversed; 8 the bands, conversed, prayer; 10.

Thursday 7

5½ Prayed, 1 John iii.; writ to H. Huth; 7.45 Mrs. Mac-cune, tea, conversed; 9 letter; 12 conversed to many; 2 at S. Coyet's, dinner, conversed; 4 at S. Paul's, tea, conversed; 5 at Mrs. Jones's, tea; 6.15 Acts iv.; 8 conversed to many; 8.15 society; 10 within; 11.

Friday 8

5½ Prayed, 1 John iii.; writ to H. H.; 8 tea, Bro. Viney, conversed; 10 writ to G. Whitefield,[1] John Syms; 11.30 conversed to many; 2 prayer; 3 communion; 4 with Mrs. Scholey! 5.30 Wapping, John xv.; 6.15 visited, communion, at Bro. Price's, Matt. i. 23! 9 at home, supper, conversed; 10.45.

Saturday 9

5½ Prayed, 1 John iii.; 7 conversed to many; 8 at S. Middleton's, tea, conversed; 9 at home, led [? error for 'read'] letters, writ to G.

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[1] This letter is in Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 440. A letter from Whitefield dated Nov. 24 (see his *Works*, vol. i. p. 225) is the reply.

have since then denied the work of God, and vilely cast away their shield. Oh who shall stand when the jealous God shall visit for these things?

Sun. 10.—From Gal. vi. 3 I earnestly warned all who had tasted the grace of God (1) Not to think they were justified before they had a clear assurance that God had forgiven their sins; bringing in a calm peace, the love of God, and dominion over all sin. (2) Not to think themselves anything after they had this; but to press forward for the prize of their high calling, even a clean heart, throughly renewed after the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness.

Mon. 11.—Forty or fifty of those who were seeking salvation desired leave to spend the night together, at the society-room, in prayer and giving thanks. Before ten I left them, and lay down. But I could have no quiet rest, being quite uneasy in my sleep, as I found others were too, that were asleep in other parts of the house. Between two and three in the morning I

Whitefield, John Syms, and Charles; 12 read the letters, many ill; 2 dinner, conversed; 3 letters; 5 at Mrs. Baddily's, tea, conversed; 6 at Mr. Craven's, in conversation; 6.30 Acts iii.; 8.15 at home, supper, the society; 10.

Sunday 10

5½ Drest, tea; 6.30 Gal. vi. 3; 8 the leaders! 10 Coleman St.,[1] communion; 1 dinner, the women leaders; 3.15 conversed with N. Morris, tea, conversed with her; 5.15 Matt. i. 21; 6.45 supper; 7.15 the women, some ill; 9.30 conversed; 10.

Monday 11

4¾ Prayed, 1 John iv.; 7 conversed to some; 8 at Mrs. Aspernel's; 9 conversed, tea, prayer; 9.30 at home, writ to Nanny Smith, S. Badley, &c.; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 Islington, at Mr. Daniel's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 with the band; 4.30 Rom. viii. 17, &c.; 6 at Mrs. Bolt's, tea, conversed; 7 Long Lane, Acts iv.! 8.45 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

Tuesday 12

2½ Prayer with many; 4.30 slept; 5.45 drest, prayed, 1 John iv., conversed to some; 8 Mr. Chamberlain's, conversed, tea; 9.30 writ to Bro. Richards, M. Gregory, &c.; 11.30 conversed to many; 2.30 Mrs. Spenser, Craven, dinner, conversed; 4 at Mrs. Darlington's, tea, conversed; 5 at Mrs. Armsted's, tea, conversed; 6.30 Acts v.! supper, conversed to some; 10.

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[1] St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, which Wesley attended on several Sundays about this time, lies just off the Bank end of Moorgate Street. The present building was erected in 1676, and the vicar from 1715 to 1753 was Dr. John Hay.

was waked, and desired to come downstairs. I immediately heard such a confused noise as if a number of men were all putting to the sword. It increased when I came into the room and began to pray. One whom I particularly observed to be roaring aloud for pain was J—— W——,[1] who had been always, till then, very sure that 'none cried out but hypocrites.' So had Mrs. Sims[2] also. But she too now cried to God with a loud and bitter cry. It was not long before God heard from His holy place. He spake, and all our souls were comforted. He bruised Satan under our feet; and sorrow and sighing fled away.

Sat. 16.—I called on one who, being at Long Lane on Monday the 4th instant, was exceeding angry at those that

Wednesday 13

5½ Prayed, 1 John iv., conversed to many; 8 Mrs. Mac-cune came, tea, conversed; 9 writ Journal; 10 visited Hannah With[am], conversed, prayer; 11.30 at Mrs. Sutherland's, conversed; 12.30 at home, conversed to many; 2.15 christened John Padly and Jos. Paul; 4 at Mr. Wallis's, tea, conversed; 5 at Bro. Clark's, tea, conversed; 6 Mary[le]bone, Acts xxviii. 22; 8 at home, supper, the band; 10.45.

Thursday 14

5½ Prayed, 1 John iv., writ Journal; 8 tea, Journal; 12 drest, conversed to many; 2.15 at Mr. Skey's, dinner, conversed; 4.15 at Bro. Hodges's, tea, conversed; 6 at home, writ to Shrapnell, Acts iv.; 7.30 supper; 8 society, many ill; 11.

Friday 15

5½ Drest, 1 John iv., conversed to some; 8 tea, conversed, Journal, $\overset{|}{\frown\!\frown}$! 11.30 drest, conversed to many; 1 prayer, communion; 3.45 at S[ister] Gaskard's, tea, conversed; 4.45 at Mrs. Harbottle's, tea; 5.30 Wapping, Hosea xiii., three ill; 7 at Bro. Price's, conversed, Acts xiii.; 9 prayer! at home, supper, conversed; 9.45.

Saturday 16

5 Prayed, 1 John iv., conversed to some, visited; 8 at S. Jackson's, tea, conversed; 9.45 at home, Journal; 10.30 writ to Miss Jason, etc.; 11.45 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Crouch's, conversed, dinner; 3.30 at Mr. Bird's, within; 4 at S. Persal's, tea, conversed; 5.15 at S. Marten's, conversed; 6 at Mr. Chamberlain's, tea, conversed; 6.30 Long Lane, Acts iv.; 8.30 at home, the women, prayer! 10 supper; 10.45.

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[1] Probably J— Wild, mentioned about this time in Charles Wesley's Journal (June 9, 1740).

[2] Often mentioned in Charles Wesley's Journal, which is one of the best commentaries on his brother's Journal and Diary.

'pretended to be in fits,' particularly at one who dropped down just by her. She was just going 'to kick her out of the way,' when she dropped down herself, and continued in violent agonies for an hour. Being afraid, when she came to herself, that her mother would judge of her as she herself had done of others, she resolved to hide it from her. But the moment she came into the house she dropped down in as violent an agony as before. I left her weary and heavy-laden, under a deep sense of the just judgement of God.

Sun. 17.—I enforced that necessary caution, 'Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.' Let him that is full of joy and love take heed lest he fall into pride; he that is in calm peace, lest he fall into desire; and he that is in heaviness through manifold temptations, lest he fall into anger or impatience.

I afterwards heard a sermon setting forth the *duty* of *getting a good estate*, and *keeping a good reputation.* Is it possible to deny (supposing the Bible true) that such a preacher is a 'blind leader of the blind'?

Tues. 19.—I was desired to go and pray with one who had sent for me several times before, lying in the New Prison, under sentence of death, which was to be executed in a few

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Sunday 17

5½ Prayed, tea, meditated; 6.30 1 Cor. x. 12! collec[tion?]; 8.15 the leaders, conversed, prayer; 10 Coleman Street, c[ommunion]; 1 dinner, women leaders; 3.30 tea, Journal; 5 Zech. xii.; 7 the band, lovefeast? 10 within; 10.30.

Monday 18

5 Prayed, 1 John v., conversed to many; 8 Hoxton, Sister Waldron's, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 at home, writ letters; 12 conversed to many; 2 at S. Drable's, tea, conversed; 3.45 Islington, conversed to the band; 4.30 Matt. xviii. 29, etc.; 5.30 at Bro. Scot's, tea, conversed; 7 Long Lane, Acts iv., supper; 9.15 at home, within; 10.

Tuesday 19

5 Prayed, 1 John v., conversed to some, the band; 8 at home, tea, conversed; 9 writ to S. England, Robertson, Clancy, Lewis, Holden, Grace Stephens, Bro. Richards, etc.; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Smag's, dinner; 3.45 visited Sister Tubs, prayer; 4.15 at S. Haddock's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at Bro. Spenser's, conversed; 6.15 Acts v.! supper; 8 society, prayer, fifteen ill; 11.

days. I went; but the jailer said Mr. Wilson,[1] the curate of the parish, had ordered I should not see him.

Wed. 20.—I offered remission of sins to a small serious congregation near Deptford. Towards the end, a company of persons came in, dressed in habits fit for their work, and laboured greatly either to provoke or divert the attention of the hearers. But no man answering them a word, they were soon weary, and went away.

Thur. 21.—I was deeply considering those points wherein our German brethren affirm we err from the faith, and reflecting how much holier some of them were than me, or any people I had yet known. But I was cut short in the midst by those words of St. Paul (1 Tim. v. 21), 'I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality.'

Fri. 22.—I was desired to pray with an old hardened sinner, supposed to be at the point of death. He knew not me, nor ever had heard me preach. I spoke much; but he opened not his mouth. But no sooner did I name 'the Saviour of sinners'

Wednesday 20

5¾ Drest, 1 John v., conversed to some, visited Bro. Waldron, prayer, and S[ister] Bell, junr.; 8 at home, Higs and Cleland, tea, conversed; 9.15 writ N.; 10.30 drest , conversed to some; 12.45 in the coach; 2 with S. Seaton and Bolt; 3 at Mrs. Sparrow's, dinner, conversed, tea; 5.15 Deptford Room, Acts xiii.! 8.30 at home, the bands! 10.45.

Thursday 21

5½ Prayed, 1 John v., conversed to many; 8 at Mrs. Ridgway's, tea, conversed; 9.15 at home, Journal, writ to Bro. Cennick, Richards, Sister Bath, M. Thomas; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Andrews's, dinner; 3.15 at S. Gale's, tea, conversed; 4.15 at S. Branch's, prayer; 5 at S. Brentford's, tea, conversed; 6.15 Acts v. 30! supper; 8 society, many ill! 10.45.

Friday 22

5½ Prayed, 1 John v., conversed to some, visited Bro. Waldron, prayer; 8.45 at home, tea, conversed; 9 writ to Mrs. Dutton, on business; 11.30 conversed to many; 1 prayer, communion, thirty [there]; 4.15 at S. Ibbison's, tea, conversed; 6 at Bro. Jones's, conversed, visited! 7 Bro. Price's, Hosea xi.; 9 at home, supper; 10.

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[1] See also April 1, 1741.

than he burst out, 'The Saviour of sinners indeed! I know it: for He has saved *me.* He told me so on Sunday morning. And He said I should not die yet, till I had heard His children preach His gospel, and had told my old companions in sin that He is ready to save them too.'

Sat. 23.—A gentlewoman (one Mrs. C——)[1] desired to speak with me, and related a strange story. On Saturday the 6th instant (as she informed me), one Mrs. G., of Northampton, deeply convinced of sin, and therefore an abomination to her husband, was by him put into Bedlam. On Tuesday she slipped out of the gate with some other company; and after a while, not knowing whither to go, sat down at Mrs. C.'s door. Mrs. C., knowing nothing of her, advised her the next day to go to Bedlam again; and went with her, where she was then chained down and treated in the usual manner. This is the justice of men! A poor highwayman is hanged; and Mr. G. esteemed a very honest man!

Thur. 28.—I desired one who had seen affliction herself to go and visit Mrs. G. in Bedlam; where it pleased God greatly

Saturday 23

4 Prayed, 1 John v., ult., conversed to many, tea, conversed; 9 writ to Bro. Richards, M. Cannon, Bro. Cobb; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Cennick's, dinner; 3.30 at Mr. Doleman's, music; 5 at Billingsgate, tea, conversed; 5.45 at S. Hatfield's, tea; 6.15 Long Lane, Acts v.! 8.30 at Mr. Crouch's, supper, conversed; 10.15.

Sunday 24

5½ Drest, tea, sick; 6.30 Eph. v. 14, the leaders; 10 Coleman Street; 1 dinner, the women leaders; 3.30 slept; 4.30 at Mr. Spenser's; 5.15 Kennington, Hos. xi.; 7.15 the women, conversed, prayer; 9 supper; 9.45.

Monday 25

5½ Prayed, Epistle of John, conversed to some; 8 Hoxton, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 visited, Journal; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at S. Aspernel's; 3 dinner, conversed; 3.15 visited; 3.45 at home, read Count Zinzendorf's sermons; 5 visited, at Mrs. Bolt's, tea, visited John Russel, prayer; 7 Acts v.; 8.45 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

Tuesday 26

5½ Prayed, 1 Pet. i., Journal, tea, Journal; 11.45 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Ball's, dinner; 4 at S. Barnes's, tea, conversed; 6 visited; 6.30 Acts vi., supper; 8 the leaders, in conversation; 9 in conversation to some; 10.30.

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[1] It has been suggested that this is Mrs. Coventry, mentioned later, Jan. 25 and April 28, 1763.

to knit their hearts together, and with His comforts to refresh their souls.

Disputes being now at an end, and all things quiet and calm, on *Monday*, SEPT. 1, I left London, and the next evening found my brother at Bristol, swiftly recovering from

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Wednesday 27

5½ Prayed, 1 Pet. i., met the band; 8 tea, Mr. Higs, Mrs. Ridgway, conversed; 9 read Coles on Predestination[1]; 11.30 Diary, conversed to many; 2 christened Paul Chamberlain, David Jenkins, Sarah Hunlock, Kezia Smith, took coach with Bro. Flewet and Mrs. Ash, at S[ister] Clavel's, tea; 5 at the Barn, Isa. xii.! 7.30 at home, supper; 8 the bands; 10.30.

Thursday 28

5½ Prayed, 1 Pet. i., with the band; 8 at S. Ibbison's tea, conversed; 9.30 N. Morris and Susan Thomas came, conversed; 10.45 at home, writ N.; 11.45 conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Dawson's, dinner, conversed; 4 at Sw^t Lewin's, tea, conversed; 5 visited, at S. Edzard's, Acts vii.! 7.30 society; 8 supper, society! 11.15.

Friday 29

5½ Prayed, 1 Pet. i., with the band; 8 at S. Aspernel's, tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, on business; 11.30 conversed to many; 1 prayer! communion; 3.30 conversed to some; 4 tea, ended Count Zinzendorf's sermons! 6.45 Rosemary Lane, 1 John v. 11! 8.45 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

Saturday 30

5½ Prayed, 1 Pet. ult., conversed to many; 8 Hoxton, at Mr. Sweetings', tea, prayer; 10 at home, on business; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Smith's, dinner, conversed; 4 at Mr. Wathen's, at S. Broughton, in talk; 5.15 at Mr. Russel's, communion; 8.15 Long Lane, Acts vi.; 8 at home, supper, society; 10.

Sunday 31

5½ Drest, tea; 6.30 Mark iv. 31; 8.15 conversed to many; 10 Coleman Street, communion; 1 at home, dinner, the leaders; 3.15 at S. Horner's, tea, conversed; 5 Kennington, 1 John v. 11; 7.15 at home, supper, the women's lovefeast; 9.30 lay down.

SEPT. 1, *Monday*

3 Drest; 3.30 set out with Bro. Nicholson and Purdy; 7 Colebrook, tea; 8 set out; 11.30 dinner; 1 set out; 3 Feachem, tea; 4 set out; 6.30 Froxfield, dinner, supper, within; 9.

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[1] On Sept. 25 Whitefield wrote him a long letter from Boston, and recommended 'Elisha Coles's book on God's sovereignty' as being 'well worth your reading.' It seems from this Diary entry that Wesley anticipated the advice by doing so before the letter reached him.

his fever.[1] At seven it pleased God to apply those words to the hearts of many backsliders, 'How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee, Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? How shall I set thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together' (Hos. xi. 8).

Wed. 3.—I met with one [Susan Peck] who, having been lifted up with the abundance of joy which God had given her, had fallen into such blasphemies and vain imaginations as are not common to men. In the afternoon I found another instance [Betty Bush], nearly, I fear, of the same kind: one who, after much of the love of God shed abroad in her heart, was become wise far above what is written, and set her *private revelations* (so called) on the self-same foot with the written Word. She zealously maintained:

1. That Christ had died for angels as well as men. 2. That none of the angels kept their first estate; but all sinned, less or more. 3. That by the death of Christ three things were effected: one part of the fallen spirits were *elected*, and immediately confirmed in holiness and happiness, who are now the holy angels; another part of them, having more deeply sinned, were *reprobated*, who are now devils; and the third part

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Tuesday 2

5 Drest; 5.30 set out; 7 Marlborough, tea, conversed; 8 read, verse; 10.30 Caln, coffee, writ; 11.30 read, verse; 2.15 Marshfield, dinner; 3 read v[erse]; 5.30 at Mr. Deschamps', at S. Highnam's; 6 at Mrs. Hooper's, conversed to Charles; 7 at the Room, Hosea xi.! 8.15 with Charles, conversed; 9.30 at home, slept.

Wednesday 3

4¾ Drest; 5 Jude 3; 6 prayers; 7 with Charles, conversed; 8 tea, conversed; 9.15 at home, conversed to many; 10.15 Susan Peck, within! 11.30 in the coach with Charles, conversed; 1 at home, the leaders; 3 Betty Bush came, conversed! with her at Mrs. Hooper's and Cenick within; 4.30 tea, conversed; 5 at S. Hard[ing]'s, communion; 6 at home, the women, prayer; 7.45 Diary, the men; 10.

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[1] Charles Wesley was taken ill on Aug. 6, and for ten days his life was despaired of. This was his first introduction to Dr. Middleton, 'who,' he writes, 'attended me constantly, as the divine blessing did his prescriptions.' He continues: 'When I was just able to stand, my brother came from London. We rode out most days in Mr. Wane's (of Cobham Hall) or an hired chariot, comparing our dangers, temptations, and deliverances' (Charles Wesley's Journal).

allowed a farther trial, and in order thereto, sent down from heaven, and imprisoned in bodies of flesh and blood, who are now human souls.

In the evening I earnestly besought them all to keep clear of vain speculations, and seek only for the plain, practical 'truth, which is after godliness.'

Thur. 4.—A remarkable cause was tried. Some time since several men made a great disturbance during the evening sermon here, behaving rudely to the women, and striking the men who spake not to them. A constable standing by pulled out his staff, and commanded them to keep the peace. Upon this one of them swore he would be revenged, and, going immediately to a justice, made oath that he (the constable) had picked his pocket, who was accordingly bound over to the next Sessions. At these, not only the same man, but two of his companions, swore the same thing; but, there being eighteen or twenty witnesses on the other side, the jury easily saw through the whole proceeding, and, without going out at all, or any demur, brought in the prisoner *not guilty*.

Fri. 5.—Our Lord brought home many of His banished ones. In the evening we cried mightily unto Him, that brotherly love might continue and increase. And it was according to our faith.

Sat. 6.—I met the bands in Kingswood, and warned them, with all authority, to beware of being wise above that is written, and to desire to know nothing but Christ crucified.

Thursday 4

4¾ Drest, Jude 3, the women leaders; 8.15 at Mrs. Hooper's with Charles, tea, conversed; 9 at home, conversed to many; 11 Isaiah xii.! visited; 1.30 at Mrs. Grevile's, dinner, conversed, Bro. Wedmor, t.r.d [tried]! 3.30 at S. England's, tea, at Mrs. Labbe's, tea, conversed; 5 visited; 6.30 Hos. xii.! society; 10!

Friday 5

4¾ Drest, Jude, prayers; 7.15 with Charles, conversed; 8 tea, conversed; 9 conversed to many; 11 coach with Charles, read Journal; 1 prayer; 3 at Jenny Worlock's band, tea, conversed; 4.15 at S. Hooper's, Mrs. Wayne, tea, singing; 5 at Bro. Cross's, tea, Miss Cornish, conversed, visited, with S. Hold[er]'s band; 6.15 Zech.; 8 the bands; 10.

Saturday 6

4¾ Drest, Jude; 6 prayers; 7 conversed to many; 7.30 tea, conversed with Charles; 9 conversed to many; 11.30 read letters; 1 at Mrs.

Mon. 8.—We set out early in the morning, and the next evening came to London.

Wed. 10.[1]—I visited one that was in violent pain, and consumed away with pining sickness; but in 'everything giving thanks,' and greatly 'rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.' From her we went to another, dangerously ill of the small-pox, but desiring neither life nor ease, but only the holy will of God. If these are unbelievers (as some of the still brethren have lately told them), I am content to be an unbeliever all my days.

Stafford's, dinner, conversed; 2 letters; 4.30 Kingswood School, within; 5 with the bands; 6.15 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 6.45 Malthouse, Hosea! 8.15 at Capt. Whitefield's, Mrs. Grevile, etc.; 9 supper, together; 10.30.

Sunday 7

4¾ Drest, Gal. vi. 3; 7 at the school, Gal. vi. 3; 9.15 at Mrs. Hooper's, tea, conversed; 10 St. Nicholas's, communion; 1 at Mrs. England's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 at home, the leaders, within; 4 met two bands; 5 Mark iv. 30, conversed to many; 7.30 society; 8.30 at Mrs. Hooper's with Charles, supper; 9 at Mr. Deschamps', within; 9.30.

Monday 8

3½ Drest, tea, singing; 4 set out; 7.45 at Ford, tea, conversed; 8.45 read; 11 ᙏ; 12.30 at the house, dinner; 1.15 read; 3.30 Hungerford, tea; 4.15 read; 6.45 Woollington, supper, Diary; 8.30.

Tuesday 9

4½ Drest, on business; 5 read; 7.45 Harehatch, tea; 8.45 read; 12.15 Hounslow, dinner; 1.15 read; 3.30 at home, tea, on business; conversed to Bro. Humphreys, etc.; 6 Acts viii., supper, the leaders; 9.45.

Wednesday 10

5½ Prayed, 1 Pet. ii., conversed to many; 8.45 at Dinah Reed's, tea, conversed, prayer; 10.30 at home, on business, conversed to many; 3.15 at Bro. Hodge's, tea, at sister Hall's, conversed; 4.30 visited S. Timberlake! 5 visited S. Leighton! 6.30 visited S. Woodroffe! 7.30 at home, supper; 8 the bands; 10.

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[1] On Sunday the 7th, Cary, a Bristol vicar, ordered his curate to repel the Wesleys from the Sacrament; but he administered it to Charles Wesley a month later (Oct. 4). (Charles Wesley's Journal.)

Thur. 11.—I visited a poor woman, who, lying ill between her two sick children, without either physic or food convenient for her, was mightily praising God her Saviour, and testifying, as often as she could speak, her desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ.

Sun. 14.—As I returned home in the evening, I had no sooner stepped out of the coach than the mob, who were gathered in great numbers about my door, quite closed me in. I rejoiced and blessed God, knowing this was the time I had long been looking for; and immediately spake to those that were next me of 'righteousness and judgement to come.' At first not many heard, the noise round about us being exceeding great.

Thursday 11

4¾ Prayer, conversed, prayer; 6 1 Pet. ii.; 7 with the band, conversed; 10 writ N.; 11 conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Seaton's, Mrs. Mac-cune, dinner, conversed; 3.30 visited Sweet Lewin! prayer; 4.30 visited S[ister] Crisp, communion; 5.30 at home, in conversation; 6 Acts ix., society; 10.15 prayer.

Friday 12

5 Prayed, prayer; 6 1 Pet. ii.; 7 the band; 8 Mr. Thomas Davidson and Bro. Mason, tea, conversed; 9 conversed (an evident error for 'writ') N.; 10 conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3 christened; 4 communion; 4.30 at bro. Hall's, at Bro. Hodge's, tea, conversed; 6.45 Rosemary Lane, Rom. i. 16; 8.45 at home, supper, visited; 10.15.

Saturday 13

5 Prayed, 1 Pet. ii., conversed to some, writ to Bro. Richards; 8 at S. Aspernell's, tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, writ N.; 10 conversed to some; 11 read letters; 3 at S. Thew's, dinner, conversed; 4 read Journal; 4.30 at Mrs. West's, tea; 5.15 at Mrs. Hawthorn's, tea, conversed, visited S. Woodroffe; 6.30 Long Lane, Acts vii.; 8.15 at home, society; 10.15.

Sunday 14

5¼ Drest, tea; 6.15 Rom. xi. 6; 8.15 the women leaders; 10 Coleman Street, communion; 1 dinner, within; 2.30 S. Bennet-Fink; 4.15 at Mrs. Spenser's, tea; 5 Kennington, Rom. xi. 6; 7 at home, conversed to the mob! supper; 8 the lovefeast; 10!

Monday 15

5 Prayed, prayer, 1 Pet. ii., conversed to many; 8 at S. Waldron's, tea, conversed; 10 at home, conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Dove's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 at S. Sutherland's, tea, conversed; 4.45 at S. Crouch's with Hannah, within; 6 with S. Gaskard, tea, conversed; 7 Long Lane! 9 at home, supper, conversed, 10.15.

But the silence spread farther and farther till I had a quiet, attentive congregation; and when I left them they all showed much love, and dismissed me with many blessings.

Tues. 16.—Many more, who came in among us as lions, in a short space became as lambs; the tears trickling apace down their cheeks, who at first most loudly contradicted and blasphemed. I wonder the devil has not wisdom enough to discern that he is destroying his own kingdom. I believe he has never yet, any one time, caused this open opposition to the truth of God, without losing one or more of his servants, who were found of God while they sought Him not.

Wed. 17.—A poor woman gave me an account of what, I think, ought never to be forgotten.[1] It was four years, she said, since her son, Peter Shaw, then nineteen or twenty years old, by hearing a sermon of Mr. Wheatley's,[2] fell into great uneasiness. She thought he was ill, and would have sent for a physician; but he said, 'No, no. Send for Mr. Wheatley.' He was sent for, and came; and, after asking her a few questions, told her, 'The boy is mad. Get a coach, and carry him to Dr. M[unro]. Use my name. I have sent several such to him.' Accordingly, she got a coach, and went with him immediately to Dr. Munro's house. When the doctor came in, the young man rose and said, 'Sir, Mr. Wheatley has sent me to you.' The doctor asked, 'Is Mr. Wheatley your minister?' and bid him put out his tongue. Then, without

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Tuesday 16

5 Prayed, 1 Pet. ii., within to many; 8 at S. Vandome's, tea, conversed; 10 at home, conversed to many; 2.30 at Mr. Stonehouse's, Mr. Simpson there, dinner, conversed; 4 visited many; 5 at Mrs. Edzard's, tea, conversed; 6 Acts x.!! 7.30 supper, society! 10.30.

Wednesday 17

4¾ Writ for society; 6 1 Pet. iii., conversed to many; 8 at S. Orange's, many tarry, conversed, tea; 10 at home, visited; 11 conversed to many; 2 read Account of Sar[ah] Wight; 3 at Bro. Thornton's, tea, conversed, at brother Hall's, within; 5 at S. Timberlake's, prayer; at Mr. Gould's, conversed; 7.15 at home, supper; 8 the bands; 10.

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[1] A similar case is mentioned by Mrs. Wesley in a letter to her son John, dated Dec. 13, 1740:

> I am somewhat troubled at the case of poor Mr. McCune. I think his wife was ill-advised to send for that wretched fellow Monroe, for by what I hear, the man is not lunatic, but rather under strong conviction of sin, and hath much more need of a spiritual than a bodily physician.

[2] Lecturer at Spitalfields. See *Works* ix. 137, 138.

asking any questions, he told his mother: 'Choose your apothecary, and I will prescribe.' According to his prescriptions they, the next day, blooded him largely, confined him to a dark room, and put a strong blister on each of his arms, with another over all his head. But still he was as 'mad' as before, praying, or singing, or giving thanks continually; of which having laboured to cure him for six weeks in vain, though he was now so weak he could not stand alone, his mother dismissed the doctor and apothecary, and let him be 'beside himself' in peace.

Thur. 18.—The prince of the air made another attempt in defence of his tottering kingdom. A great number of men, having got into the middle of the Foundery, began to speak big, swelling words; so that my voice could hardly be heard while I was reading the eleventh chapter of the Acts. But immediately after, the hammer of the word brake the rocks in pieces; all quietly heard the glad tidings of salvation; and some, I trust, not in vain.

Thursday 18

5 Prayed, on business, 1 Pet. iii., conversed to many; 8.15 at Mr. Burton's, Cock Lane, tea, conversed, prayer, visited S. Smag; 10.15 at home, on business, read Sarah Wight, conversed; 2.15 at Bro. Buckmaster's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 visited; 4 at Sally Barnes's, tea, conversed, at S. Bennet-Fink's, etc., prayer; 6 Acts ii.!! 7 supper, society, Sally Dean, etc., ill; 12.30.

Friday 19

5¾ Drest, 1 Pet. iv., conversed to many; 8.15 at S. Allar's, tea, conversed; 10 at home, on business, with Sally Dean, prayer, conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3 communion with S. Dean, prayer, tea; 5 at Mrs. Burton's, Ragfair, conversed, prayer, visited; 6.30 Wapping, John vi. 40; 8.15 at home, supper, with S. Dean, conversed, prayer; 10.15.

Saturday 20

5¼ Within, prayer, 1 Pet. iv., conversed to many, visited; 8 tea, conversed; 9 with S. Dean, her sister, conversed; 11.30 conversed to many, Diary; 2 conversed; 2.15 at Mr. Wathen's, dinner, conversed; 4 with Tom Whitefield, visited some; 5 at S. Temple's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, Acts viii.! 8 at home, supper, conversed; 10.30.

Sunday 21

5¼ Drest, tea; 6.30 Rom. xi. 6; 8 the women leaders; 10 with S. Dean, Coleman Street, communion; 1.15 dinner; 2 with S. Dean, her brother and sister, conversed; 3.30 tea; 5 at Kennington, Rom. viii. 15! 7.15 at home, supper; 8 the women! 10.15

Mon. 22.—Wanting a little time for retirement, which it was almost impossible for me to have in London, I went to Mr. Piers's,[1] at Bexley; where, in the mornings and evenings, I expounded the Sermon on the Mount, and had leisure during the rest of the day for business of other kinds. On *Saturday* the 27th I returned.

Monday 22

4¾ Drest, on business; 5.30 read; 6.45 Deptford, Matt. vii.; 8.15 my mother came, took coach; 10.30 at Mr. Piers's, tea, conversed, singing; 12 Diary, John Tucker, conversed; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 3 my mother went, writ Journal; 5 W[illiam] Del[amott]e, tea, conversed; 7 Luke xviii. 10; 9 supper, conversed; 10.30.

Tuesday 23

6¼ Drest, Journal; 7.15 Matt. v. 41–8; 8.45 tea; 9.45 Journal; 2 dinner; 3.30 heard Mr. Piers's sermon; 4 at the Poorhouse, conversed, prayer; 5 at Mr. Mason's, tea, conversed, prayer; 7 in the Church, prayers, Matt. v. 1–9; 9 at home, supper, read Journal, prayer; 10.45 ṁ ! !

Wednesday 24

6 Prayed, Journal; 7.30 Matt. v. 13, etc.; 9 tea, Journal; 11.15 prayers, Mrs. Del[amot]te there! 12.30 Diary, on business; 1 read with Mr.

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[1] Rev. Henry Piers, vicar of Bexley, grandson of Sir Henry Piers, 1st baronet; born 1694, died Jan. 27, 1770. On the death of their father, Captain Thomas Piers, he and his younger brother Lewis were left an income from a plantation in Montserrat, West Indies, he being appointed executor. The business had to be largely done through agents and others, who acted in a most dishonest manner, with the result that there was very little received from the plantation, which greatly hampered, financially, the old vicar and his brother. In a letter dated Feb. 14, 1759, the vicar wrote that the affairs were going ill with him, through two robberies and other pressures, and that he was reduced to the necessity of sequestering his tithes for two years, and of being content with the residue of his income. How insufficient this was appears in a letter written six months later, in which he writes: 'Having been obliged to sequester my living to pay my debts, principally incurred by money incautiously engaged in for the deceitful Meriton, Hay, and others . . . I have lived upon charity since Christmas last.' The poor old parson was obliged to borrow of James Hutton and others, and had not succeeded in clearing off his debts at the time of his death, the final payment being made by his son Henry, who for some years was in the London Post Office. The latter wrote, under date March 9, 1770: 'I must . . . inform you of my heavy loss by the death of that great and good man my father, whom God pleased to take to Himself on the 27th January last, in the 76th year of his age, after a most painful illness of three weeks, which he bore with such a patience and firmness as none but a person supported by the almighty power of God could have done; a carbuncle on the side of his head brought him to his end. . . .' (Rich. Butterworth on *Rev. H. Piers, of Bexley*, *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 225. See also article in *W.M. Mag.* 1902, p. 133.)

Sun. 28.—I began expounding the same scripture at London. In the afternoon I described, to a numerous congregation at Kennington, the life of God in the soul. One person who stood on the mount made a little noise at first; but a gentleman, whom I knew not, walked up to him, and, without saying one word, mildly took him by the hand and led him down. From that time he was quiet till he went away.

When I came home I found an innumerable mob round the door, who opened all their throats the moment they saw me. I desired my friends to go into the house; and then, walking into the midst of the people, proclaimed 'the name of the

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Piers; 2.15 at Mrs. Law's, dinner, conversed; 3 Deptford, at Bro. Church's; 4 conversed to many; 4.15 tea; 5 at the Barn, Matt. i. 22; 7.30 Bexley, within; 8 Acts xiii.; 9 supper, conversed; 10.15.

Thursday 25

6 Journal; 7.15 Matt. v. ult.; 9 tea, Journal; 2 dinner; 3 Mr. Piers read his sermon; 4 Journal; 4.45 conversed with Mrs. Piers; 5.15 at Mrs. Searle's, tea, conversed; 6.30 at home, Journal, ended 't' [it]; 7.15 1 John v. 12; 9 supper, conversed; 10.15.

Friday 26

5 Preface to Journal[1]; 7.15 Matt. vi.; 9 tea, Preface; 11 prayers; 12.15 Preface; 1.45 heard his sermon: 3.30 at Mr. Mason's, tea, conversed, prayer; 5 his sermon; 6.30 supper; 7 prayers, Acts xvi.; 9 S. Gaskard, etc., at home, conversed; 10.15.

Saturday 27

5 Journald; 6.30 S. Gaskard, etc., tea, conversed; 7.30 Matt. vii. 16; 9 Journal; 10 Mr. Piers ended his sermon; 12.30 dinner; 1.15 at Mr. Mason's, conversed; 1.45 read; 3 at Bro. Church's, tea, conversed; 4 walked with S. Clavel, etc.; 4.45 at S. Dean's, conversed, tea; 6 Long Lane; 8.15 at home, within; 10.15.

Sunday 28

5 Drest, tea; 6.15 Matt. v. 3; 8 the women leaders; 9.45 within; 10 Coleman Street, communion; 1.15 at home, sister Nancy, dinner; 2 writ for bands; 3.45 tea, 5 Kennington, Acts xiii.! 7 at home, conversed to the mob, prayer; 7.30 supper, the women's lovefeast; 10.30.

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[1] These references apparently are to the 'Second Extract' of the Journal, published in 1740, and known as No. II. The Preface is dated 'London, Sept. 29, 1740,' and is signed 'John Wesley.' See vol. i. pp. 429-31; also Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, No. 18.

Lord, gracious and merciful, and repenting Him of the evil.' They stood staring one at another. I told them they could not flee from the face of this great God; and therefore besought them that we might all join together in crying to Him for mercy. To this they readily agreed: I then commended them to His grace, and went undisturbed to the little company within.

Tues. 30.—As I was expounding the twelfth of the Acts, a young man, with some others, rushed in, cursing and swearing vehemently, and so disturbed all near him that, after a time, they put him out. I observed it, and called to let him come in, that our Lord might bid his chains fall off. As soon as the sermon was over, he came and declared before us all that he was a smuggler, then going on that work; as his disguise, and the great bag he had with him, showed. But, he said, he must never do this more, for he was now resolved to have the Lord for his God.

OCT. 5, *Sun.*—I explained the difference between being called a Christian and being so; and God overruled the madness of the people, so that, after I had spoke a few words, they were quiet and attentive to the end.

Monday 29

5 Conversed, prayer; 6 1 Pet. iv.; 7 conversed with some; 7.15 at Mrs. Skelton's, communion, tea, conversed; 9.15 at home, on business; writ N.; 11.30 conversed to many; 2 dinner, conversed to many; 4 visited N. Lewin, S. Dean; 5 tea, conversed, singing; 6.45 Long Lane; 8.45 at home, supper; 10.15.

Tuesday 30

5 Prayed, 6 1 Pet. iv.; conversed to many; to Sarah Robinson; 8.30 at Mrs. Scudamore's, tea, conversed; 9.15 at Mr. Freestone's, prayer! 10 at home, writ to Capt. Whitefield, conversed to many; 2.15 at Mr. Strahan's [the publisher of the Second Extract], dinner; 4 at S. Peck's, communion; 21 visited S. Richardson; 5.15 at S. Clowny's, tea, conversed; 6 Acts xii.! supper, the leaders; 10.30.

OCT. 1, *Wednesday*

5 Prayed, 1 Pet. iv., conversed to some; 8 Hoxton, tea, conversed; 10 writ N.; 11 conversed to many; 3 visited, at Sweet Lewin's, tea, at Esther Kent's, tea, conversed; 5 at Greyhound Lane, Acts xi. 26; 7.15 at home, supper, conversed; 8.30 bands, conversed, prayer; 10.45.

Thursday 2

5½ Prayed, 1 Pet. v., visited; 7.30 at home, within; 8 at N. Morris's, Simpson there, conversed, tea; 9.45 at home, writ N., writ to Charles; 1 conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Johnson's, S. Dean, etc., dinner;

Mon. 6.—While I was preaching at Islington, and rebuking sharply those that had made shipwreck of the faith, a woman dropped down, struck, as was supposed, with death, having the use of all her limbs quite taken from her. But she knew the next day she should 'not die, but live, and declare the loving-kindness of the Lord.'

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4 at Bro. Hodges's, at the house, in talk; 5.30 at S[ister] Seaton's, tea, conversed; 6.15 Acts xiii., supper, 8 society; 10 within; 10.45.

Friday 3

5½ Prayed, 2 Pet. i., conversed to some, on business; 8 at Bro. ——, tea, conversed; 10 at home, writ to Bro. Ingham; 11.30 conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3 communion, 31; 4.15 at S. Wollard's, tea, conversed; 5 Redriff, 1 John i.; 6.15 Wapping, Luke xxiv.; 8 at home, supper, conversed; 10.

Saturday 4

5½ Drest, prayer, 2 Pet. i.; conversed to some, on business, tea within; 9.30 on business; 10 Diary, on business; 11 letters; 1 at Bro. Frecquer's, dinner; 2 letters; 4 at Bro. Frecquer's, tea, music; 6 Long Lane, at home, supper; 8.15 society; 10.15.

Sunday 5

5½ Drest, prayed, tea; 6.30 Matt. v. 4; 8 the women leaders; 10 S. Luke's Church, communion; 1.30 at home, dinner; 2.45 S. Dean, conversed; 4 at S. Horner's, tea, conversed; 5 Acts xi. 26, supper; 7.30 the bands; 10.15.

Monday 6

5¼ Drest, within; 6 2 Pet. i., conversed to some; 8 at S. Harrison's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.45 at home, on business; 11 conversed to many; 3 at Bro. Bamford's, tea, conversed; 4.15 Islington, Matt. xv.; 6 at S. Loyd's, tea, conversed; 7 Long Lane! 8.15 at S. Baddily's, supper, conversed; 10.15.

Tuesday 7

5¼ Prayed, in talk with Bro. Webb; 6 2 Pet. i., ult.; within to Bro. Webb; 8 at Mr. Martin's, Cock Lane, tea, conversed; 9.30 writ to Mr. Oulton, George Whitefield, Charles; 11 conversed to many; 3 at S. Ash's, tea, conversed; 4.15 at Mrs. Morgan's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at home, on business; 6 Acts xiii.! 7.15 at the Baptist's Head[1]; 8 the gentlemen met; 10.30.

Wednesday 8

5½ Prayed, 2 Pet. ii., conversed to many; 8 at S. Ward's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.45 at home, Journal; 11.15 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mr. Craven's; 4 Deptford, Bro. Church's, tea; 5 at the Barn, 2 Cor. iv. 1; 7.30 at home, supper, conversed; 8.30 the bands; 10.30.

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[1] A tavern in St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell, resorted to by literary men of the time. Johnson, Savage, Garrick, and Goldsmith probably were among its occasional frequenters. (Pinks's *History of Clerkenwell.*)

Tues. 14.—I met with a person [Mr. Mazine] who was to be pitied indeed. He was once a zealous Papist; but, being convinced he was wrong, cast off Popery and Christianity together. He told me at once, 'Sir, I scorn to deceive you, or any man living. Don't tell me of your Bible; I value it not; I do not believe a word of it.' I asked, 'Do you believe there is a God?

Thursday 9

5½ Prayed, 2 Pet. ii., conversed to many; 8.14 at S. Ibbison's, tea, conversed; 9.45 at home, writ to Charles; 11.15 conversed to many; 2.15 at S. Allar's, dinner, conversed; 4 at S. Paul's, conversed, tea; 5 at home, Mrs. Morgan and Mr. Hans, christened him; 6 Acts xiv. supper; 8 society, many ill! 10.30.

Friday 10

5½ Prayed, 2 Pet. iii., conversed to some, visited; 8 at Mrs. Jagger's, tea, conversed; 9 at S. Morris's, conversed; 9.45 at home, Journal; 11.30 conversed to many; 1 prayer, communion; 4 at S. Mills's, tea, conversed; 5 Redriff, Heb. ii. 4; 6.30 at Bro. Price's, tea; 6.45 Heb. ii.; 8.15 at home, supper, conversed with Bro. Cheyne; 10.30.

Saturday 11

5¼ Prayed, 2 Pet. iii., conversed to many; 8.30 at Dr. Newton's; 9 tea, conversed; 10.15 at Mrs. Skelton's, conversed; 11 at home, conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, dinner, conversed; 4 Mat. Clark, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane; 8 at home, supper; 9 the women, prayer; 10.30.

Sunday 12

5½ Prayed, tea; 6.30 Matt. v. 5! 8 the leaders; 10 St. Paul's; 12.30 at home, Journal; 1 Diary, dinner; 2.15 visited; 3 S. Dean, tea; 4 meditated, prayed; 5 Luke xi. 21! 7.30 the men's lovefeast; 10 within; 10.30.

Monday 13

5½ Prayed; 6 Matt. i., conversed to many; 8 at Mr. Rut[ter]'s, tea, conversed; 9.45 at Mr. Oswald's, two there, conversed; 11.45 at home, conversed to many; 3 Newington Green, at Mrs. Clark's, conversed, tea; 4.30 Islington, Matt. xii. 26; 6 at Bro. Hodge's; 6.30 Carnaby Street, 1 John v. 11, 12; 8 at Mr. Keen's ['the honest Quaker'], supper, conversed; 10.15 at home, within; 11.

Tuesday 14

5½ Prayed, Matt. ii., conversed to some; 8 at S. Ford's, tea, conversed; 9.30 at Bro. Kendrick's, conversed; 10.30 at Mr. Mazine's, conversed! 12 at home, conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Smith's, dinner, conversed; 3.45 at S. Crouch's, conversed; at Mrs. Hill's, J. Westry's, tea, conversed; 5 at Mrs. Bradley's, tea, conversed; 6 Acts xv.; 7.30 supper, society, conversed; 10.30.

And what do you believe concerning Him?' He replied, 'I know there is a God; and I believe Him to be the soul of all, the *Anima Mundi*[1]; if He be not rather, as I sometimes think is more probable, the *Τὸ Πᾶν*, the whole *compages* of body and spirit, everywhere diffused. But farther than this I know not; all is dark; my thought is lost. Whence I come I know not, nor what or why I am, nor whither I am going; but this I know, I am unhappy; I am weary of life; I wish it were at an end.' I told him I would pray to the God in whom I believed to show him more light before he went hence; and to convince him how much advantage every way a believer in Christ had over an infidel.

Wednesday 15

5½ Prayed, Matt. iii. conversed to some; 8.30 at S. Mac-cune's; 10.45 at the house, in talk; 12 at home, conversed to some; 2 christened three, Sarah Southgate, Eliz. —— & ——; 3 communion; 4 on business; 5 at S. Wollard's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at Greyhound Lane, Ephes. iv.; 7.30 at home; 8 prayer, at bands; 9.15 prayer, in talk; 9.45.

Thursday 16

4 Drest, in talk, prayer; 5 Journal; 6 Matt. iii., conversed, Journal; 8 within to Mary Daniel, tea, conversed; 9 Journal, ⋔! 12.15 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Johnson's, Aldgate, dinner, conversed; 3.15 at S. Persal's, tea, conversed; 4.45 at Mr. Witham's, tea, conversed; 6 Acts xvi., supper; 8 society; 9.30 prayer; 10.

Friday 17

5½ Prayer; 5 meditated, prayed; 5 Matt. iv.; 7 conversed to some; 8 with S. Dean, visited; 8.30 at Bro. Moreton's; 9 tea, conversed; 10 at home, Journal; 12 conversed to many; 1 prayer; 3 at Bro. Garnault's, tea, at Jane Church's, communion! 5 Redriff, Matt. iii. 2; 8.15 at Mr. Crouch's, supper, within; 10.15.

Saturday 18

4¾ Prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. iv., conversed to Brown and Knolton, tea; 8.30 writ to Miss Jason, George Whitefield, etc.; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mrs. Hawthorn's [school for young ladies: Charles Wesley's Journal, April 8, 1740], dinner, conversed; 4 at Bro. Windsor's, christened his son; 5 at Mrs. West's, conversed, tea; 6 Long Lane; 8 at home, supper; 9 prayer; 9.45.

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[1] *Anima Mundi.* The quasi-technical name in the Stoic philosophy for the active, animating, and formative principle of the universe. Τὸ Πᾶν—Plato, *Tim.* 28 C., *Crat.* 436 E, &c. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 26.)

Sun. 19.—I found one [Mr. Ball] who was a fresh instance of that strange truth, 'The servants of God suffer nothing.' His body was wellnigh torn asunder with pain; but God made all his bed in his sickness; so that he was continually giving thanks to God and making his boast of His praise.

At five I besought all that were present to 'be followers of God, as dear children, and to walk in love, as Christ also loved us, and gave Himself for us.' Many who were gathered together for that purpose endeavoured by shouting to drown my voice; but I turned upon them immediately, and offered them deliverance from their hard master. The word sunk deep into them, and they opened not their mouth. Satan, thy kingdom hath suffered loss. Thou fool! How long wilt thou contend with Him that is mightier than thou?

Mon. 20.—I began declaring that 'gospel of Christ' which 'is the power of God unto salvation,' in the midst of the publicans and sinners, at Short's Gardens, Drury Lane.[1]

Sunday 19

4 Drest, prayer, on business, tea; 6.15 Matt. v. 6; 8 the leaders; 10 St. Paul's,[2] communion; 12.45 at home, Diary, conversed, dinner, conversed with Betty Castle; 2.30 visited Bro. Ball; 3 at home, read Sarah Wight; 4 tea, conversed; 4.30 Eph. v. 1, 2! 6.30 with S. Dean; 7 supper, the women; 9 prayer; 9.45.

Monday 20

4½ Prayer, prayed, Matt. v. 7; three bands met, conversed, prayer; 9 at Mrs. Wildbore's [her husband 'a fanatical Calvinist': see Charles Wesley's Journal, July 29, 1740], tea, within, visited Alice Morley; 10 communion, Mr. Mazine; 11.30 at home, on business; 12 conversed to many; 2 at S. Ibbison's, dinner; 4 at Mr. Mazine's, jnr., in talk; 4.45 at Mrs. Lane's, tea, conversed, visited S. Leighton; 6.30 Short's Gardens, Rom. i.! 9.15 at home, supper, prayer; 10.

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[1] Between King's Street in St. Giles's, S.W., and Drury Lane, N.E. (length, 220 yards), and from Charing Cross, north-westerly, 850 yards (*A New View of London*, 1708, p. 76). See also Telford, *Two West End Chapels*, pp. 11, 16.

[2] This date appears to fit in exactly with the circumstances of the day on which John Nelson's first interview with Wesley took place. Nelson says (*E.M.P.*, vol. i. p. 36): 'I continued to walk with him after sacrament'; and 'we continued in discourse all the way from St. Paul's to the farther end of Upper Moorfields.' An examination of all the possible Sundays in the autumn of 1740 yields this result.

Wed. 22.—I spent an hour with Mr. St[onehouse]. Oh what *πιθανολογία*, 'persuasiveness of speech,' is here![1] Surely, all the deceivableness of unrighteousness. Who can escape, except God be with him?

Thur. 23.—I was informed of an awful providence. A poor wretch who was here last week, cursing and blaspheming, and labouring with all his might to hinder the word of God, had afterwards boasted to many that he would come again on Sunday, and no man should stop his mouth then. But on Friday God laid his hand upon him, and on Sunday he was buried.

Tuesday 21

4½ Drest, prayer, prayed; 5 Matt. v. 7; the band; 8.15 at Mary Barraby's, tea, conversed; 9 at home, writ to Charles, El. Baddiley, El. Spenser, Nanny Smith, Mary Thomas; 12 conversed to some; 2 at S[ister] Edzard's, dinner, conversed; 4 visited Hobbins; 4.30 at home, S. Dean and M. Reeve, tea; 6 Acts xvii.; 7.45 with the Managers; 8.45 at home, S. Birch [or Bird] and Bro. Waldron, etc., ill! supper, prayer; 10.

Wednesday 22

4½ Prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. v., two bands; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9.45 at Mr. Stonehouse's; 11.30 at Mr. Mazine's; 12 at home, conversed to many; 2 christened two; communion; 3 tea, at S. Boatswain's, junr.; 4 tea, conversed; 5 Short's Gardens, Rom. i.; 7.45 at home, supper; 8.15 the bands; 9.30 prayer; 9.45.

Thursday 23

4½ Drest, prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. v., the band; 8.30 at S. Gill-ham's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.45 at home, writ N.; 10 Dr. Andrews came, at Mr. Mazine's; 11 Infirmary; 11.30 at home, writ names; 12.30 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Harrison's, dinner, in talk; 4 at S. Bird's! tea; 5.15 at home, on business, in talk; 6 Acts xviii., supper, society, many ill; prayer; 10.

Friday 24

4½ Drest, prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. v., the band; 8.30 at S. Aspernell's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.5 at home, writ for [the] society; 12 conversed to many; 1 prayer, visited; 4 at S. Sparke's, tea, conversed; 5.15 at S. Scolefield's; 6 at the house, at Mr. Mazine's, in talk; 8.30 at home, supper, prayer; 9.45.

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[1] Col. ii. 4. 'The Rev. George Stonehouse resigned his vicarage at Islington, and retired to a village in the neighbourhood of Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, where he appears to have spent the residue of his days in inglorious "stillness"' (Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. i. p. 279).

Yet on *Sunday* the 26th, while I was enforcing that great question with an eye to the spiritual resurrection, 'Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?' the many-headed beast began to roar again. I again proclaimed deliverance to the captives; and their deep attention showed that the word sent to them did not return empty.

Mon. 27.—The surprising news of poor Mr. [William] S[ewar]d's death was confirmed.[1] Surely God will maintain His own cause. Righteous art Thou, O Lord!

Saturday 25

4½ Drest, prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. vi., the band; 8 at S. Jackson's, tea, conversed; 9.15 visited, communion; 10.45 writ names; 12.15 conversed to many; 2 visited, at Mrs. Ketteridge's, dinner; 3.45 visited, S. Colins, etc.; 4.45 at S. Ketteridge's, tea, conversed; 5 Long Lane, Acts xii.; 8 at home; 9 supper, prayer; 9.45.

Sunday 26

5 Drest, tea; 6 Matt. v. 7. 8; 8 the leaders; 10 St. Peter's, Cornhill, communion; 1 at home, dinner, prayer; 2.15 at S. Taylor's, conversed, tea; 4 at home, Diary, meditated; 5 Acts xxvi. 8! 7 supper, the women's lovefeast; 9.15.

Monday 27

4½ Drest, prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. vi., Journal; 8 tea, Journal; 11 at Bro. Hobbin's, christened L.S^{d}., prayer; 12.15 conversed to many; 2.45 at S. Vau[ghan]'s dinner, tea; 4.30 at the house, Luke xxiv.; 6.15 Short's Gardens, Rom. ii.; 9 at home, supper, prayer; 10.

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[1] Charles Wesley introduced William Seward to Methodism. In Nov. 1738 he found him in London—'a zealous soul, knowing only the baptism of John.' Three days later he writes: 'Mr. W. Seward testified faith.' He offered to pay Charles Wesley's coach-hire whenever he preached in remote suburbs of London. This Charles declined, remarking to Whitefield: 'I should be less backward if he took my advice; but he is so lavish of his Lord's goods I cannot consent to [that] this ruin should in any degree seem to be in my hand.' In Aug. 1739, when Whitefield embarked for America, William Seward went with him as a travelling companion, and at Philadelphia purchased a sloop for Whitefield's coasting voyages. He re-embarked for England, April 28, 1740.

In the Colman Collection is a much fuller version of this section of Charles Wesley's Journal. On Sept. 23 he writes:

> Mr. W. Seward came, and was very cordial. We prayed, rejoiced, and gave thanks. If I did not love him better for his opinion, I am sure it made me more industrious to confirm my old love towards him. I carried him to Mr. Wane's and then to our colliers. Mr. Seward spoke a few words to them which did not convince me of his call to preach.

A man without the magnetic power of speech was ill fitted to face raging mobs. He had probably contributed generously for the building of the New Room in the Horsefair. Mrs. Grevil and others urged upon him to claim the Room; but he 'abhorred their baseness.' The day following he fell under the influence of those who hated Methodism. A month later he visited Trevecca. Thence he

Tuesday 28

4½ Drest, prayer, Journal, prayed; 6 Matt. vi., Journal; 7.30 with the band; 8 tea, Journal; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Smag's, dinner; 3.30 at S. Southgate's, christened Ann ——; 4 at Mrs. Bradley's, tea, conversed; 5.15 at home, Journal; 6 Acts xix., Journal; 8 supper, the leaders; 9.30 prayer; 10.

Wednesday 29

4½ Drest, prayer, prayed, writ; 6 Matt. vi., Journal; 7,30 the band; 8 tea, Journal, ⋔; 11 within to Mr. Watkins, etc.; 2 christened M. S., communion; 3.30 at Mrs. Mason's, senr., conversed to Miss Seward; 4 at Bro. Prig's, tea, conversed; 5 Short's Gardens, Rom. ii.! 8 at home, supper, the bands, prayer; 10.

Thursday 30

4½ Prayer; 5 writ upon Predestination; 6 Matt. vi.! 7 writ upon Predestination, the band; 8 tea, within; 9 writ upon Pre^d^.; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Mr. Mason's, dinner, conversed, visited; 4 at Coz. Wilson's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at home, writ; 6 Acts xx., supper, society, prayer; 10.

Friday 31

4½ Prayer, writ upon Predestination; 6 Matt. iv. 10; 7 writ, the band; 8 tea, conversed, writ upon Pre^d^.; 2 conversed to many; 1 prayer; 3 visited Nanny Roberts, tea, prayer; 4.30 at Mrs. Keen's, within; 5.15 Short's Gardens, Mrs. Mac-cune, etc., tea, conversed; 6 Rom. iii; 8.30 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

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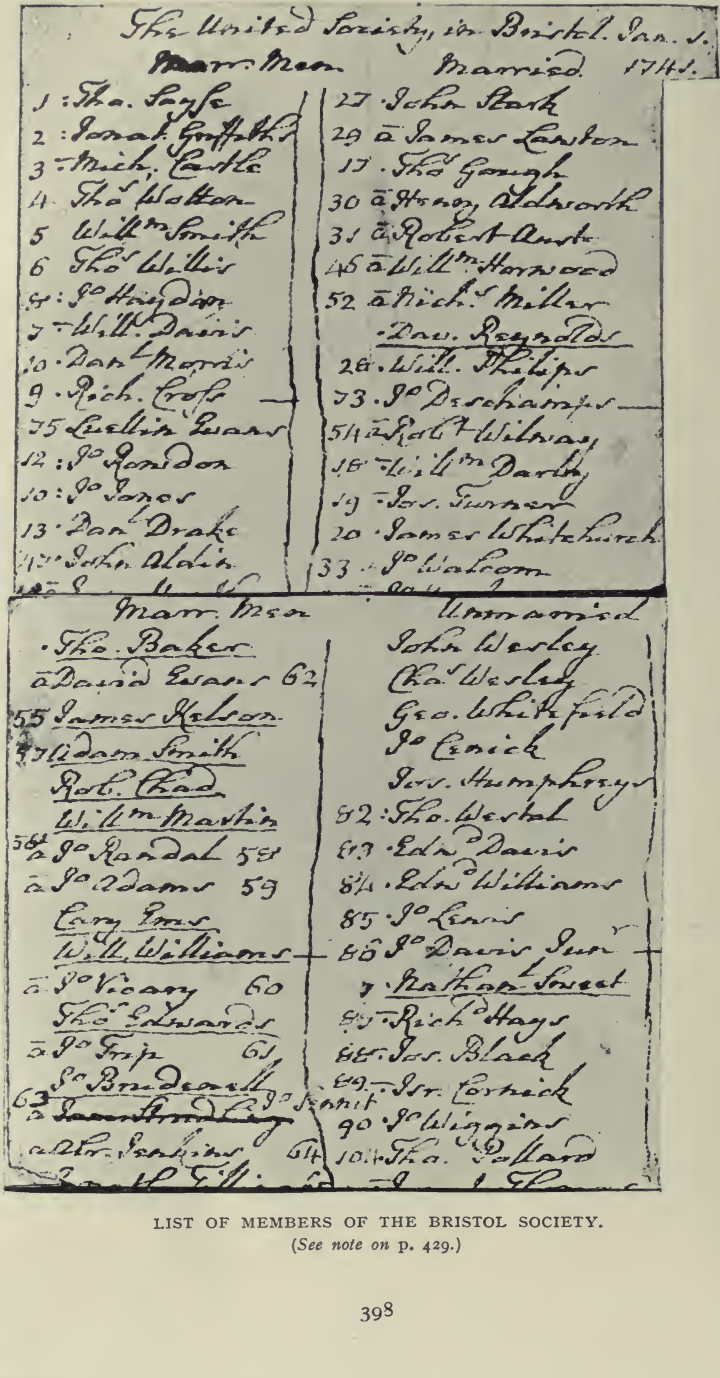
accompanied Howell Harris on a Welsh preaching-tour, was blinded by the mob at Caerleon, and ruthlessly slain on the Green at Hay beneath the ancient town wall. The mob assailed the preachers; missiles flew as at Caerleon. A man standing behind the wall threw a heavy stone which struck Mr. Seward, felling him senseless to the ground. A few days later (Oct. 27, 1740) he 'fell on sleep.' Whitefield, in a footnote to his corrected and abridged Journal, published in 1756, writes thus of William and Benjamin Seward: 'My worthy friend (William) before I returned to England was entered into rest, having left behind a glorious testimony of transforming agency and converting grace. This hath also been the happy state of his brother Benjamin, who lately finished his course in joy.' William Seward's grave may still be seen under the great yew-tree in Cushop churchyard. Seward published a Journal of his travels with Whitefield. The preface is dated July 24, 1740; and in it he desires that 'any who read what is here written will . . . be earnest at the Throne of Grace that He who hath begun the good work would carry it on, and enable me to finish my course with joy,' and 'that I may endure to the end, and be saved.' With this pathetic martyrdom the Seward family disappears from Methodist history. There can be no doubt that its wealth, though not always judiciously used, often provided material resources for the earliest work of Methodism in both its camps, Arminian and Calvinistic; but religiously, it was a house divided against itself. Henry, 'married to a Baptist wife,' bitterly opposed the Methodists; Thomas, a pleasure- and preferment-seeking Anglican clergyman, also opposed, as we may gather from a remarkable letter by William to his brother Thomas (Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. pp. 251–2). Benjamin was a Wesley-Methodist, and William a Whitefield-Methodist.

THE GRAVE OF WILLIAM SEWARD, THE FIRST METHODIST MARTYR.
THE SCENE OF THE MARTYRDOM (UNDER THE OLD TOWN WALL ON RIGHT).



The United Society, in Bristol. Jan. 1. 1741.

Marr. Men

1 : Tho. Sayse
2 : Jonat. Griffiths
3 = Mich. Castle
4 Thos Walton
5 Willm Smith
6 Thos Willis
8 : Jo Haydon
7 = Will. Davis
10 · Danl Morris
9 · Rich. Cross
75 Luellin Evans
12 : Jo Rawdon
10 : Jo Jones
13 · Danl Drake
[illegible] John Aldin

Married

27 · John Stark
29 ā James Lawton
17 · Thos Gough
30 ā Henry Aldworth
31 ā Robert Aust
46 ā Willm Horwood
52 ā Richd Miller
· Dav. Reynolds
28 · Will. Philips
73 · Jo Deschamps
54 ā Robt Wilway
18 = Willm Darby
19 = Jos. Turner
20 · James Whitchurch
33 · Jo Walcom

Marr. Men

· Tho. Baker
ā David Evans 62
55 James Kelson
57 Adam Smith
Robt. Chad
Willm Martin
56 ā Jo Randal 58
ā Jo Adams 59
Cary Ems
Will. Williams
ā Jo Vicary 60
Thos Edwards
ā Jo Trip 61
Jo Brudeall
63 ā ~~[illegible]~~ Jo Jennit
ā Abr. Jenkins 64

Unmarried

John Wesley
Chas Wesley
Geo. Whitefild
Jo Cennick
Jos. Humphreys
82 : Tho. Westal
83 · Edwd Davis
84 · Edwd Williams
85 · Jo Lewis
86 Jo Davis Junr
7 Nathanl Sweet
87 · Richd Hays
88 · Jos. Black
89 = Isr. Cornick
90 Jo Wiggins
101 Tho. Pollard

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE BRISTOL SOCIETY.
(*See note on* p. 429.)

NOV. 1, *Sat.*—While I was preaching at Long Lane, the storm was so exceedingly high that the house we were in shook continually; but so much the more did many rejoice in Him whom the winds and the seas obey, finding they were ready to obey His call, if He should then require their souls of them.

Mon. 3.—We distributed, as every one had need, among the numerous poor of our society, the clothes of several kinds which many who could spare them had brought for that purpose.

NOV. 1, *Saturday*

4½ Prayer, prayed, meditated; 6 Matt. vii., the band; 8 within to some; 9 tea, on business; writ to Charles; 12 read letters; 2 at Mr. Blake's, dinner; 3 letters; 6 Long Lane, the storm! 8.30 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Sunday 2

4½ Drest, prayer, tea; 6 Matt. v. 10, etc.; 8 the leaders; 9.15 within; 10 St. Luke's, communion; 1.45 at Mrs. Pierce's, dinner; 3.30 at home, tea, conversed; 4.30 meditated; 5 Isa. xix. 15! 7 supper, the women! 9.30 prayer; 9.45.

Monday 3

4½ Prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. vii. ult.; the band; 8.15 tea, within with Bro. Purdy, etc.; 9.45 sorted things for the poor; 12.15 conversed to many; 2.30 visited sister Nancy, prayer; 3 at Mrs. Bolt's, dinner, Mrs. Scott there; 4 visited Mrs. Hill; 4.30 at Mrs. Bolt's, tea; 5.15 Short's Gardens, on business; 6 Rom. iii.; 7.45 tea, the leaders; 9 men and women leaders, prayer! 10.30 at home, supper; 11.

Tuesday 4

4¾ Prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. viii.; the band; 8 tea, within; 9,30 writ N.; 10 writ to Richards, etc.; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Wilkinson's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 at Mrs. Happ[y]'s, tea, conversed, prayer; 4 at Bro. Lewin's, tea, conversed; 6 Acts xxi.; 7.45 supper, within; 9.15 prayer, 9.45.

Wednesday 5

4½ Prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. ix.; the band; 8 tea, conversed; 9 Journal; 12 conversed to many; 2 the leaders, conversed, prayer, communion, prayer; 4 at Bro. Lewin's, dinner; 4.45 at Patty Kent's, tea, conversed; 5.30 Greyhound Lane, Matt. xii. 26, visited; 7.30 at home, supper; 8 the bands; 9.30 prayer; 10.

Thursday 6

4½ Prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. ix.; the band; 8 S. Morris, Francis, Hibbard, and Middleton, tea, conversed; 12 conversed to many; 2 at Mrs.

Sun. 9.—I had the comfort of finding all our brethren that are in band of one heart and of one mind.

Mon. 10.—Early in the morning I set out, and the next evening came to Bristol.

I found my brother (to supply whose absence I came) had been in Wales for some days.[1] The next morning I inquired particularly into the state of the little flock. In the afternoon we met together to pour out our souls before God, and beseech Him to bring back into the way those who had erred from His commandments.

Frognell's, dinner, conversed ; 4.30 at Mrs. Sutherland's, conversed, prayer ; 5.15 at S[ister] Aspernel's, conversed ; 6 Acts xxii. ; supper ; 8 society ! prayer ; 10.15.

Friday 7

4½ Prayer, prayed ; Matt. x. ; the band ; 8 Mr. Rogers and Mason, tea, conversed ; 10 writ N. ; 12 conversed to many ; 1 prayer ; 3 visited many ; 4.30 at S. Belbin's, tea, conversed ; 5.30 at Short's Gardens, Rom. iii. ; 8.15 at home, supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

Saturday 8

4½ Drest, prayer, within ; 6 Matt. x. ! visited Esther Owen, communion ; 8.30 at Coz. Wilson's,[2] tea, conversed ; 9. 45 at home, writ to Charles, writ N. ; 12 conversed to some ; 2 at Bro. Windsor's, dinner, conversed ; 4 at Bro. Dawson's, at S. Woodroffe's, tea, conversed ; 5.15 at S. Wilkinson's, tea, Acts xiii. ! 8 at home, supper ; 8.15 the women ; 10.15.

Sunday 9

4 Drest, prayer, conversed to some, tea ; 6 Matt. v. 13, etc. ; 8 the leaders ; 9 conversed to S. Morris ; 10 St. Peter's, communion ; 1 at home, dinner, visited ; 2.45 at home, on business ; 3.30 tea, conversed to many ; 5 Isa. —— ; 7 supper, the men's lovefeast ! 9.30.

Monday 10

2 Drest, tea, M. Cannon, N. Morris, etc., prayer ; 4 read with Bro. Nowers, verse ; 7.45 Colebrook, tea ; 8.45 read, verse ; 12 Read[ing], dinner ; 1 read, verse ; 5 Hungerford, writ, supper, prayer ; 7.15.

Tuesday 11

5 Prayer, drest ; 6 read ; 8 Marlborough, tea ; 9 read ; 11.45 Chippenham, dinner ; 12.45 read, verse ; 4.15 Bristol, at Bro. Deschamps', tea, conversed ; 5 at home, on business ; 5.45 Isa. xlix. 15 ! supper ; 8 the bands ; 9 prayer ! 9.15 prayer ; 9.30.

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[1] Four days. C. (Wesley's Journal, Nov. 6.)

[2] Charles Wesley refers to 'my cousin Wilson,' April 7, 1746.

I spent the rest of the week in speaking with as many as I could, either comforting the feeble-minded, or confirming the wavering, or endeavouring to find and save that which was lost.

Sun. 16.—After communicating at St. James's, our parish church,[1] with a numerous congregation, I visited several of the

Wednesday 12

5 Drest, prayer; 5.45 1 Tim. ii. 4; the women leaders, within, prayer; 9.15 visited M. Purnell, etc.; 12.30 at home, on business; 1 the leaders, prayer; 2.30 at Mrs. Hooper's, Mrs. Norman, etc.; conversed, prayer; 3 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 4.15 at home, 1st and 2nd band; 6 the women, prayer; the men, prayer! 9.30 prayer.

Thursday 13

5 Drest, prayer; Acts vii.; 3rd and 4th band; 8.45 at S. Highnam's, tea, conversed; 10.15 visited; 11 Maltroom [probably Mr. Hooper's malthouse, utilized as a society-room or preaching-house]! Luke xiii.; 12.30 visited some; 1.30 at Mr. Labbe's, dinner, conversed to Sukey, prayer; 3 at Mr. Martin's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at home, 5th and 6th band; 5.45 1 John iii.; supper, society; 9.30 prayer; 10.

Friday 14

5 Drest, prayer, 2 Pet. i. 1-12, 7th and 8th bands; 8.15 tea, conversed; 9 on business, 9th and 10th bands; 10 at S. Purnell's, communion! visited; 12.45 at home, on business; 1 prayer! 3 at Mrs. Grevile's, tea, prayer with Mrs. Parsons; 4 at home, 11th and 12th bands; 5.15 conversed with S. Cenick, conversed! 6 Rom. v. 1-12; 8 supper, conversed, prayer, read; 10.

Saturday 15

5 Drest, prayer, 2 Pet. i. 1-12! 11th and 12th bands; 8.30 at Sister Highnam's, tea, conversed; 10 at Mr. Labbe's, communion, visited; 11.30 at home, conversed to some; 1 at Mrs. Hooper's, dinner, visited; 3 Kingswood, within with Bro. Cenick! 4.45 the bands, conversed, prayer! 6 at Mrs. England's, at S. Hooper's, tea, conversed; 7 Maltroom, Luke vi.; 8.45 supper, within; 10.

Sunday 16

5 Drest, prayer; 5.45 Eph. vi. 10, at Mr. Deschamps', tea, conversed; 8 Kingswood, 1 John iii. 1, etc.! 10 at our Ch[urch] [St. James's], communion; 1.30 at S. England's, dinner, visited; 3.30 at S. England's with Bro. Richards, tea; 4.15 at home, Diary; 4.45 Acts xiii. 30, society, prayer! 9.15 within, prayer; 9.45.

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[1] The Room in the Horsefair is near St. James's, the parish church. The original entrance to the 'Room' was from the Horsefair, and is still preserved (see p. 196). The present main entrance to the enlarged chapel is from the Broadmead. (See article in *Meth. Rec.* Winter Number, 1901.)

sick. Most of them were ill of the spotted fever; which, they informed me, had been extremely mortal, few persons recovering from it. But God had said, 'Hitherto shalt thou come.' I believe there was not one with whom we were but recovered.

Monday, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, I visited many more, partly of those that were sick or weak, partly of 'the lame' that had been 'turned out of the way'; having a confidence in God that He would yet return unto every one of these and leave a blessing behind Him.

Thur. 20.—My brother returned from Wales.[1] So, early on

Monday 17

5 Drest, prayer; 5.45 Rom. v. 13, etc., 13th and 14th bands; 8.30 at Mrs. Stafford's, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 at Bro. Richards', communion; 11.15 at home, conversed to many; 1.30 at S. Stephens's, dinner, conversed; 3 at Bro. Morris's, tea, conversed; 4 at Bro. Darby's, tea, conversed; 5 at home, with the band; 5.45 Rom. iv. 5; 7.45 the leaders, conversed, prayer; 9.15 read; 10.15.

Tuesday 18

5 Drest, prayer, Rom. vii., 15th and 16th bands; 8 visited; 9 Mary Lockier, communion; at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 10 visited; 11 Maltroom, Luke vi. 40; 1.15 at Mr. Wayne's, dinner; 2.30 at the school, Luke vi. 40; 5.15 at M. Cutler's, tea, conversed; 6 2 Cor. vii. 1; 8 at S. Mrs. [? Mears], within, supper; 10.

Wednesday 19

5 Prayer, Rom. vii., the bands; 8 at Bro. Lanton's, tea, conversed; 10 at Capt. Turner's, at Peggy Davis's, prayer; 11 conversed to many; 1.30 prayer! 3 at Bro. Sayse's, tea, conversed, visited M. Purnell, at S. Hooper's, tea, conversed, visited some; 6 at home, the women; 7.30 supper, the men! 10.

Thursday 20

5 Charles came, prayer, Rom. ix.; 8 at S. Hooper's with Charles, conversed, tea, Charles read Journal; 10 at home, conversed to some, Diary; 11 2 Tim. ii. 4, visited, communion; 1.15 at Mr. Farley's, dinner; 3 at Highnam's, conversed, tea; 4.15 at S. Shrewsbury's, tea, conversed; 5 at home, conversed; 5.45 Heb. x. 35; 7.30 society; 8.45 at Mr. Deschamps', within, prayer, 9.30.

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[1] Charles writes: 'I found my brother at the Room, expounding Rom. ix. I confirmed his saying, and gave some account of my success in Wales.'

Friday the 21st, I left Bristol, and on *Saturday*, in the afternoon, came safe to London.

Tues. 25.—After several methods proposed for employing those who were out of business, we determined to make a trial of one which several of our brethren recommended to us. Our aim was, with as little expense as possible, to keep them at once from want and from idleness; in order to which, we took twelve

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Friday 21

3 Tea, prayer; 4.15 set out; 4.45 at S[ally] Jones's, conversed, prayer; 5.15 read verse; 8.30 Chippenham, tea, conversed; 9.45 read verse; 12.45 Marlborough, dinner, conversed; 1.45 read verse; 5.30 Wollington, read verse, supper, conversed, prayer; 8.30.

Saturday 22

4 Drest; 4.30 read verse; 7.30 Harehatch, tea, conversed; 8.45 read verse; 12 Hounslow, dinner, writ; 1 read; 3.30 at home, read letters, tea, conversed; 4.30 on business, Diary; 6 writ to Charles, writ N.; 8 with Mary Gunning, prayer, at home; 9 prayer; 9.30.

Sunday 23

4¾ Drest, prayer, tea; 6 Matt. v. 16–20! 7.45 the women leaders; 10 St. Peter's, communion; 1 at home, dinner, conversed; 2.30 visited some; 3.30 at Mrs. Witham's, Mrs. Mac-cune, etc.; 5 tea, conversed, 2 Kings x. 15, in talk, on business; 7.30 the women's love-feast; 9.15 at Mary Gunning's, singing! 10.

Monday 24

4½ Drest, prayer, conversed, 6 Matt. x., the band; 8 on business; 8.30 at S. Harrison's, many tarry, tea, prayer; 10 visited S. Lewin; 10.30 Mr. Mason, within; 11 corrected de Renty [Extract of *Life of M. de Renty*, published 1741]; 12 conversed to many; 2.45 at Walter Jones's, dinner, conversed; 4 at Bro. Broadmead's, married him; 4.45 at Short's Gardens, at Bro. Hodges's, tea; 6 Short's Gardens, Rom. iii.; 8 the leaders, within; 9 all the leaders, conversed, prayer; 10.30 at home; 10.45.

Tuesday 25

4¾ Drest, prayer, meditated, 6 Matt. xi.; 7.15 walked with S. Jackson, Waldron, at Ratcliff + [Cross],[1] S. Lane's, tea, conversed, prayer; 4.15 at home, writ N., conversed to many; 1 with the spinners, prayer, conversed to some; 2.15 at Mr. Winsmore's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 at Mrs. Sisson's, conversed; 4 at Mr. Witham's, S. Mac-cune, etc.; 4.30 at S. Brian's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at home, in the S[ociety-room], prayer; 6 Acts xxiv.! 8 with my mother; 9.30 prayer; 10.

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[1] Mr. Foster translated the sign '+' as 'open-air service,'

of the poorest, and a teacher, into the society-room, where they were employed for four months, till spring came on, in carding and spinning of cotton. And the design answered; they were employed and maintained with very little more than the produce of their own labour.

Fri. 28.—A gentleman [Mr. Allen] came to me full of goodwill, to exhort me not to leave the Church; or (which was the same thing in his account) to use extemporary prayer; which, said he, 'I will prove to a demonstration to be no prayer at all. For you cannot do two things at once. But thinking how to pray, and praying, are two things. *Ergo*, you cannot both think and pray at once.' Now, may it not be proved by the self-same demonstration that praying by a form is no prayer at all?—e.g. 'You cannot do two things at once. But reading and praying are two things. *Ergo*, you cannot both read and pray at once.' Q. E. D.

Wednesday 26

4¾ Drest, prayer, meditated; 6 Matt. xi.; 7 in the S[ociety-room], prayer, with the band; 8.15 at Bro. Gross's, conversed, tea; 9.30 visited some; 10.45 at home; 11 in conversation, conversed to many; 2 communion; 3 at Mrs. Mackenzie's, tea, conversed; 4.15 at S[ister] Vandrelst's, tea; 5 Short's Gardens, Rom. iii.! 7.45 at home, supper; 8 the bands; 10.15.

Thursday 27

4¾ Drest, prayer, meditated, prayed; 6 Matt. xii., in the S[ociety-room], the band; 8.15 at Bro. Cobb's, tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, on business; 11 Journal; 12 conversed to some; 2.15 at Mr. Ellis's, dinner, prayer; 3.45 visited; 4.15 at S. Sutherland's, tea, conversed; 5.45 at home, S[ociety-room], Acts xxv.; 7.30 on business; 8 society! 9.45.

Friday 28

4¾ Drest, prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. xii., s[pinners], the band; 8.15 at S. Williams's, tea, conversed; 9.15 visited; 9.45 at home ⏜, Journal! 11 Mr. Allen, of Kettering, conversed; 12 conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3.15 at S. Hall's, tea, conversed; 4.15 at S. Scofield's, christened her son; 5.15 at Short's Gardens, tea, conversed, Rom. iii.; 8.45 at home, supper, prayer; 9.45.

Saturday 29

4½ Drest, prayer, prayed; 6 Matt. xii., s[pinners], the band; 8.15 at Mrs. Fox's, tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, on business, writ N.; 12 Mr. Benjamin Seward, etc., within; 1 prayer, singing; 2 at S. Horner's, dinner, conversed; 3 prayer; 5 at S. Hawthorn's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, Acts xiv.; 8.15 at home, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.15.

In the afternoon I was with one of our sisters who, for two days, was believed to be in the agonies of death, being then in travail with her first child; but the pain, she declared, was as nothing to her, her soul being filled all that time with 'joy unspeakable.'

DEC. 1, *Mon.*—Finding many of our brethren and sisters offended at each other, I appointed the several accusers to come and speak face to face with the accused. Some of them came almost every day this week. And most of the offences vanished away. Where any doubt remained, I could only advise them each to look to his own heart; and to suspend their judgements of each other till God should 'bring to light the hidden things of darkness.'

Sunday 30

4¼ Drest, prayer, tea; 6 Matt. v. 20, etc., the leaders; 9.45 St. Paul's, communion, writ N.; 1 dinner, visited some; 3.15 at home, tea, within; 5 John xi. 36, Mr. Mac-cune, etc.; 7 the women; 9 prayer; 9.15.

DEC. 1, *Monday*

4½ Drest, prayer, meditated; 6 Matt. xii., s[pinners], corrected; writ N.; 9 Journal; 12 conversed to many, to N. Morris, etc.; tea; 4.30 at S. Ibbison's, Bro. Angel, etc.; 5.30 Short's Gardens, tea; 6 Rom. iv. 5; 8 the leaders, bro. Hall came, conversed, prayer! 11 at home.

Tuesday 2

4¾ Drest, prayer, meditated, chocolate; 6 Matt. xii., s[pinners], conversed to some; 8 Predestination; s[pinners], conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Sym's, Marschall there, dinner, conversed; 3.30 at home, on business; 4 S. Middleton, etc., in conversation; 5 at S. Hunton's, S. Parker and bro. Hall, within, tea; 6 Acts xxvi.; read sermon; 9.15 prayer with many; 10.

Wednesday 3

4½ Drest, prayed, chocolate; 6 Matt. xiii., s[pinners], with S. Hibbard; 8 Predestination; 11.30 conversed to many; s[pinners], conversed; 2 christened two! communion; 4 conversed with S. Hibbard, etc.; 4 tea, conversed; 5 Short's Gardens; 6.45 tea, conversed; 8 at home, the men, prayer! 10.15.

Thursday 4

4½ Prayer, drest, chocolate; 6 Matt. xiii.; s[pinners], conversed to some; 8 Predestination; 11.30 conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Dawson's, dinner, conversed; 4.15 at home, on business, read Mrs. Dutton's book, s[pinners]; 6 Acts xxvi.; on business; 8 society! 10.

Friday 5

4½ Drest, prayer, chocolate; 6 Matt. xiii., s[pinners]; Predestination; 12 conversed to many; 1.15 prayer! 3 read letter from Herrnhut;

Fri. 12.—Having received many unpleasing accounts concerning our little society in Kingswood,[1] I left London, and after

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3.30 tea, visited some; 5 Wapping, 2 Cor. iv. 1, etc.; 6.45 Rosemary Lane, Rom. x. 7, etc.; 8.15 at home, supper, Mr. Ellis, etc., within, prayer; 10.

Saturday 6

4½ Drest, prayer! meditated, chocolate; 6 Matt. xiii., s[pinners], writ for society; 11 at S[ister] Aspernel's, conversed! 12 at home, conversed to many, s[pinners], 2 at Mr. Doleman's, dinner, conversed; 3.45 at the hospital; 4 at Guy's Hospital with S. Lincoln, Mr. Chandler, prayer, conversed! tea; 5.30 visited; 6 Long Lane; 8 at home, the women, prayer; 10.

Sunday 7

4¼ Drest, prayer, tea; 6 Matt. v. 27, etc.! the leaders; 10 St. Luke's, communion, 300 communicants; 1.45 at home, dinner, prayer! 3 visited Bro. Reeve, prayer! 4.30 at home, drest, Rom. x. 7! 7 the men's lovefeast; 10.

Monday 8

4½ Drest, prayer, chocolate; 6 Matt. xiii., s[pinners]; 7.30 Journal; 9 writ names for society ; 11.30 conversed to many; 3 at S. Middleton's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at Mr. Hall's, within; 5.30 Short's Gardens, Rom. iv. to the end; 8.15 at home, on business, prayer; 9.45.

Tuesday 9

4½ Prayer, on business; 6 Matt. xiv., s[pinners]; writ N.; on business; 12 conversed to many, dinner; 3.30 at S. Edzard's, tea, conversed; at S. Fox's, within; 5.30 s[pinners]; 6 Acts xxvi.; the leaders; 10.

Wednesday 10

4¾ Drest, prayer, on business; 6 Matt. xv., s[pinners], writ N.; 9 tea, in talk; 11 on business; visited; 12.30 at home, conversed to many; 2.30 communion; 4 tea; Short's Gardens, Rom. v.! 7.45 at home, supper; 8.15 the bands; 10.15.

Thursday 11

4½ Prayer, drest, conversed to some; 6 Matt. xv., s[pinners], conversed to some, on business; 9 tea, in talk, on business; 11 conversed to many; 2.15 at S. Seaton's, dinner; 3.30 at Mr. Hill's, S. Garnault's [lit. here Garnecu], S. Aspernell's; 6 Acts xxviii. society! conversed to some; 10.15.

Friday 12

3 Drest, tea, conversed; 4.30 set out with Mr. Cenick, Nowers, Bond; 8.15 Colebrook, tea, conversed; 9.15 read, verse; 1 Reading, Sally Cenick, dinner, conversed; 2.30 read, verse; 6.30 Hungerford; 7 supper, within; 8.30 prayer.

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[1] The Calvinistic disputes were raging, Cennick inclining towards the Whitefield party (C. Wesley's Journal, Nov. 30, 1740). 'I wrote my brother,' he notes a week later, 'a full account of the predestinarian party, . . . particularly their desire "to

some difficulty and danger, by reason of much ice on the road, on *Saturday* evening came to my brother at Bristol, who confirmed to me what I did not desire to hear.

Sun. 14.—I went to Kingswood, intending, if it should please God, to spend some time there, if haply I might be an instrument in His hand of repairing the breaches which had been made; that we might again, with one heart and one mouth, glorify the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Mon. 15.—I began expounding, both in the morning and evening, our Lord's Sermon upon the Mount. In the daytime I laboured to heal the jealousies and misunderstandings which had arisen, warning every man, and exhorting every man, 'See that ye fall not out by the way.'

Tues. 16.—In the afternoon I preached on 'Let patience have her perfect work.' The next evening Mr. Cennick came

Saturday 13

4 Drest, tea; 5.45 read; 11.45 Caln[e], dinner, conversed; 1.15 read; 6.30 Bristol, at Mr. Jones', within; 7.30 at Mrs. Hooper's, tea, conversed; 8.30 Charles came, within, prayer; 9.15 at home, within, prayer; 10.

Sunday 14

5½ Drest; 6 Matt. v. 3; at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 8.30 at the School, John xi. 36! 9.45 at Mr. Willis', communion; 11.45 at Mrs. England's, conversed; 12.15 dinner, conversed; 2.15 at home, on business; 3 prayer with N. Cole and Alice Philips; 3 tea, on business; 4 John xi. 36; 6.30 Kingswood, the men's lovefeast; 7 prayer; 8.30 conversed with N. Davis and Ayl[ing], prayer; 10.

Monday 15

5½ Read J. Cenick's papers; 8 Matt. v. 3; at Mr. Wayne's, tea, within; 11 at home, on business, Bro. Griffiths came; 12 read N.; 2 at Da[vid] Reynolds', dinner; 3.30 at home, read, within; 5 met three bands; 7 Matt. v. 4! 9 conversed to Nanny Ayling and N[anny] Davis, prayer; 9.45.

Tuesday 16

5 Writ from Barclay [the Quaker writer]; 8 Matt. v. 4; at Mrs. Reed's, tea, conversed; 11 at home, on business, Barclay; 12.30 at Mr.

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have a church within themselves, and to give themselves the sacrament in bread and water, like the sect of 'Aquarians' who were condemned by the Church."' This letter brought Wesley to Kingswood. The biographers dwell at length upon the Cennick episodes. It is difficult, out of heated controversies, to extract actual facts. Recently a volume on John Cennick has been published by Rev. J. E. Hutton, M.A., author of a *Short History of the Moravian Church.* Unfortunately this otherwise trustworthy sketch is coloured by Moravian prejudice against the Wesleys.

back from a little journey into Wiltshire. I was greatly surprised when I went to receive him, as usual, with open arms, to observe him quite cold; so that a stranger would have judged he had scarce ever seen me before. However, for the present I said nothing, but did him honour before the people.

Fri. 19.—I pressed him to explain his behaviour. He told me many stories which he had heard of me; yet it seemed to me something was still behind; so I desired we might meet again in the morning.

Sat. 20.—A few of us had a long conference together.[1] Mr.

Wayne's, conversed, dinner; 3.30 S. James i. 4, 5! 4 Charles, conversed, tea; 5 at band; 6 Matt. v. 4! 7.45 Nanny, etc., conversed, prayer; 10.

Wednesday 17

5 Barclay; 7.30 tea; 8 Matt. v. 5; 6 at Mrs. Cambourn's, Betty Bush, tea, conversed; 11 at home, writ to Mr. Hutchins, Mrs. Mac-cune, Mr. Evans, Humphreys; 2 writ N.; 3 tea, N. Davis, Ayling, and Richards, conversed; 4 Barclay; 5.15 band; 6 John Cenick came, Matt. v. 7, etc.; 7.30 within with, 8 conversed with John Cenick! 9.15 prayer; 9.45.

Thursday 18

3¾ Barclay; 8 Matt. v. 9–16; 9.30 at Widow Jones', tea, singing; 11 at home, Barclay; 12.15 Bro. Sayse came; 1 conversed; 2 at Mr. Willis', Charles, Richards, etc., dinner, singing, prayer; 3.45 visited; 4.45 at the School, Barclay; 6 Matt. iv.! 7.30 Barclay, Anna Cenick, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Friday 19

3¾ Barclay; 8 Matt. v. 17, 18; conversed to some, visited; 11 at Bro. Deschamps', at S. Purnell's, at S. Hooper's, conversed; 12 at the School, within with Charles; 1 prayer; 2.30 at Dr. Middleton's; 3 within; at Mr. Farley's, tea, singing; 5 at home, on business, Diary; 6 Matt. v. 17, 18; 7.30 John Cenick, etc., within, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 20

3¾ Ended Barclay, tea, Sally Luton and Betty Lovel, conversed; 8 Matt. xx.; at Mrs. Tippet's, coffee, conversed, John Cenick, etc.; 10.45 at home, Charles, John Cenick, T. Besw[ick], Nowers, S. Ayling, and Davis, prayer, conversed of Election! 2 at Charles Arthur's, dinner, singing; 4 at home, the bands; 5 met a band, met another; 6.30 writ; 7.15 N. Davis and Ayling, conversed; 9 prayer; 9.30.

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[1] Charles Wesley did not set out for London till the 24th; he was present at the conference.

C[ennick] now told me plainly he could not agree with me, because I did not preach the truth, in particular with regard to Election. We then entered a little into the controversy; but without effect.

Sun. 21.—In the morning I enforced those words, 'Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought to love one another.' Three of our sisters I saw in the afternoon, all supposed to be near death, and calmly rejoicing in hope of speedily going to Him whom their souls loved.

At the lovefeast which we had in the evening at Bristol, seventy or eighty of our brethren and sisters from Kingswood were present, notwithstanding the heavy snow. We all walked back together, through the most violent storm of sleet and snow which I ever remember; the snow also lying above knee-deep in many places. But our hearts were warmed, so that we went on, rejoicing and praising God for the consolation.

Sunday 21

4¾ Writ for the bands; 6.30 [the] two Nannys [Nanny Davis and Nanny Ayling], prayer, tea, conversed; writ; 8 1 John iv. 11; 9.15 at John Cenick's band; 10.30 at Mr. Willis', conversed, communion; 12.30 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 1 visited M. Pears[on] or [e], Bro. Darby, N. Cole; 2.15 at home, Mrs. Norman, conversed, tea; 3.45 Matt. viii. 2, 3! 5.30 society! 7 the bands of Kingswood and Bristol, lovefeast, singing, prayer; 11 at home.

Monday 22

5 On business, writ bands; 7.15 tea, conversed; 8 Matt. v. 21; 9 visited David Reynolds; 10.30 at home, writ for bands; 1 at Mrs. Hooper's, within with Charles, dinner; 2.15 at Capt. Turner's, singing, prayer; 3 at S. Highnam's with C[enick], conversed, prayer; 5 Kingswood, met a band; 6 Matt. v. 20–28, met two bands; 8 with John Cenick, etc., within; 9.15 prayer; 9.45.

Tuesday 23

5 Writ to S. Seaton, Judi[th] Matthews and Sarah Mason; 7 at Mrs. Jones', Charles tarried, conversed, chocolate; 8 Matt. v. 28; 10 at Mrs. Bainton's, tea, conversed, prayer; at S. Eliz. Turner's; 11 1 Pet. iv. 1–4; 12 at S. Highnam's, Charles, etc., conversed; 1 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 2.30 at the School, Rom. xv. 1–6! 3.30 tea, writ to J. West, Bro. Ingham; 6 Matt. v. 31; 7.30 writ to Mrs. Dutton; 8.30 conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wed. 24.—My brother set out for London. *Thursday* the 25th I met with such a case as I do not remember either to have known or heard of before. L[ucreti]a Sm[ith],[1] after many years' mourning, was filled with peace and joy in believing. In the midst of this, without any discernible cause, such a cloud suddenly overwhelmed her that she could not believe her sins were ever forgiven her at all; nor that there was any such thing as forgiveness of sins. She could not believe that the Scriptures were true; nor that there was any heaven or hell, or angel, or spirit, or any God. One more I have since found in the same state. So sure it is that all faith is the gift of God; which the moment He withdraws, the evil heart of unbelief will poison the whole soul.

Fri. 26.—I returned early in the morning to Kingswood, in order to preach at the usual hour. But my congregation was gone to hear Mr. C[ennick], so that (except a few from Bristol) I had not above two or three men and as many women, the same number I had had once or twice before.

In the evening I read nearly through a treatise of Dr. John

Wednesday 24

4½ Corrected John Cenick's papers; 6.30 prayer, tea, conversed; 8 Matt. v.; corrected, on business; 3 tea, corrected; 4.45 Mr. Farley, etc., conversed; 5.15 met two bands, coffee, conversed; 8.15 singing, prayer; 12.15 [at 12.15 he and other friends walked back to Bristol, arriving there at 2 o'clock on Christmas morning].

Thursday 25

12½ Coffee, walked with many, singing; 2 Bristol, slept; 5 Luke ii. 10; 6.30 conversed to some; 7.30 at Bro. Sayse's, tea, conversed; 9 visited; 9.45 meditated; 10 St. James', communion; 1.15 at Mr. Thomas', dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 at Mrs. Hooper's with Lu[cretia] Smi[th], singing, prayer; 3 at home, Mrs. Norman, conversed, tea; 4 Matt. i. 21! 5.45 conversed to some; 6.15 society; 8 conversed to some; 9.

Friday 26

5 Drest, Matt. v. 4! at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 8 Kingswood, Matt. v. ult.! 9.15 many here, made a communion; 12.15 dinner, walked; 2 all dined, prayer, singing! 3.30 S. Robertson, Purnell, etc., tea, conversed, read Dr. Edwards! 6 Matt. v. ult.; 7.30 Dr. Edwards, ended it; 9 prayer; 9.30.

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[1] See April 18, 1739.

Edwards,[1] on 'The Deficiency of Human Knowledge and Learning.' Surely never man wrote like this man! At least, none of all whom I have seen. I have not seen so haughty, overbearing, pedantic a writer. Stiff and trifling in the same breath; positive and opinionated to the last degree; and of course treating others with no more good manners than justice. But above all, sour, ill-natured, morose without a parallel, which indeed is his distinguishing character. Be his opinion right or wrong, if Dr. Edwards's temper were a Christian temper, I would abjure Christianity for ever.

Tues. 30.—I was sent for by one who had been a zealous opposer of 'this way.' But the Lover of souls now opened her eyes, and cut her off from trusting in the multitude of her good works: so that, finding no other hope left, she fled, poor

Saturday 27

4 Journal, writ to Charles, tea; 8 Matt. vi.; on business, met a band; 11.45 at Mr. Deschamps', ate; 12 read letters; 2 at Mrs. England's, dinner; 3.30 at the School, the bands; 6.15 at Mrs. England's, tea, conversed; 7 Maltroom, 1 Pet. iv. 4; 8.30 at home, the men leaders; 10.

Sunday 28

5 Drest; 5.30 Gal. ii. 20; at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 8 at the School, Gal. ii. 20; 9.45 on business, communion with 24; 12.15 tea, christened John Hemm [?ings: the name is contracted]; 1.30 met a band; 2 Eph. ii. 8; 4 at the Room, Eph. ii. 8; 6 society; 7.30 at the School, the bands! 9.30.

Monday 29

3½ Journal; 6.30 S. Ayling, tea, conversed, writ N.; 8 Matt. vi. 10; 9.15 two bands! 10 M. Lowman, M. Deacon, tea, conversed; 11.15 writ N.; 11.45 visited Ra[lph] Peacock; 1.15 at home, dinner; 2 writ N.; 2.30 Matt. vi. 11, etc.; 5 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, drest, conversed; 6 2 Cor. ii. 11; 9 at home, Diary; 9.45.

Tuesday 30

4 Journal; 8 Matt. vi.; 10.15 at Mrs. Bainton's, conversed, prayer; 11 1 Pet. iv.! 1 at Mr. Wayne's, Mr. Ford there, dinner; 2.15 met a band; 3 Matt. vi.; 5 at M. Purnell's, at Mrs. Hooper's, Lucretia Smith! tea; 6 Alice Philips buried! Luke xxiii., visited; 10 at the School.

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[1] Of Cambridge: 'an able and learned man, but a sour and repulsive theologian' (Jackson). He greatly impressed Whitefield in favour of Calvinism. The correct title of the treatise is 'Some New Discoveries of the Deficiencies and Corruptions of Human Knowledge and Learning' (published in 1714).

and naked, to the blood of the covenant, and, a few days after, gladly gave up her soul into the hands of her faithful Redeemer.

At six, the body of Alice Philips[1] being brought into the room, I explained, 'To-day shalt thou be with Me in paradise.' This was she whom her master turned away the last year for receiving the Holy Ghost. And she had then scarce where to lay her head. But she hath now an house of God, eternal in the heavens.

Wed. 31.—Many from Bristol came over to us, and our love was greatly confirmed toward each other. At half an hour after eight the house[2] was filled from end to end, where we concluded the year, wrestling with God in prayer, and praising Him for the wonderful work which He had already wrought upon earth.

1741.[3] JAN. 1.—I explained, 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.' But many of our brethren, I found, had no ears to hear; having disputed away both their faith and love. In the evening, out of the fullness that was given me, I expounded those words of St. Paul (indeed of every true believer), 'To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.'

Wednesday 31

4 Journal; 8 Matt. vi.; 10.30 Bristol, ⏜, on business, conversed; 1 prayer; 3 at S[ister] Highnam's, tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 at home, many here; 6 the bands from Bristol, prayer! conversed; 8 coffee; 8.30 prayer, etc.! 12.45.

JANUARY 1, 1741, *Thursday*

6½ Writ to Mr. Wayne, tea, conversed; 8 2 Cor. v. 17! 11 Maltroom, 2 Cor. v. 17! 2 at the school, dinner; 3 on business, Bro. Richards, within, tea, visited; 6 Phil. ii.! society; 10.

Friday 2

5 Drest; 5.30 Matt. v. 4; at Bro. Deschamps', tea; 8 at the School; 9 Matt. vi. ult.; 10.30 at the Room, conversed to many; 1.15 prayer, visited; 3 at Mr. Labbe's, tea, conversed, visited; 5.15 at the School, read N.; 6 Matt. vii., on business, read N.; 8.30 within with two Nannys [? Nanny Smith and Nanny Davis], prayer; 10.

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[1] See above, p. 230.

[2] i.e. the colliers' School-house.

[3] Early this year a schedule of questions came to Wesley from Holland or Germany concerning the Methodists. Wesley's answers, given in Moore's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 543, are succinct, frank, and entirely free from exaggeration.

Sat. 3.—The bodies of Anne Cole and Elizabeth Davis[1] were buried. I preached before the burial on 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: Even so, saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.' Some time after Elizabeth Davis was speechless, being desired to hold up her hand if she knew she was going to God, she looked up, and immediately held up both her hands. On *Wednesday* I had asked Anne Cole whether she chose to live or die. She said, 'I do not choose either: I choose nothing. I am in my Saviour's hands; and I have no will but His. Yet I know He will restore me soon.' And so He did, in a few hours—to the paradise of God.

Sun. 4.—I showed the absolute necessity of 'forgetting the things that are behind,' whether works, sufferings, or gifts, if we would 'press toward the mark for the prize of our high calling.'

In the evening, all the bands being present, both of Bristol and Kingswood, I simply related what God had done by me for them of Kingswood in particular; and what return many of them had made, for several months last past, by their continual disputes, divisions, and offences; causing me to go heavily all the day long.

Saturday 3

6 Writ to Bro. Humphreys, Purdy, Hutchings [John Hutchings of Pembroke College]; 8 Matt. vii.; 9 writ to Mr. Thor[old], Webb; 10.30 Journal; 11 writ for society; 1.30 at Mr. Willis', dinner, conversed; 3.15 at the School with Mr. Vaughan, in talk; 3.30 a band; 4 the bands; 5.45 at S. England's, Bro. Humphreys there! at Mrs. Deschamps', tea; 6.30 Rev. xiv. 13! S. Davis and Cole buried; 10.30 at home.

Sunday 4

5½ Writ for bands; 7 tea, within to Bro. Bissicks, a band, Phil. iii. 13, 14; 9.45 writ for the society; 10.15 John Cenick and Humphreys, within; 11 communion, sixty there! 12.15 at Mr. Tippet's, Matt. vi. ult.; 4 Bristol, Phil. iii. 13, 14, society; 7 at the School, general love-feast, spoke! prayer; 11.

Monday 5

6 Writ to sister Nancy [Mrs. Lambert], tea; 8 Matt. vii. 8, etc.! 9.30 writ for the bands; 1.30 at Bro. Arthur's, conversed, dinner; 4 at home, writ N. [probably his unknown correspondent from whom he heard Friday, Jan. 2; or, it may simply mean writ Narrative]; 5 tea,

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[1] See above, pp. 225 and 233.

Wed. 7.—I found another believer [Jenny Connor],[1] patiently waiting for the salvation of God; desiring neither health, nor ease, nor life, nor death, but only that His will should be done.

Thur. 8.—I expounded the twenty-third Psalm; and many were led forth by the waters of comfort: two especially, who never knew till then that their 'iniquities were forgiven, and their sin covered.'

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met a band; 6 Matt. vii. 10, etc.! 7.30 read Mrs. Dutton's letters, prayer; 9.15.

Tuesday 6

4½ Journal, tea, conversed; 8 Matt. vii. 13; 9.30 conversed to many; 10.30 walked, visited Mrs. Bainton! 1 at Mr. Wayne's, dinner; 2.45 School, Psa. xxiii.! within to many, a band, Matt. vii. 14, etc.; 7.30 conversed to many, read, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 7

4 Journal, writ to Charles, tea, visited W. Stibs; 8 Matt. vii. 16! 10.30 Bristol, at the Room, within; 1 on business, the leaders, within, prayer; 3 at Mrs. England's, tea, conversed; 4 visited Jenny Connor! 4.30 at Capt. Turner's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at home, writ to Charles, Nanny Smith; 6 the women; 7.45 supper, the men; 9.30 prayer; 10.

Thursday 8

5 Drest; 5.30 Matt. v. 6; the women leaders; 8.30 at S. Purnell's, tea, conversed; 9.45 at home, conversed to many; 11 Maltroom, 1 Pet. iv. 11! 12.30 at Mr. Wigginton's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 3.30 at Mrs. Bainton's funeral, Mr. Oliver, etc.; 5.30 at home, writ; 6 Psa. xxiii.! society! 9.45.

Friday 9

5¼ Drest; 5.30 Matt. v.; 7 the women leaders, on business; 8 at Mrs. Grevile's, tea, within; 9.15 at home, writ for society; 10 conversed to many; 1 prayer; 3 at Mrs. Hooper's [? wife of the maltster], tea, within; 5.30 at home, writ for society; 6 Matt. vii., supper, within; 9.15.

Saturday 10

4 Writ to some, writ for society, tea; 8 Matt. vii. 16; 9.30 writ for society; 12.15 visited; 1.15 at Mr. Willis', Bro. Cenick, Humphreys, etc., dinner; 3.15 at home, writ to Charles, the band; 5 tea, writ names; 6.30 S. Robertson and Jane Williams, supper, writ; 9 prayer; 9.15.

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[1] At Baptist Mills, with her sister Mary Connor (C. Wesley's Journal, Oct. 30, 1739).

Sun. 11.—I met with a surprising instance of the power of the devil. While we were at the Room, Mrs. J[ones],[1] sitting at home, took the Bible to read; but on a sudden threw it away, saying, 'I am good enough; I will never read or pray more.' She was in the same mind when I came, often repeating, 'I used to think I was full of sin, and that I sinned in everything I did; but now I know better: I am a good Christian; I never did any harm in my life; I don't desire to be any better than I am.' She spoke many things to the same effect, plainly showing that the spirit of pride and of lies had the full dominion over her. *Monday* the 12th I asked, 'Do you desire to be healed?' She said, 'I am whole.' 'But do you desire to be saved?' She replied, 'I am saved; I ail nothing; I am happy.' Yet it was easy to discern she was in the most violent agony, both of body and mind; sweating exceedingly, notwithstanding the severe frost, and not continuing in the same posture a moment. Upon our beginning to pray, she raged beyond measure; but soon sunk down as dead. In a few minutes she revived, and joined in prayer. We left her for the present in peace.

Mon. 12.—In the evening our souls were so filled with the spirit of prayer and thanksgiving that I could scarce tell how to expound, till I found where it is written, 'My song shall be

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Sunday 11

4¼ Writ for society, tea; 7 met two bands; 8.15 Luke vi. 40, within; 10 communion, seventy there! 12 at Bro. Cenick's, Capt. Turner, etc., dinner, conversed; 2 Eph. ii. 8; at the Room, Eph. ii. 8, society! 6.15 at Mrs. Jones'! 7.30 at home, the bands; 9 Nanny Davis, etc., supper, prayer; 10.

Monday 12

4¼ Writ to Bro. Chen[ey], S. Morris, Aspernell, Thomas Deane, my mother, drest; 8 Matt. vii., within; 10.30 at Mrs. Jones'! 11 at home, conversed to many; 1.15 at Capt. Turner's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 at S. Connor's, communion; 4.30 at home, writ to Charles, tea, met a band; 6 prayer, Psa. lxxxix.! 7.30 a band, Sarah Milsom! prayer; 8.45 prayer; 9.30.

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[1] Not the 'widow Jones' referred to above, but the wife of 'Mr. Jones' mentioned on Tuesday the 13th. In Wesley's manuscript list of the Bristol society, Jan. 1, 1741, John Jones' appears among the married men—possibly he was the husband of the woman here named.

always of the loving-kindness of the Lord. With my mouth will I ever be showing Thy truth, from one generation to another.'

All this day Mrs. J[ones] was in a violent agony, till, starting up in the evening, she said, 'Now they have done. They have just done. C[ennick] prayed, and [Joseph] Humphreys preached (and indeed so they did). And they are coming hither as fast as they can.' Quickly after they came in. She immediately cried out, 'Why, what do you come for? You can't pray. You know you can't.' And they could not open their mouths; so that, after a short time, they were constrained to leave her as she was.

Many came to see her on *Tuesday*, to every one of whom she spoke concerning either their actual or their heart sins, and that so closely that several of them went away in more haste than they came. In the afternoon Mr. J[ones] sent to Kingswood for me. She told him, 'Mr. Wesley won't come to-night; he will come in the morning. But God has begun, and He will end the work by Himself. Before six in the morning I shall be well.' And about a quarter before six the next morning, after lying quiet awhile, she broke out, 'Peace be unto thee (her husband); peace be unto this house! The peace of God is come to my soul. I know that my Redeemer liveth.' And for several days her mouth was filled with His praise, and her 'talk was wholly of His wondrous works.'

Thur. 15.—I went to one of our brothers [Mr. Black], who, being (as was supposed) struck with death, was rejoicing with

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Tuesday 13

3 Journal, tea; 8 Matt. vii. ult.; 9.30 Mr. Labbe and Willis, within; 10 John Feachem, conversed; 1.15 at Mrs. Wayne's, conversed, dinner; 2.30 at the School, a band; 3 Matt. vii.; 4.15 Rac[hel] Gotley, etc., tea, conversed; 5.15 read N.; 6 1 John i.! 7.30 Nanny Davis with me, conversed, prayer; 9.45 ሐ !!

Wednesday 14

4 Journal, tea; 8 John i. 3, 4, on business; 10.30 at Mrs. Jones', she well! 12 at Mr. Deschamps', tea, in conversation; 11.30 at home, conversed to many; 1.45 the leaders; 3 at Mrs. Hooper's, within, tea; 4.45 at home, on business; 5 writ N. [see *Tues.* 13]; 6 the women; 7.45 supper; 8 the men; 10.

Thursday 15

5¼ Drest, Matt. v. 7, 8; 8 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7.45 at the School, on business; 8 1 John v. 6, 7, on business; 10 at home, conversed to joy unspeakable. His mouth overflowed with praise, and his eyes with tears, in hope of going soon to Him he loved.

Mon. 19.—I found, from several accounts, it was absolutely necessary for me to be at London.[1] I therefore desired the society to meet in the evening; and having settled things in the best manner I could, on *Tuesday* set out, and on *Wednesday* evening met our brethren at the Foundery.

some; 11 Maltroom, Psa. viii.; 12.30 at Mr. Pearse's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 visited S[ister] Deacon and Bro. Black; 3 George's, tea, prayer, conversed; 4 at Mrs. Stafford's, tea, conversed; 5.15 at Mr. Lillington's, tea, conversed; 6 Heb. iii. 12! 7.45 society, 10.

Friday 16

4½ Drest, conversed; 5.30 Matt. v. 9, 10, etc.; 7 at Mrs. Deschamps', tea; 8 at the School, 1 John i. 8, 9, 10; 10 visited Mary Hann and J. Connor; 10.30 at Mrs. Martin's, tea, conversed; 11 at home, conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3.30 at Rachel Gotley's, tea, conversed; 5 at the School, writ account; 6 1 John i. 1, 2, Cenick there! 7.45 supper, within; 9 singing.

Saturday 17

4 Journal, tea; 8 1 John ii. 3, etc.; 9.30 a band; 10 writ to Charles, to Mr. Evans, Chapman of Bath, 'by appointment'; 1.15 at William Kirby's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 at home, on business, S. Hooper, etc., tea; 4.15 the bands; 6 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 8 at the Maltroom, 1 Pet. iv. ult.; 8.30 at home, in talk; 9.30 prayer.

Sunday 18

4¾ Conversed, drest; 5.30 2 Cor. . 11, at Deschamps', tea, Kingswood, 2 Cor. . 11; 10 St. James'! communion; 1.30 at Mr. Bromadge's, dinner; 2.30 the leaders, tea: 4 Heb. iii. 12! society, all the bands, lovefeast; 10.30.

Monday 19

5 Drest, Rom. xiv. 1, tea, at the School, 1 John iv., Bro. Cenick [cf. Cennick's Journal], within; 11 on business, writ; 1.30 at Bro. Tilladams', dinner; 3 at home, on business, within; 4.30 at Bristol, visited some; 6 Psa. xxiii., society! 9.30 at Mr. Deschamps'; 10.

Tuesday 20

3 Tea, within; 4 set out with Bro. Grace [? the Grace family, ancestors of the cricketers]; 9 Chippenham, tea, conversed; 10 rode [he usually read, or, as on this and recent journeys, composed 'verse' on his journeys, even on horseback]; 1.15 Marlborough, dinner; 2.45 rode, verse; 6.30 Newbury, writ, supper, prayer; 9.

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[1] The blank in Charles Wesley's Journal deprives us of precise information as to the reasons for this hurried return to London.

Thur. 22.—I began expounding where my brother had left off, viz. at the fourth chapter of the first Epistle of St. John. He had not preached the morning before; nor intended to do it any more.[1] 'The Philistines are upon thee, Samson.' But the Lord is not 'departed from thee.' He shall strengthen thee yet again, and thou shalt be 'avenged of them for the loss of thy eyes.'

Wednesday 21

4¼ Drest, on business; 5 rode; 8 Reading, tea; 9 rode; 1 Slough, dinner; 2 rode; 6 at the Foundery, with my mother; within, supper; 8 the bands, conversed, prayer; 10.

Thursday 22

5½ Drest, conversed to Charles; 6 1 John iv. 1, 2; 7 a band; 8.15 at Bro. Evans's, tea, within; 10.15 at home, within with many; 2.30 at Bro. Leighton's, dinner, conversed; 4 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, within; 5.30 at home, within; 6 Micah vii.! society, prayer! 10.30.

Friday 23

5½ Drest, on business; 5 1 John iv., the band; 8.15 tea, within to many, prayer; 3 at S[ister] Gaskard's, tea, visited; 6 Short's Gardens, Rom. v. 14, etc.; 8 at Mrs. Mac-cune's [Mr. Mac-cune eventually joined the 'Still Brethren'], within; 10 supper; 10.45 at home.

Saturday 24

5 Meditated, within; 6 1 John iv., the band; 8.15 tea, in conversation to many; 11 writ N., letters! prayer; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 letters,

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[1] That Charles Wesley should be affected by the Fetter Lane 'stillness' appears almost incredible in face of the courageous fight he maintained against it before the disruption of the society. Jackson's account is more dramatic than Wesley's. He says, 'Mr. Charles Wesley was engaged in the public delivery of expository discourses on the 1st Epistle of St. John, at the early hour of five o'clock, in the Foundery, when he suddenly desisted, and expressed his intention to proceed no further in that service. He did this under an influence foreign from himself.' Jackson traces the influence to Peter Böhler, Gambold, and Westley Hall. The Countess of Huntingdon 'remonstrated very freely' with him, and 'rescued him from the fascination of "stillness."' Charles confesses his peril (June 22, 1740). His 'stillness' lasted only three weeks (see Feb. 12 below). It was little more than six months since the Wesley secession from the Fetter Lane society, and many seductive influences were used to win the brothers back. If Charles Wesley's Journal for January, February, and March, 1741, had not been either lost or purposely destroyed, we should probably find in it the names of those who lulled him into temporary 'stillness.' There is no evidence that he actually rejoined the Fetter Lane society. We may surmise that one reason for the delay in reorganizing it as a Moravian society was the hope that both the recreant Wesleys, and with them the Foundery society, might be recovered. (Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 273, 278; *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 41.)

Sun. 25.—I enforced that great command, 'As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men'; and in the evening those solemn words, 'Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God.'

Wed. 28.—Our old friends, Mr. Gambold and Mr. Hall, came to see my brother and me. The conversation turned wholly on silent prayer and quiet waiting for God; which, they said, was the only possible way to attain living, saving faith.

Sirenum voces, et Circes pocula nôsti? [1]

Was there ever so pleasing a scheme? But where is it written? Not in any of those books which I account the Oracles of God.

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prayer! 4.45 at Sister Hawthorn's, tea, conversed, 6 Acts xvi.; 8.15 at home, within, prayer; 9.45.

Sunday 25

4½ Drest, prayer, tea; 6 Gal. vi. 10! 8.30 the leaders; 9.45 St. Paul's, communion; 1.45 at home, dinner, prayer; 3.30 at Bro. Nightingale's, tea, 4 Heb. iii. 12! 6.45 the women; 9.15 prayer.

Monday 26

4½ Drest, prayer; 6 1 John iv., a band; 8.15 at Bro. Cob's, tea, conversed; 9 with S. Aspernell at S. Jackson's; 10.30 at home, on business; 11 conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Lewin's, dinner, visited; 4.15 at Bro. Lane's, tea, conversed; 5.45 Short's Gardens, in talk; 6 Rom. vi., at Mrs. Mac-cune's, prayer, conversed; 11.

Tuesday 27

4½ Prayer, within, meditated; 6 1 John iv., the band, tea, visited, conversed to many; 1 with S. Deane! 2.30 at Bro. Bond's, dinner, conversed; 3.45 at Bro. Garnault's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at S. Edzard's, conversed, prayer; 5.30 at Mr. Fox's [? Fox from Oxford], within; 6 Psa. xxiii.; 8 the leaders, within, prayer; 10.

Wednesday 28

4½ Drest, prayer, within; 6 1 John iv., writ Diary, in conversation, tea; 9 Bro. Gambold came, bro. Hall, Charles, conversed! 11 conversed

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[1] 'Dost thou know the songs of the Sirens, and the cups of Circe?'—Horace, *Epist.* vol. i. pp. 2, 23, where the line is affirmative not interrogative. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 26.)

I allow, if there is a better way to God than the scriptural way, this is it. But the prejudice of education so hangs upon me that I cannot think there is. I must therefore still wait in the Bible way, from which this differs as light from darkness.[1]

Fri. 30.—I preached in the morning on 'Then shall they fast in those days'; and in the afternoon spent a sweet hour in prayer with some hundreds of our society.

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to many; 2.45 at Mrs. Sutherland's, at Capt. Griffith's, tea, within; 5 Deptford, Psa. xxiii. ! 8 at home, conversed with Charles, supper; 9.30 the bands; 9.45 prayer; 10.

Thursday 29

4¾ Drest, prayer; 6 1 John iv. ult.; 7 a band; 8.15 at Bro. Wild's,[2] writ for society, conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Doleman's, dinner; 3.45 at Mrs. Witham's, tea, conversed; 5 at home, in talk, writ N.; 6 Rom. xi. 33! society, conversed; 10.15.

Friday 30

4½ Drest, prayer; 6 Luke v. 33 band; 8.30 Mr. Watkin's, tea, conversed, writ N.; 10.15 at S[ister] Middleton's, tea; 11 at Charles's; 1.15 prayer! 3 at S. Gilby's, tea, conversed, visited; 4 at S. Martin's, tea, conversed; 5 at Mrs. Elbert's, conversed; 6 Short's Gardens, Rom. vi. ! 8 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, supper, conversed; 11.15 at home; 11.45.

Saturday 31

2½ With S. Deane! 4.30 slept; 5.30 prayer; 6 1 John v. 1; 7 a band; 8 at S. Hinton's, tea, conversed; 9.15 writ to Charles, Bro. Nowers, Humphreys, Crooke; 11 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mrs. Knight's, S. Peck's, S. Barrat's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, Acts xvi. 31; 8 at home; 9 the women bands! 10.

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[1] On his return to London John Wesley finds his brother Charles blinded and for the time being in 'Philistine' hands. But Charles is still 'Samson,' the 'Lord is not departed from' him; in due time he will recover. However grieved or angry John may be with his brother, he finds a place for him in the 'Bible way'—among the 'Oracles of God.' But Gambold and Westley Hall are in a different category. For them and their persuasions he finds no echo in the Book to which he habitually refers everything. Their 'pleasing scheme' is not of the 'Bible way.' Their seductive words, which were intended to woo Wesley back to the fellowship of the Fetter Lane society, suggested only the 'songs of the Sirens' and 'Circe cups.'

[2] Is this the Charterhouse Wild with whom he read the Greek Testament? He spent a long quiet morning in his room writing for the society.

FEB. 1, *Sun.*—A private letter,[1] wrote to me by Mr. Whitefield, having been printed without either his leave or mine, great numbers of copies were given to our people, both at the door and in the Foundery itself. Having procured one of them, I

FEB. 1, *Sunday*

4½ Drest, prayer, tea; 6 Matt. [v.] 32, etc. [the portion expounded at the early service in the Foundery]; 7.45 the leaders; 10 St. Luke's, communion; 1.45 at Mrs. Clark's, dinner, at S. Isabel Johnson's, prayer! visited; 3.30 at Bro. Horner's, tea, conversed; 4.15 at home, writ N.; 4.34 Heb. iii. ult.! 6.30 the women, within, prayer; 7.45 the men's lovefeast; 10.

Monday 2

4½ Drest, prayer, 1 John v., a band; 8 at S. Aspernell's, G. Angel, etc., within, tea; 10 at home, on business; 11 conversed to many; 2.30 at Bro. Bolt's, dinner; 3.30 at Mr. Wynde's, in talk; 4.30 at Bro. Bolt's, tea, conversed; 5 visited El. Hurtly, T. Whitefield, prayer; 6 at Long Lane, within; 7 Acts xvii.! 9.45 at home; 10.15.

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[1] On April 29, 1739, Wesley preached a sermon in Bristol on Rom. viii. 32: 'He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all: how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?' The sermon was afterwards published under the title of 'Free Grace,' and to it was appended Charles Wesley's hymn on 'Universal Redemption.' In reply to the sermon, Whitefield wrote a letter, large quotations from which will be found in Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. pp. 469–71. This was the letter referred to in the text. Later, during his passage to England, Whitefield wrote to Charles Wesley expostulating with him on the hymn attached to his brother's sermon. The sermon, which was printed by S. and F. Farley, Bristol, 1739, is described by Jackson as 'the most powerful and impassioned' of all Wesley's sermons. He did not, however, include it in the 'Four Volumes' which form part of the doctrinal standard of Methodism. It will be found in the Fourth Series. See *Works*, vol. vii. p. 373. It is there described as having been preached in the year 1740, which is obviously an error, for the sermon was published in 1739. This sermon, the hymn with which it is associated, and the famous Whitefield letter torn in pieces by Wesley and the members of the Foundery society, precipitated, if they did not directly lead to, several notable events. They led, as Tyerman remarks, to the division between Whitefield and Wesley, to the organization of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, to the foundation of Calvinistic Methodism in Wales, and to the controversy which led to the publication of Fletcher's *Checks*. Many personal losses resulted from the controversy raised by sermon, hymn, and letter. John Cennick, Howell Harris, and Joseph Humphreys were amongst those who seceded from Wesley. 'J. Lewis at this time started the first Methodist newspaper ever published, and succeeded in securing Whitefield, Cennick, Harris, and Humphreys as its principal contributors.' Its title was *The Weekly History, or An Account of the Most Remarkable Particulars relating to the Present Progress of the Gospel.* London. Printed by J. Lewis. Price 1*d.*' The newspaper was a small folio of four pages; the first number was issued April 11, 1741, and eighty-four numbers were published. It then passed into another form.

related (after preaching) the naked fact to the congregation, and told them, 'I will do just what I believe Mr. Whitefield would were he here himself.' Upon which I tore it in pieces before them all. Every one who had received it did the same. So that in two minutes there was not a whole copy left. Ah! poor Ahithophel!

Ibi omnis effusus labor![1]

Wed. 4.—Being the general Fast-day, I preached in the morning[2] on those words, 'Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? Shall not My soul be avenged on such a nation as this?' Coming from the service at St. Luke's, I found our house so crowded that the people were ready to tread one upon another. I had not designed to preach; but seeing such a congregation, I could not think it right to send them empty away; and therefore expounded the parable of the Barren Fig-tree. Oh that it may at length bear fruit!

Tuesday 3

4¾ Prayer, in talk, 1 John v., three bands; 8.15 tea, within, conversed to some; 10 writ to George Whitefield; 11 conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Cenick's, dinner; 4 at S[ister] Barnes's, conversed, at S. Westry's, tea, conversed; 6 Judges iii.! 8 the leaders, prayer; 10.15.

Wednesday 4

4½ Prayer, within; 6 Jer. v. 9! 8 the three bands; 9.30 writ for Bro. Cenick, with Nanny Smith! 11 St. Luke's; 1.30 Luke xiii.! 3 with Mrs. Mac-cune, etc., coach; 4.45 at Mrs. Sparrow's,[3] prayer; 5.15 Deptford, John xi. 36! 8.45 at home, supper; 9 the bands; 10.30.

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[1] 'So all the labour's lost!' This is another example of Wesley's habit of linking together biblical and classical allusions, bringing both, in terse words, to bear upon present-day facts. George Whitefield he describes as 'Poor Ahithophel,' and, by his quotation, associates him with Orpheus, looking back and thereupon losing Eurydice and all his past labour. The complete sentence in the original (Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 491) reads thus: 'Ibi omnis effusus labor, atque immitis rupta tyranni foedera'—'Thereupon all the labour was lost, and the compact with the pitiless king broken.' (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 26.)

[2] Matthew Errington, who accompanied C. Wesley on his first visit to Newcastle, and subsequently for nearly forty years was an inmate of the Orphan House, was present at this service, and afterwards walked to Deptford to hear Wesley again. (*The Orphan House of Wesley*, p. 8.)

[3] Mrs. Sparrow, of Lewisham, was a good friend to Charles Wesley. On more than one occasion she drove him in the family carriage to his appointments. In her house, after long journeys, he 'waited some days, to renew his strength.' He calls her 'a martyr to worldly civility.' He preached her funeral sermon, June 5, 1748. She left him a legacy.

From hence I went to Deptford, where many poor wretches were got together, utterly void both of common sense and common decency. They cried aloud, as if just come from 'among the tombs'; but they could not prevail against the Holy One of God. Many of them were altogether confounded, and, I trust, will come again with a better mind.

Thursday 5

4½ Drest, prayer; 6 1 John v., three bands; 8.15 tea, in conversation; 9.15 writ for society; 11 conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Jeffry's, dinner, conversed; 3 prayer; 3.15 at Bro. Hog's, tea, conversed; 4 at Sister Edzard's! tea, conversed; 5.15 at home, writ N.; 6 Zech. xiii. 6, etc.! society; 10.30.

Friday 6

4½ Drest, prayer; 5.15 John Haddock! 6 1 John v. 6! 7 three bands; 8.30 at S. Orange's, tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, Diary; 10 writ for the bands; 11 conversed to many; 2.15 prayer; 3 christened J. Okey, communion; 4 at Bro. Thomas Smith's, tea, conversed; 5.15 Short's Gardens, within; 6 Rom. vi., ult.; 8.30 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, supper; 11 at home, Nanny Smith, conversed! 12.30.

Saturday 7

4¾ Prayer, conversed to some; 6 1 John v. 6! two bands; 8 at S. Ramsay's, many tarry, tea, conversed; 9.15 writ to Charles; 11 writ to many; 2 at Peter Sims's [Minories], dinner, conversed; 3.30 at Betty Kent's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at S. Dean's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, Acts xvii.! 8 society, new members admitted, prayer! sister Kezzy[1] came; 10.15.

Sunday 8

4¾ Drest, prayer, tea, conversed; 6 Eph. ii. 8, the leaders; 9.45 St. Paul's, visited; 1 at Bro. Blake's, conversed, dinner; 2.45 at home, Diary, read George Fox's Journal [one of the few books read at this period, and noted in the Diary]; 4.15 with sister Kezzy, tea, conversed; 4.45 Acts xvii. 34; 6.15 supper, within; 7 the women; 8.45 Nanny Smith, within! 10.15.

Monday 9

4 Prayer, writ; 6 1 John v., the bands; 8.15 with sister Kezzy, tea, in talk; 9.15 writ N., conversed to many; 2 with my mother, dinner; 3.30 at Mrs. Lee's, Cannon Street, tea, conversed; 4.45 at Mr. Crouch's, Benjamin Seward; 6 visited T. Whitefield, prayer; 7 Long Lane, Acts xvii.; 9 at home, within, Nanny Smith! 11.

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[1] His youngest sister, who came to her mother and brothers at the Foundery, and died a month later.

Tues. 10 (being Shrove Tuesday).—Before I began to preach, many men of the baser sort, having mixed themselves with the women, behaved so indecently as occasioned much disturbance. A constable commanded them to keep the peace; in answer to which they knocked him down. Some who were near seized on two of them, and, by shutting the doors, prevented any further contest. Those two were afterwards carried before a magistrate; but, on their promise of better behaviour, were discharged.

Thur. 12.—My brother returned from Oxford, and preached on the true way of waiting for God; thereby dispelling at once the fears of some and the vain hopes of others, who had confidently affirmed that Mr. Charles Wesley was *still* already, and would come to London no more.

Tuesday 10

4½ Drest, prayer; 6 1 John v. 7; 7 writ Journal; 8.30 tea, conversed; 9 writ Journal, married Mr. Daniel, Journal; 2 at S[ister] Edzard's, dinner, conversed; 3.15 visited Wid[ow] Frazier, prayer; 4 at S. Bowman's, conversed, tea; 5 at home, within; 6 Rom. i. 16! 8 within, the leaders; 10.

(*Ash*) *Wednesday* 11

4½ Drest, prayer, conversed; 6 Matt. vi. 13, read John Cenick's hymns; 10 at S. Francis's, conversed; 11 St. Luke's; 12.30 at home, within; 1.15 coach with S. Seaton and Nanny Smith; 3.15 at Mrs. Sparrow's, conversed, prayer, tea; 5 Rom. vii.; 8 at home, supper, the men, conversed, prayer; 10.15.

Thursday 12

4½ Drest, prayer, conversed to some; 6 1 John v. 7, 8, 9; corrected Haliburton [Green's *Bibliography*, No. 10]; 8 tea, within, corrected Kempis[1]; 11 conversed to many; 2 dinner; 3.15 at Bro. Haddock's with Charles, tea, conversed; 4.45 at home, conversed with my mother; 5.15 at Mrs. Scott's, tea, conversed; 6 Charles preached! society! 10.

Friday 13

4½ Drest, prayer; 6 1 John v. 10, etc.; 7 corrected; 8 at S. Waldron's, tea, conversed; 9.15 at home, Kempis; 1.15 prayer! 3.30 at Bro. Hodge's, tea, conversed, visited; 5.30 Short's Gardens; 6 Mr. Thos. Stephens, in talk of Georgia; Rom. vii.; 8.30 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, Charles there, supper, conversed; 10.30.

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[1] Wesley's *Christian Pattern* was published in 1735 (a second edition being issued in 1750). An 'Extract' from this was published in 1741; and the reference here is probably to the correction of the proofs of the latter book.

Mon. 16.—While I was preaching in Long Lane, the host of the aliens gathered together; and one large stone (many of which they threw) went just over my shoulder. But no one was hurt in any degree; for Thy 'kingdom ruleth over all.'

All things being now settled according to my wish, on *Tuesday* the 17th I left London. In the afternoon I reached Oxford, and, leaving my horse there, set out on foot for Stanton Harcourt. The night overtook me in about an hour, accompanied with heavy rain. Being wet and weary, and not well knowing my way, I could not help saying in my heart (though ashamed of my want of resignation to God's will), Oh that Thou wouldst 'stay the bottles of heaven'; or, at least, give me light, or an honest guide, or some help in the manner Thou knowest! Presently the rain ceased; the moon broke out, and a friendly

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Saturday 14

4¾ Drest, prayer; 1 John v. 14, etc., Kempis; 8 S. Jackson's with S. Mac-cune, etc.; 9.30 Kempis; 2 at Bro. Dawson's with Robson, C[harles], etc., dinner, conversed; 3.45 at Mrs. Lee's, tea; 5 at Soph[ia] Combs's, tea, conversed; 6 Greyhound Lane, 1 John v. 11! 8.30 at home, within; 9.45.

Sunday 15

4¾ Drest, prayer, conversed; 6 1 John v. 18; 7.45 the leaders, within, prayer; 9 meditated, prayed; St. Paul's; 1 at S. Colin's, dinner, conversed; 2.45 at home, Diary, tea, meditation; 4.45 1 John ii. 2; 7 women's lovefeast, Robson, prayer! 10.

Monday 16

4½ Prayer, drest, conversed to some; 6 1 John v. ult.! prayer; 7.30 conversed to many; 8.30 at Nanny Morris's, tea, conversed; 9.30 within with Charles; 10.30 conversed to many; 12.15 drest, at Sir John Gonso[n][1]; 2 dinner, within; 3.45 at Mr. Stephens', in talk of Georgia; 5 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, tea; 7 Long Lane, Acts xviii.! 9.15 at home, in talk; 10.

Tuesday 17

4½ Drest, tea; 5 prayer: 5.45 set out; 8.45 Gerard's Cross, tea; 9.30 rode; 11.30 Stoken Church, tea; 12.45 rode; 2.45 at Mrs. Evans's, in talk, dinner; 5 walked, rain, dark, weary! prayed! 7 at Mr. Gambold's, Bro. Hall tarried, conversed, supper; 8.30.

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[1] Sir John Ganson, Chairman of the Middlesex Justices. He called on Wesley, informing him that the justices had 'orders from above to do you justice whenever you apply to us.' A short time after Wesley did apply, and from that time the persecution in London ceased. (Moore's *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 2 and 3; Telford's *Life of Wesley*, p. 176. Also below, p. 519.)

man overtook me, who set me upon his own horse and walked by my side, till we came to Mr. Gambold's door.[1]

Wednesday the 18th I walked on to Burford; on *Thursday* to Malmesbury; and the next day to Bristol.

Sat. 21.—I inquired, as fully as I could, concerning the divisions and offences which, notwithstanding the earnest cautions I had given, began afresh to break out in Kingswood. In the afternoon I met a few of the bands there; but it was a cold, uncomfortable meeting.

Sun. 22.—I endeavoured to show them the ground of many of their mistakes, from those words, 'Ye need not that any man

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Wednesday 18

6 Conversed, tea; 9 Diary, writ to Mr. Hutch[ins], Journal; 11 prayers; 12.30 dinner; 1.45 walked; 6 Burford, Mr. Bailey's, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Thursday 19

6 Tea, conversed, prayer; 7.30 rode, verse; 11.30 Cirencester, conversed, coffee; 12.15 rode; 3.15 Malmsbury, at Mrs. Lyne's, tea, conversed; 6 Somerford, prayer, Luke vi. 40! 9.45 at home, conversed, prayer; 11.

Friday 20

7 Tea, conversed; 8.45 rode; 12 Sodbury, dinner; 1 rode; 4 at Mr. Deschamps', at Sister Highnam's, in conversation; 5 visited Bro. Richards; 6 Micah vii.; 8 within; 9.15.

Saturday 21

4¾ Drest, in talk; 5.20 Acts xx. 27; 7 within to many; 8 on business; 8.15 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 9.15 at home; 10 on business; within to some; 11.15 letters; 1.15 on business; 2 within to some; 2.45 at Mr. Wayne's [see C. W.'s Journal], in conversation; dinner; 4.45 at the School [Kingswood], the bands, prayer; 6 at S. England's, tea, Maltroom, 1 Pet. v.; 8.15 the leaders, within, prayer; 10.

Sunday 22

4¾ Drest, within, John i. 9; 7 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 8 Kingswood, 1 John ii. 20; 9.30 Mr. Wayne, John Cennick, Ann Ayling, Charles Arthur's, in talk; 12.15 at S. England's, prayer, with Bro. Richards; 12.30 dinner; 1.15 in the coach; 2.15 Micah vii. 9; 4.30 at S. England's, tea, conversed; 5 Judges iii. 14! 6.15 society; 7.15 love-feast! 10.45.

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[1] It must seem a little strange that Wesley should lose his way between Oxford and Stanton Harcourt, for he had frequently made the journey. Probably, however, he usually rode, and on this occasion might have taken a field or bridle-path instead of the highway. The incident, however, is told for the sake of the remarkable triple answer to prayer he received.

teach you, but as that same anointing teacheth you'—a text which had been frequently brought in support of the rankest enthusiasm. Mr. Cennick and fifteen or twenty others came up to me after sermon. I told them they had not done right in speaking against me behind my back. Mr. C[ennick], Ann A[yling], and Thomas Bissicks,[1] as the mouth of the rest, replied they had said no more of me behind my back than they would say to my face; which was, that I did preach up man's faithfulness, and not the faithfulness of God.

In the evening was our lovefeast in Bristol; in the conclusion of which, there being mention made that many of our brethren at Kingswood had formed themselves into a separate society, I related to them at large the effects of the separations which had been made from time to time in London; and likewise the occasion of this, namely, Mr. C[ennick]'s preaching other doctrine than that they had before received. The natural consequence was that when my brother and I preached the same which we had done from the beginning, many censured and spoke against us both; whence arose endless strife and confusion.[2]

T[homas] B[issicks] replied, why, we preached false doctrine; we preached that there is righteousness in man. I said, 'So there is, after the righteousness of Christ is imputed to him through faith. But who told you that what we preached was false doctrine? Whom would you have believed this from, but Mr. C[ennick]?' Mr. C[ennick] answered, 'You do preach righteousness in man. I did say this; and I say it still. However, we are willing to join with you; but we will also meet apart from you; for we meet to confirm one another in those truths which you speak against.'[3]

I replied, 'You should have told me this before, and not have supplanted me in my own house, stealing the hearts of the people, and, by private accusations, separating very friends.' He said, 'I have never privately accused you.' I said, 'My brethren, judge'; and read as follows:

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[1] Beswicks, or Bissicks, is a name of frequent occurrence in Kingswood documents of this period.

[2] See Sermons V. and XX., *Works*, vol. v.

[3] With this may be compared the account in J. E. Hutton's *John Cennick*, pp. 18–22, which, perhaps not unnaturally, is written wholly from Cennick's standpoint.

To the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield.

Jan. 17, 1741.

My dear Brother,

That you might come quickly, I have written a second time.

I sit solitary, like Eli, waiting what will become of the ark. And while I wait, and fear the carrying of it away from among my people, my trouble increases daily. How glorious did the gospel seem once to flourish in Kingswood!—I spake of the everlasting love of Christ with sweet power. But now brother Charles is suffered to open his mouth[1] against this truth, while the frighted sheep gaze and fly, as if no shepherd was among them. It was just as though Satan was now making war with the saints in a more than common way. Oh pray for the distressed lambs yet left in this place, that they faint not! Surely they would, if preaching would do it; for they have nothing whereon to rest (who now attend on the sermons) but their own faithfulness.

With Universal Redemption brother Charles pleases the world; brother John follows him in everything. I believe no atheist can more preach against Predestination than they; and all who believe Election are counted enemies to God, and called so.

Fly, dear brother. I am as alone; I am in the midst of the plague. If God give thee leave, make haste.

Mr. C[ennick] stood up and said, 'That letter is mine; I sent it to Mr. Whitefield, and I do not retract anything in it, nor blame myself for sending it.'[2]

Perceiving some of our brethren began to speak with warmth, I desired he would meet me at Kingswood on Saturday, where each of us could speak more freely, and that all things might sleep till then.

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[1] The reference is to the publication of the volume of *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love*, to which is added 'The Cry of a Reprobate' and the 'Horrible Decree.' Bristol: printed by S. & F. Farley at Shakspear's Head, in Castle Green, 1741, 12mo, pp. 36. Another series of hymns under the same title was published in London without date. There seems to have been a large demand for these hymns. An interesting note respecting them may be quoted from Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, p. 22: 'This being the first anonymous publication of hymns by the Wesleys, it may be proper to refer to the fact that the brothers agreed not to distinguish their hymns. The editor of the *Poetical Works* (Dr. George Osborn) says that any distinction now attempted must be to a great extent, if not wholly, conjectural. But his own inquiries have led him to think it likely that John Wesley contributed more largely to these joint publications than is commonly supposed; and that the habit of attributing almost everything found in them to his brother is scarcely consistent with a due regard to accuracy.'

[2] Whitefield replied on March 25, urging Cennick to 'hasten hither with all speed, and then we shall see what God intends to do for us and by us.'

Tues. 24.—The bands meeting at Bristol, I read over[1] the names of the United Society, being determined that no disorderly walker should remain therein. Accordingly I took an account of every person (1) to whom any reasonable objection was made; (2) who was not known to and recommended by some on whose veracity I could depend. To those who were sufficiently recommended, tickets[2] were given on the following days. Most of the rest I had face to face with their accusers; and such as either appeared to be innocent, or confessed their faults and promised better behaviour, were then received into the society. The others were put upon trial again, unless they

Monday 23

5 Drest, Rom. v. 1; 7 at Mr. Jones's, coffee; 8.15 at the School, 1 John ii. 12, etc.; 9.15 S. Cambourn, etc., within; 10.30 on business, writ N., read Gell[3]; 1 at S. Cambourn's, coffee, in conversation; 2.15 at S. Bush's within, prayer; 4 at home, on business; 5 at S. England's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.15 Psa. cx. 3; 8 the leaders, within, prayer; 10.

Tuesday 24

5 Drest, John xvi.; at Nanny Smith's, tea, conversed; 8 Kingswood, 1 John ii. 14; 9.15 in talk, writ N.; 12.30 at Mr. Wayne's, within, dinner; 2.30 1 John ii. 14, etc., tea; 5 at S. England's, tea, communion with Bro. Richards; 6.15 1 John i. 8; 9 the bands, prayer; 10.30.

Wednesday 25

5 Drest; 5.30 Rom. viii. 15; the women leaders; 8 at S. Perrin's, tea, conversed; 9 visited some; 10 conversed to many; 1 the women leaders, conversed, prayer; 2 at S. Pottam's, dinner; 3 at Mrs. Jones's, tea; 5 at Mrs. Hooper's, tea, conversed; 6 at home, the women; 8 the men! 10.

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[1] So in London, April 7, below. The fragment now in the possession of Mrs. Lightwood of Lytham, and reproduced in facsimile on p. 398, is of course only a small portion of the list of the Bristol society at this time. It is interesting as being almost certainly part of the list which Wesley read on the present occasion.

[2] No earlier mention of membership tickets than this has been found. Wesley probably wrote those here referred to. None of the earliest, so far as is known, survives. One, dated Sept. 4, 1739, is believed to be an error for 1759. (See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 354; and *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 33.)

[3] Gell *On the Pentateuch*, an author greatly admired by Charles Wesley

voluntarily expelled themselves. About forty were by this means separated from us; I trust only for a season.

Sat. 28.—I met the Kingswood bands again, and heard all who desired it at large; after which I read the following paper:

By many witnesses, it appears that several members of the band society in Kingswood have made it their common practice to scoff at the preaching of Mr. John and Charles Wesley; that they have censured and spoken evil of them behind their backs, at the very time they professed love and esteem to their faces; that they have studiously endeavoured to prejudice other members of that society against them; and, in order thereto, have belied and slandered them in divers instances.

Therefore, not for their opinions, nor for any of them (whether they be right or wrong), but for the causes above-mentioned, viz. for their scoffing at the Word and ministers of God, for their tale-bearing, backbiting, and evil speaking, for their dissembling, lying, and slandering:

I, John Wesley, by the consent and approbation of the band-society in Kingswood, do declare the persons above-mentioned to be no longer members thereof. Neither will they be so accounted, until they shall

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Thursday 26

5 Drest, in talk; Psalm li.; visited; 7.15 at Betty Gotley's, tea, conversed; 8 at home, writ for society, on business; 9.30 conversed to many; 11 Maltroom, 2 Pet. i.! 12.30 visited some; with S[ister] Web, communion; 1 at Mrs. Norman's, dinner, conversed; 3 at Mrs. Smith's, tea, prayer; 4 at Maud Davis's, conversed; 5 at home, Mrs. Jones, Page, etc., in talk, within to some; 6 Rom. viii. 1, etc., society! 9.30 Diary writ in; 10.

Friday 27

5 Drest, prayer, Matt. i. 22; visited; 6.45 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7.45 at the School, on business; 8 1 John ii. 17, etc.; 9 at Mr. Arthur's, senr., within; 10.30 at home, conversed to many; 1.30 prayer; 3 visited, with S. Gregory, tea, conversed! 5 at Mr. Willis's; 6 at the School, on business; 6½.

Saturday 28

5 Writ to Charles, John Husba[nd], Bro. Hutc[hins], Ingham, tea, conversed; 1 John iii. 1, etc.; 9.15 writ to Mr. Meriton [Rev. John, member of the first Conference], Bro. Turner, St. Ives; 11 garden, meditated, walked; 12.30 dinner, read N., writ to S. Dutton; 2.45 with Betty Bush within; 4 bands; 9 Maltroom, 2 Pet. i.! 8.15 at home, tea, the stewards [first reference to stewards]; 10.

openly confess their fault, and thereby do what in them lies to remove the scandal they have given.[1]

At this they seemed a little shocked at first; but Mr. C[ennick], T[homas] B[issicks], and A[nn] A[yling] soon recovered, and said they had heard both my brother and me many times preach Popery. However, they would join with us if we would; but that they would not own they had done anything amiss.

I desired them to consider of it yet again, and give us their answer the next evening.

The next evening, MARCH 1, they gave the same answer as before. However, I could not tell how to part; but exhorted them to wait yet a little longer, and wrestle with God, that they might know His will concerning them.

MARCH 1, *Sunday*

5 Drest, Mark iv. 27; at Bro. Deschamps', tea; 8 at the School, 1 John iii. 10! 9.30 Charles Arthur's, etc., within, communion! 12.15 at S. Cambourn's, dinner; 1.30 at home, meditated; 2 Rom. x.; 3.30 at Mr. Jones's, coffee, 4 Rom. x., society; 7 walked with many, conversed, singing; 8 at the School, the bands, within, prayer; 10.

Monday 2

4 Writ upon Predestination [see Green's *Bibliog.* No 22; *Works*, vol. xii. p. 107]; 7 tea, conversed; 8 1 John iii. ult.; 9.30 on business, Sally Perrin, etc., conversed, coffee; 11 Nanny Smith, N. Jeffrey, conversed; 12 Predestination; 12.30 tea, read N.; 2 Predestination; 4 Mr. Line of Ma[lmesbur]y, writ N.; 6 1 John iv.; 7.45 within, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 3

4 Drest, walked; 5.30 2 Cor. v. 17, tea; 8 at the School, 1 John iv; 9 Nanny Smith, Betty Gotley, etc., writ N.; 1 at Mrs. Pont's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 2 Cor. v. 17! 4 the band; 5.15 visited Mr. Willis; 6.15 at the Room; 8.30 in talk with leaders; 10.

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[1] This is the earliest recorded instance of disciplinary action in the Methodist Society. The expulsion of members was not on doctrinal grounds, but for a moral offence, in the violation of rules essential to the continuance of a society. Though Wesley, with an appearance of autocratic authority, declared the act of discipline, he carefully notes that he acted by the consent and approbation of the band-society. In other words, he regarded the society itself as a disciplinary court. He did not then deem it necessary to limit the constitution of the court to the band leaders, but brought the question at issue before the whole society. The first edition omits the word 'band' from the third paragraph of this document.

Fri. 6.—Being still fearful of doing anything rashly, or contrary to the great law of love, I consulted again with many of our brethren concerning the farther steps I should take. In consequence of which, on *Saturday* the 7th, all who could be of the society being met together, I told them open dealing was best; and I would therefore tell them plainly what I thought (setting all opinions aside) had been wrong in many of them, viz.:

'(1) Their despising the ministers of God, and slighting His ordinances; (2) their not speaking or praying when met together, till they were sensibly moved thereto; and (3) their dividing themselves from their brethren, and forming a separate society.

Wednesday 4

5 Drest; 5.30 2 Tim. ii. 5, at Mr. Deschamps', chocolate; 7.30 at the School; 8 1 John v.; 9 on business, Betty Badly [Baddiley] and Spr., tea, conversed; 10 writ to Charles, Bro. Humphreys, Mr. Hutchins, on business; 3 Bristol, writ to a man; 3 at Mrs. Vigors's,[1] tea, conversed, prayer; 4.45 at S[ister] Hooper's, S. Reyon, etc.; 5.45 at home; 6 the women; supper, the men; 10.30.

Thursday 5

5 Drest; 5.30 Matt. vi. 10; at Mr. Deschamps', chocolate; 7.30 at the School, 1 John v.; Mrs. Sparkes, tea, conversed; 10 at home, conversed; 11 2 Pet. i. 10, etc., visited Kitty Davis, communion; 1 at Mrs. England's, dinner, visited many; 3.15 at home, meditated; 4 the women leaders; 6.15 Job xix. 15, S[iste]r Goodma[n]'s band; 8 society: 9.15 stewards; 10.45.

Friday 6

5 Drest, 1 Tim. iii. ult. at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7.30 at the School; 9 on business; at Mr. Labbe's, conversed; 10 at home, conversed to many; 1.30 prayer; 3 at S. Rawlins's, S. England, etc.; 4 visited; 5.15 at the School, within, coffee; 6.15 1 John v. 17! 8 our bands! 9.45 Diary, on business; 11.

Saturday 7

5 Writ for the society; 7 tea; 7.30 1 John v. ult.! within to Nanny Davis; 9.15 at Bro. Cenick's, tea, in conversation; 10 at home, writ for United Society [is this for the U.S. in London or Bristol or both?]; 1 coffee, writ for society; 3 read; 4 the bands, we parted! 6.30 at S. England's, S. Spr. and Baddily ill, tea, prayer; 7 2 Pet. i. to end! 8.30 writ to Charles, writ N.; 10.30.

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[1] Charles Wesley wrote an elegy on Mrs. Vigors.

'That we could not approve of delaying this matter, because the confusion that was already, increased daily.

'That, upon the whole, we believed the only way to put a stop to these growing evils was for every one now to take his choice, and quit one society or the other.'

T[homas] B[issicks] replied, 'It is our holding Election is the true cause of your separating from us.'

I answered, 'You know in your own conscience it is not. There are several Predestinarians in our societies both at London and Bristol; nor did I ever yet put any one out of either because he held that opinion.'

He said, 'Well, we will break up our society, on condition you will receive and employ Mr. C[ennick] as you did before.'

I replied, 'My brother has wronged me much. But he doth not say, "I repent."'

Mr. C[ennick] said, 'Unless in not speaking in your defence, I do not know that I have wronged you at all.'

I rejoined, 'It seems, then, nothing remains but for each to choose which society he pleases.'

Then, after a short time spent in prayer, Mr. C[ennick] went out, and about half of those who were present, with him.

Sun. 8.—After preaching at Bristol on the abuse and the right use of the Lord's Supper, I earnestly besought them at Kingswood to beware of offending 'in tongue,' either against justice, mercy, or truth. After sermon the remains of our society met, and found we had great reason to bless God, for that, after fifty-two were withdrawn, we had still upwards of ninety left. Oh may these, at least, hold 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace'!

Sunday 8

5 Drest, 1 Cor. ii.; at S. England's, conversed, at the School, James iii. 1; 9.30 our bands, Sa. Dyer christened within, to the bands, communion, prayer; 12.30 coffee, read Glass,[1] slept; 2, 2 Tim. ii. 23, 24; 3.45 at Mr. Jones's, dinner; 4 Acts xvii. 23! 5.45 on business; 6 society; 9 at the School, 9.15.

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[1] John Glass or Robert Sandeman is supposed to have written an anonymous book of 500 pages against Hervey's *Theron and Aspasia*. Wesley wrote a pamphlet attacking this work with more sarcasm than logic. See below, April 14, 1756; also Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, No. 183.

I will shut up this melancholy subject with part of a letter wrote by my brother about this time:

> If you think proper, you may show Brother C[ennick] what follows. (N.B. I did *not* think it proper then.)[1]
>
> My dearest brother John C[ennick], in much love and tenderness I speak. You came to Kingswood upon my brother's sending for you. You served under him in the gospel as a son. I need not say how well he loved you. You used the authority he gave you to overthrow his doctrine; you everywhere contradicted it (whether true or false is not the question); but you ought first to have fairly told him, 'I preach contrary to you. Are you willing, notwithstanding, that I should continue in your house gainsaying you? If you are not, I have no place in these regions. You have a right to this open dealing. I now give you fair warning: shall I stay here opposing you, or shall I depart?'
>
> My brother, have you dealt thus honestly and openly with him? No; but you have stolen away the people's heart from him. And when some of them basely treated their best friend, God only excepted, how patiently did you take it! When did you ever vindicate us, as we have you? Why did you not plainly tell them, 'You are eternally indebted to these men. Think not that I will stay among you, to head a party against my dearest friend—and brother, as he suffers me to call him, having humbled himself for my sake, and given me (no bishop, priest, or deacon) the right hand of fellowship. If I hear that one word more is spoken against him, I will leave you that moment, and never see your face more.'
>
> This had been just and honest, and not more than we have deserved at your hands. I say *we*; for God is my witness how condescendingly loving I have been toward you. Yet did you so forget yourself as both openly and privately to contradict my doctrine; while, in the meantime, I was as a deaf man that heard not, neither answered a word, either in private or public.
>
> Ah, my brother! I am distressed for you. I would—but you will not receive my saying. Therefore I can only commit you to Him who hath commanded us to forgive one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven us.

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[1] Possibly if John Wesley had shown Cennick this letter the separation of chief friends would not then have taken place. The evil day, however, would probably have only been postponed. Cennick was not of one mind with the Wesleys, or indeed, as events showed, with Whitefield. The Diary proves that the separation did not prevent friendly intercourse. John Wesley read Cennick's hymns and helped him in preparing them for the press.

Sun. 15.—I preached twice at Kingswood, and twice at Bristol, on those words of a troubled soul, 'Oh that I had wings like a dove; for then would I flee away, and be at rest.'

Monday 9

6 Drest, Diary, writ Journal, tea; 7.15 1 Pet. i. 9! in talk; 1 Journal, at Mr. Willis's, conversed, prayer; 2.15 at home, Mr. Quin, by app[ointment], etc., conversed, tea; 4.15 Journal; 6.30 Eph. i. 13; 8 the leaders; 8.30 supper, Diary; 9.30.

Tuesday 10

4 Drest, walked; 5.30 1 Cor. xi.; 7.30 Rom. viii. 15, etc.; 9.15 on business; writ for the bands; 12 ended Glass; 1 dinner, read; 2.30 1 Cor. ix. 21! 4.30 walked, merit (?); 5.15 at Nanny Smith's, tea, prayer; 6.15 1 Cor. ix. 21; 8 the leaders, within, visited; 10.

Wednesday 11

5 Drest, 1 Cor. xiv. 15; 7.30 School, tea, 1 Cor. ix. 27! 11 on business, at the Room, conversed to many; 1 the leaders, within; 2.45 at S[ister] Stephens's, tea; 3.15 visited many, prayer; 6 at Mrs. Hooper's, tea, conversed; 6 the women! supper; the men, 10.30.

Thursday 12

5 Drest; 5.30 ; 7.30 Rom. v. 1; 10 at home, within to some; 11 2 Pet. ii.; visited; 1 at Mr. Wigginton's dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 visited many; 5 at Luc[y] Wright's, communion, visited; 6.30 John iv. 17; society; 10.15.

Friday 13

5 Drest; 5.30 Psa. xxvii. ult.! 7.15 at the School, tea, John i. 9; on business; 10 at home, within to some; writ N.; 1 prayer! visited; 3.15 at Mr. Hopkins's, tea, conversed; 4.30 visited Mr. Willis, prayer! conversed; 5.45 at the School, within, supper; 6.30 Matt. xiv.; the bands; 9.

Saturday 14

5 Drest, Predestination, tea, conversed; 7.30 2 Pet. iii.; Predestination; 11 visited S. Peacock, prayer, Sus[an] Od[dy] communion; 1 at William Luton's, dinner, visited Hannah Clear, prayer! Hannah Davis, prayer! 3.30 at home, christened three children; 4 the bands, conversed, prayer; 6.15 at Nanny Smith's, tea; 7 Maltroom, 2 Pet. iii.; 8.15 at home, the stewards, within; 9.45.

Sunday 15

4½ Drest, Psa. lv. 6, 7; 6.15 at S. Bracy's, tea, conversed; 8 at the School, Psa. lv. 10; St. James's, communion; 1.15 in the coach; 2 at the School, Psa. lv.; 3.45 at Mr. Deschamps', dinner; 4.15 Psa. lv.; 6 society; 8 at the School, the lovefeast, prayer; 11.

One of the notes I received to-day was as follows :

> A person whom God has visited with a fever, and has wonderfully preserved seven days in a hay-mow without any sustenance but now and then a little water out of a ditch, desires to return God thanks. The person is present, and ready to declare what God has done both for his body and soul. For the three first days of his illness he felt nothing but the terrors of the Lord, greatly fearing lest he should drop into hell; till, after long and earnest prayer, he felt himself given up to the will of God, and equally content to live or die. Then he fell into a refreshing slumber, and awaked full of peace and the love of God.

Tues. 17.—From these words, 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' I preached a sermon (which I have not done before in Kingswood School since it was built) directly on Predestination.[1] On *Wednesday* (and so every Wednesday and Thursday) I saw the sick in Bristol, many of whom I found were blessing God for His seasonable visitation. In the evening I put those of the women who were grown slack into distinct bands by themselves, and sharply reproved many for their unfaithfulness to the grace of God, who bore witness to His word by pouring upon us all the spirit of mourning and supplication.

Monday 16

5¼ Writ to Charles, to Sally Deane, tea ; 7.15 Rom. iv. 7 ; 9 within to some ; 9.30 Predestination ; 12.15 walked, at Charles Arthur's, Bro. Richards there, dinner ; 2 visited Hannah Davis and Hannah Clear, prayer ! 5 at home, tea, writ to Mr. Witham ; 6.30 Exod. xiv. 13 ; the leaders ; 9.15.

Tuesday 17

4 Coffee, walked ; 5.30 Exod. xiv. 13 ; 7 at the School, tea ; 7.30 Exod. xiv. 13 ; 9 Predestination ; 11.30 drest, walked ; 1 visited ; at Mrs. Reed's, dinner ; 2.30 at the School, Gen. xvii. 25 ; 5 visited, at Mr. Labbe's, tea, within ; 6.45 Exod. xiv. ; 8 the bands, within, prayer ; 9 the leaders ; 10.

Wednesday 18

4¾ Drest, Rom. iv. 7 ; at Bro. Deschamps', tea ; at the School ; 10 visited, conversed to some ; 1 the leaders, prayer, within ! 5 at S[ister] Cowin's, communion ! 6 the women, prayer ! supper ; 8 the men ; 10.

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[1] *Works*, vol. vi. p. 225.

Thur. 19.—I visited many of the sick, and among the rest J[udith] W[illiams],[1] who was in grievous pain both of body and mind. After a short time spent in prayer, we left her. But her pain was gone, her soul being in full peace, and her body also so strengthened that she immediately rose, and the next day went abroad.

Sat. 21.—I explained in the evening the thirty-third chapter of Ezekiel, in applying which I was suddenly seized with such a pain in my side that I could not speak. I knew my remedy, and immediately kneeled down. In a moment the pain was gone; and the voice of the Lord cried aloud to the sinners, 'Why will ye die, O house of Israel?'

Thursday 19

4¾ Drest, Rev. vii. 13; at M. Purnell's, tea, within; 7.30 at the School, Rev. vii. 13; 10 at home, within to some; 11 Ezek. xviii.; visited; 1.15 at Bro. Cross's, dinner, conversed, singing; 3 visited Judith Williams! etc.; 4 at Mrs. Shrewsbury's, tea, conversed; 5 at home, the bands, within; 6.30 James iii. 2; 7.30 Diary, supper, society, prayer! 11.

Friday 20

4½ Drest, conversed; 5.15 Eccles. vii. 20; at S. Hooper's, tea; 7.30 at the School, Eccles. vii. 20; 10 at home, conversed to many; 1.45 prayer; 3 at S. Stephens's, tea, conversed, visited; 4 at S. Hooper's, S. Norman, etc., conversed; 6 at the School, on business; 7.15 slept; 7.30 with the bands, prayer! 8 with S. Robertson, Pottam, etc., tea; 8.45 1 Cor. ii. 6, prayer! 12.30.

Saturday 21

6 On business, tea, within; 7.30 1 John i. 8; on business, in talk with many; 11 writ N.; 11.30 walked; 12 at the Room, letters; 2 at Mrs. Vigors', dinner; 4 christened two; at S. Page's, tea, conversed, visited; writ N.; 7 Maltroom, Ezek. xxxiii.! 8.30 the stewards; 10.

Sunday 22

4¾ Drest, Phil. iii. 13; at S. Rawlin's, within, tea; 8 at the School, Phil. iii. 13! 9.30 christened three; 10 at the bands, within; 11 communion! 1 at S. Cambourn's, dinner, prayer! 2 Isaiah i. 18! 4 at Bro. Deschamps', tea; 4.45 1 Cor. viii. 1; 6.30 society! 10 at the School !!

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[1] C. Wesley's Journal, Oct 1, 1739, and afterwards.

Mon. 23.—I visited the sick in Kingswood, one of whom surprised me much. Her husband died of the fever some days before. She was seized immediately after his death; then her eldest daughter; then another and another of her children, six of whom were now sick round about her, without either physic, money, food, or any visible means of procuring it. Who but a Christian can at such a time say from the heart, 'Blessed be the name of the Lord'?[1]

Finding all things now, both at Kingswood and Bristol, far more settled than I expected, I complied with my brother's request, and, setting out on *Wednesday* the 25th, the next day came to London.

Monday 23

6 Writ N., tea; 7.30 2 Pet. i. 9; Journal; 1 walked with S[ister] Baddily and Smith; at William Kirby's, dinner, conversed; 3 at Hannah Davis's, conversed, prayer; 4.45 at S. Prig's, tea, conversed; 5.30 at S. Love's, tea, christened, married; 6 society, Luke vi. 40! 8.45 at home, the leaders; 10.

Tuesday 24

4 Walked, 1 Cor. viii. 1; at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 7.30 at the School, 2 Pet. i. 9, etc., writ N.; 11.30 visited Hannah Clear, communion! 1 at Mr. Wayne's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 visited; 3 at the School, 1 Cor. viii. 1; 5 at S. England's, within, tea; visited; 6.45 Psa. cxlv. 9! 8 society; 9.45 at Mrs. Deschamps', on business; 10.15.

Wednesday 25

3¼ tea, within; 4.15 set out; 8.45 Chippenham, tea; 9.30 set out; 12.45 Marlborough, dinner; 2 rode; 6 Woolhampton; read Haliburton, supper; 8 in bed, ⊥

Thursday 26

4 On business, conversed; 4.45 rode; 6.45 Reading, tea; 7.30 rode; 9.45 Maidenhead, tea, conversed; 10.30 rode; 12.30 Hounslow, dinner; 1.30 rode; 4 at the Foundery, bro. C[harles] and Hall, within, tea; 6 Matt. xiv. 27; supper, society; 9.15 in bed with Bro. Maxfield, conversed; 10.

Friday 27

6 Conversed; 6.30 2 Cor. v. 13, etc.; 8.30 tea, society, within; 10 St. Luke's, communion; 1 at home, society, prayer; 3 tea, within with Charles; 4 Diary, meditated, prayer; 4.30 Isaiah i. 18! 7.45 supper, society; 8.45 conversed with Charles, etc.; 9.15 in bed with Charles, within; 10.

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[1] It was such experiences as this that led Wesley to practise the 'healing art,' and in 1747 to publish his *Primitive Physick.*

Sat. 28.—Having heard much of Mr. Whitefield's unkind behaviour[1] since his return from Georgia, I went to him to hear him speak for himself, that I might know how to judge. I much approved of his plainness of speech. He told me he and I preached two different gospels, and therefore he not only would not join with, or give me the right hand of fellowship, but was resolved publicly to preach against me and my brother, wheresoever he preached at all. Mr. Hall (who went with me) put him in mind of the promise he had made but a few days

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Saturday 28

5¼ Drest, conversed; 6 John i. 1, etc.; 7.15 on business, within; 8 Spangenberg, Böhler, Marshall and bro. Hall, tea, conversed; 10 at Bro. Whitefield's, within! 12.30 at home, conversed to some, dinner; Sir John Gunson[2] came, in talk, on business; 2.30 read N.; 4.30 at S. Edzard's, tea, conversed; visited Dickenson; 6 Acts xix.; 8 at home, the bands, within, prayer; 10.

Sunday 29

5 Drest, within; 6.30 Col. i. 1, etc.! 8.30 the leaders; 10 St. Luke's, communion; 2 at Bro. Hobbin's, dinner, conversed; 3 visited; 3.30 at home; 4 the men leaders; 4.45 1 Cor. i. 30! 6.30 supper; 7.15 the bands; 8 the lovefeast, G. Whitefield and Cenick came, prayer! 10.15.

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[1] Whitefield, returning from Georgia in March 1741, met many adverse circumstances which, as his biographer remarks, to a temperament like his must have been exceedingly distressing. His friend William Seward was dead. James Hutton, his publisher, had refused to act in this capacity any longer, because Whitefield had embraced the Calvinistic creed. Signs of estrangement between himself and the Wesleys were increasing. He had contracted large debts on behalf of the Georgia Orphanage, and had nought to pay them. By his injudicious censures against Tillotson and the author of the *Whole Duty of Man*, thousands of his former admirers had been prejudiced against him. In a letter written to James Habersham, his friend in Georgia, he refers to this and other difficulties. The troubles at Kingswood, in which Cennick strove to involve him, added to his distress. The controversy on Predestination might not have led to such bitter feeling if the circumstances of the times had been less irritating. The student will bear this in mind whilst reading the accounts of conflicts which have long since lost their acute interest, and which are now only of value historically because of their bearing on the course of church history in Great Britain and America. (Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 465–7.)

[2] See C. Wesley's Journal, May 31, 1740: 'I heard that the Foundery was lately presented, at Hicks's Hall, for a seditious assembly. Sir John Ganson interposed, and objected that no persons were named in the presentment. Upon this they presented Charles Wesley, clerk, J. Hutton, bookseller, Timothy Lewis, printer, and Howell Harris, *alias* the Welsh Apostle. But our friend Sir John quashed the whole.'

before, that, whatever his private opinion was, he would never publicly preach against us. He said, that promise was only an effect of human weakness, and he was now of another mind.

Mon. 30.—I fixed an hour every day for speaking with each of the bands, that no disorderly walker might remain among them, nor any of a careless or contentious spirit. And the hours from ten to two, on every day but Saturday, I set apart for speaking with any who should desire it.

APRIL 1, *Wed.*—At his earnest and repeated request, I went to see one under sentence of death in the New Prison. But the keeper told me Mr. Wilson (the curate of the parish) had given charge I should not speak with him. I am clear from the blood of this man. Let Mr. Wilson answer for it to God.

Monday 30

4¾ The leaders, within ; 6.30 John i. 9, etc. ! 8.30 the three bands ; 8.45 at Bro. Waldron's, conversed, tea ; visited ; 11 within to many ; 3 tea, conversed ; 4 Mr. Hollis, prayer, Haliburton ; 5.45 Ezek. xviii. ! 7.30 conversed to some, supper, within ; 9.15 Diary.

Tuesday 31

5¼ Within, on business ; 6.30 John i. 13, etc. ; 8.30 three bands ; 10 at Dr. Rowdon's, tea, conversed ; 11 at home, conversed to many ; 2.30 at S[ister] Crouch's, dinner ; 4 visited, communion ; 5 at S. Crouch's, tea ; 6 at home, Charles preached, in talk to Sir John Gunson ; 8 the bands ; 9 within, prayer ; 10.15.

APRIL 1, *Wednesday*

5½ Within ; 6 John ii. ; 7.15 three bands ; 8.30 tea, on business ; ⌒ 9.45 visited S. Wilde, prayer ; 10 at home, conversed to many ; 2.30 visited ; 3 at the New Prison ! 5 at home, C. Metcalf c[ame] tea, conversed ; 6 Charles preached, supper ; 8 the bands, within, prayer ! 10.

Thursday 2

5¼ Within, John iii. ; three bands ; 8.30 tea, on business ; 10 conversed to Bro. Hum[phreys], conversed to many ; 2.45 at S. Allars's, dinner, conversed ; at S. England's ; 4.45 at Mrs. Motte's, tea, conversed ; 6 Habak. iii. ult. ! supper, society ; 10.

Friday 3

2½ On business, slept ; 3.30 tea, Charles went [to Bristol], slept ; 5.30 drest, on business ; 6 John iii. 8 ; three bands ; 8.30 tea, within, on business ; 10 conversed to many, prayer ; 3 visited Mrs. Retford, Standex, at Bro. Thornton's, tea ; at Mrs. Lane's, tea ; 6 Short's Gardens, Rom. vii. ; at bro. Hall's ; 8.45 at home, supper ; 9.30.

Sat. 4.—I believed both love and justice required that I should speak my sentiments freely to Mr. Wh[itefield] concerning the letter[1] he had published, said to be in answer to my sermon on Free Grace. The sum of what I observed to him was this: (1) That it was quite imprudent to publish it at all, as being only the putting of weapons into their hands who loved neither the one nor the other. (2) That if he was constrained to bear his testimony (as he termed it) against the error I was in, he might have done it by publishing a treatise on this head, without ever calling my name in question. (3) That what he had published was a mere burlesque upon an answer, leaving four of my eight arguments untouched, and handling the other four in so gentle a manner as if he was afraid they would burn his fingers: however, that, (4) He had said enough of what was wholly foreign to the question to make an open (and probably irreparable) breach between him and me, seeing 'for a treacherous wound, and for the bewraying of secrets, every friend will depart.'[2]

Mon. 6.—I had a long conversation with Peter Böhler.[3] I

Saturday 4

5½ Drest, within; 6 John iii. 14! three bands; 8.30 tea; 9 on business; 10.15 in the coach with George Whitefield, bro. Hall, etc., conversed; 12.30 at Mrs. Sparrow's within, singing, dinner; 3 coach, conversed; 4.30 visited, at Mrs. Hawthorn's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, Acts xix.; 8 the bands, prayer! 9.15 ⅄.

Sunday 5

5 Prayed, tea, within; 6.15 Phil. iii.; 8.15 the women leaders; 10 St. Paul's; 1 bro. Hall's, dinner; 2.30 at home, writ for the bands; 4 tea, conversed; 4.30 Phil. iii.! 6.30 within, supper; 7 the bands; 9.30 Bro. Humphreys, conversed, prayer; 10.30.

Monday 6

5¼ Drest, within; 6 John iii. ult., three bands; 8.30 tea, conversed; 10 at home, Peter Böhler; conversed to many; 2.45 at S. Baddily's, marvel how I refrain from joining these men. I scarce ever see any of them but my heart burns within me. I long to be with them; and yet I am kept from them.

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[1] The letter that was torn up at the Foundery, Feb. 1, 1741.

[2] Quoted from memory: Ecclus. xxii. 22, cf. xxvii. 17.

[3] Few men had such influence with John Wesley, or probably in that Fetter Lane circle which was eventually to become Anglo-Moravian, as Peter Böhler. Had he been in England in July 1740, the misunderstanding with the Moravians might have had a different result. When Böhler, Spangenberg, and Töltschig were at hand, Wesley's Moravian sympathies, rooted in Georgia, were invariably revived. His judgement condemned much in the Moravian teaching and practice, but his heart yearned for the Moravian fellowship

Tues. 7.—I dined with one [Mr. Smatherst] who had been a professed atheist for upwards of twenty years. But coming some months since to make sport with the Word of God, it cut him to the heart. And he could have no rest day nor night till the God whom he had denied spoke peace to his soul.

In the evening, having desired all the bands to meet, I read over the names of the United Society, and marked those who were of a doubtful character, that full inquiry might be made concerning them. On *Thursday*, at the meeting of that society, I read over the names of these, and desired to speak with each of them the next day, as soon as they had opportunity. Many of them afterwards gave sufficient proof that they were seeking Christ in sincerity. The rest I determined to keep on trial, till the doubts concerning them were removed.

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dinner; at S[ister] Knight's, tea, conversed; 5 at St. Thomas's Hospital, spoke, prayer; at Guy's Hospital, conversed, prayer; 6.30 Acts xx.; 9.15 at home, within with bro. Hall, 10.

Tuesday 7

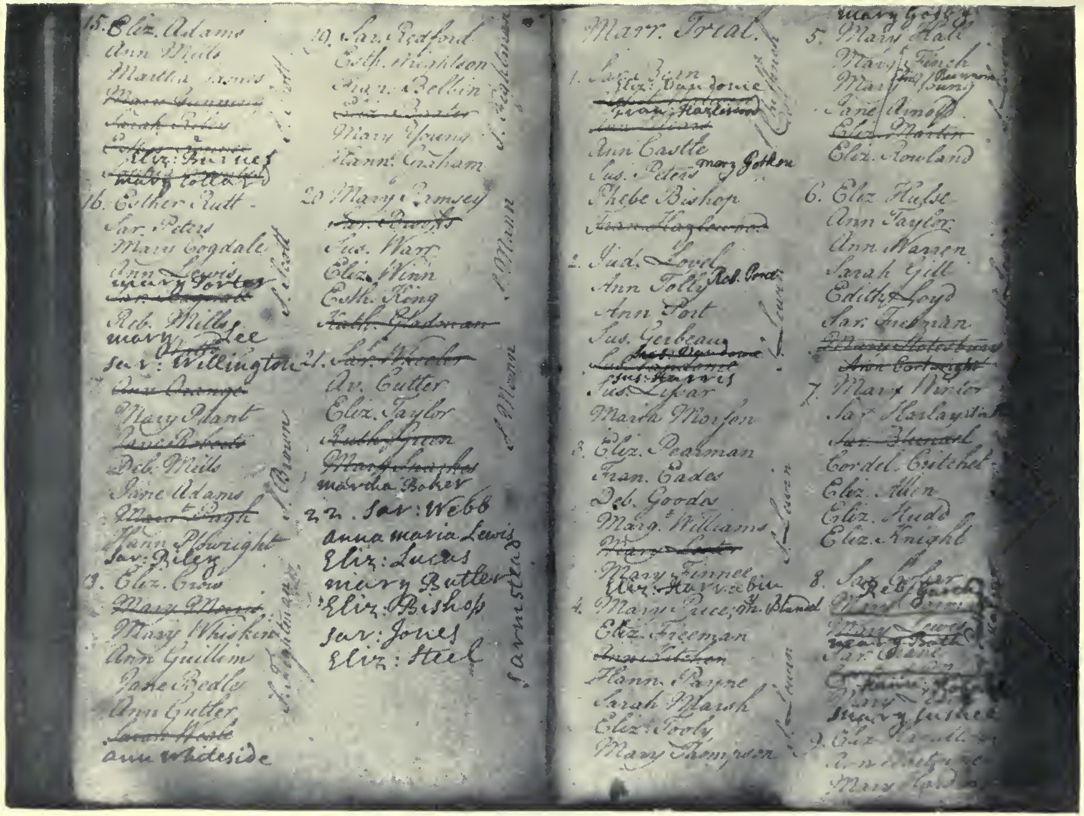
5 Drest, prayer; 6 John iii. ult., the bands; 8.30 at S. Williams's, tea, conversed; 10 within to many; 2.30 at Bro. Smatherst, dinner! 4 at S. Barnes's, tea, conversed, prayer! 5 at Nanny Young's, tea, conversed; 6 at home, Phil. iii! on business; 8 the bands; 10.30 within with bro. Hall; 11.

Wednesday 8

5 Drest, prayer; 6 John iv.; the bands; 8.15 at S. Price's, tea, conversed; 9.15 visited, communion; 10 at home, writ N., conversed to some; 1.15 Diary, conversed; 2 christened Charles Bean; 4 Deptford, at Bro. Giles's, christened; 5 at Charlton, Bro. Wollard's, conversed, prayer; 5.45 Deptford, Ezek. xxxvi. 20; 8 at home, supper; 8.30 the bands; 10.15.

Thursday 9

5¼ Drest, prayer; 6 John iv.! the bands; 8.30 at Nanny Morris's, tea, conversed, prayer! 10 at home, conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Nash's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 at S. England's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at home, Bro. Humphreys, conversed; 6 Phil. iii., writ to Charles, Nanny Smith; 8 society; 10.



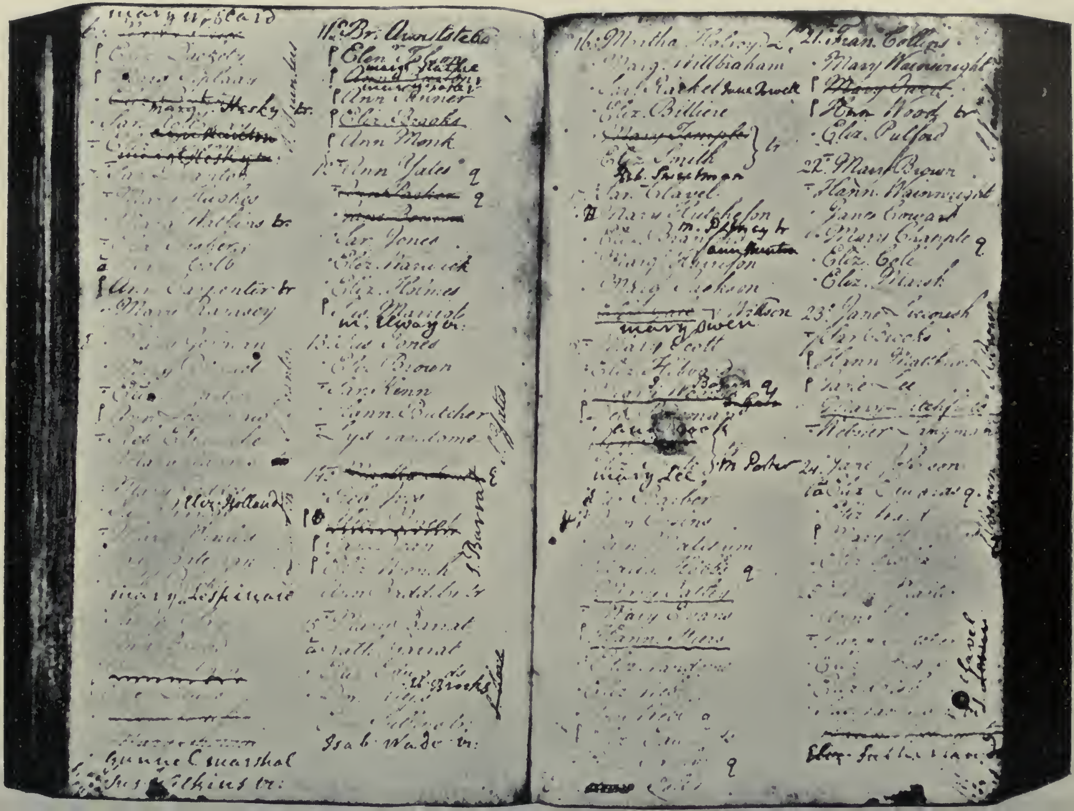
15. Eliz. Adams
Ann Mills
Martha [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Eliz: Burnes
[illegible]
16. Esther Rutt
Sar. Peters
Mary Cogdale
Ann Lewis
mary Porter
[illegible]
Reb. Mills
mary Lee
Sar: Willington
[illegible]
Mary Plant
[illegible]
Deb. Mills
Jane Adams
[illegible]
Hann. Plowright
Sar: Riley
13. Eliz. Crow
[illegible]
Mary Whiskin
Ann Guillem
Jane Bedle
Ann Cutler
[illegible]
ann whiteside

19. Sar. Redford
Esth. [illegible]
Han. Bellin
[illegible]
Mary Young
Hann. Graham
20 Mary Ramsey
[illegible]
Sus. Warr
Eliz. Winn
Esth. King
[illegible]
21. [illegible]
Av. Cutler
Eliz. Taylor
[illegible]
[illegible]
martha Baker
22. Sar: Webb
anna maria Lewis
Eliz: Lucas
mary Butler
Eliz: Bishop
Sar: Jones
Eliz: Steel

Marr. Trial.
1. [illegible]
Eliz: [illegible]
~~Fran: Harrison~~
[illegible]
Ann Castle
Sus. Peters mary Gotton
Phebe Bishop
[illegible]
2. Jud. Lovel
Ann Folly Reb. Price
Ann Port
Sus. Gerbeau
[illegible]
[illegible]
Sus: Harris
Sus. Lifar
Marth. Morson
3. Eliz. Beatman
Fran. Eades
Deb. Goodes
Marg. Williams
[illegible]
Mary Finnel
Eliz. [illegible]
4. Mary Rice; M. Bland
Eliz. Freeman
[illegible]
Hann. Payne
Sarah Marsh
Eliz. Tooly
Mary Thompson

[illegible]
5. Mary Hall
Mary Finch
Mary Young
Jane Arnoff
~~Eliz. Martin~~
Eliz. Rowland
6. Eliz. Hulse
Ann Taylor
Ann Warren
Sarah Gill
Edith Loyd
Sar. Freeman
[illegible]
~~Ann Cartwright~~
7. Mary Winter
Sar. [illegible]
[illegible]
Cordel. Critchet
Eliz. Allen
Eliz. Mudd
Eliz. Knight
8. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
mary fisher
9. Eliz. [illegible]
[illegible]
Mary [illegible]

REDUCED FACSIMILE FROM LIST OF THE LONDON SOCIETY (ABOUT 1741).
With names written in by Charles Wesley ('22'); showing bands, leaders, and how the Society was disciplined.



Mary Upsland
[illegible]
Mary Hesky tr.
[illegible]
Ann Carpenter tr
Mary Ramsey
[illegible]
Eliz. Holland
[illegible]
Mary Lespinasse
[illegible]
George Marshal
Jus. Wilkins tr.

11. Br. [illegible]
Elen. Tolson
Ann Turner
Eliz. Brooks
Ann Monk
12. Ann Yates 2
[illegible]
Sar. Jones
Eliz. Warwick
Eliz. Haines
13. [illegible] Jones
Eliz. Brown
Sar. Venn
Ann Butcher
14. [illegible]
Isab. Wade tr.

16. Martha Holroyd
Mary Willbraham
Rachel
Eliz. Billiere
Eliz. Smith
Rb. Sweetman
Sar. Clavel
Mary Hutcheson
Mary Jackson
Mary Owen
Mary Scott
Mary Lee
M Parker
[illegible]

21. Fran. Collins
Mary Wainwright
Ann Wood tr
Eliz. Pulford
22. Mary Brown
Hann. Wainwright
Jane Cowart
Mary Cample 2
Eliz. Cole
Eliz. Marsh
23. Jane [illegible]
24. Jane [illegible]
[illegible]

Fri. 10.—In the evening, at Short's Gardens, I read over, in order to expound, the eighth chapter to the Romans.[1] But thoughts and words crowded in so fast upon me that I could get no farther than the first verse; nor, indeed, than that single clause, 'Who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.'

Tues. 14.—I was much concerned for one of our sisters, who, having been but a few times with the 'still' brethren,

Friday 10

5 Prayed, writ, conversed; 6 John iv. 18, etc.! 7 the bands; 8.15 at Mary Hilson's, tea, conversed, visited S. Sutherland; 10.15 at home, conversed to many; 1.15 prayer! 3 visited, at bro. Hall's, 3 at Mrs. Motte's, at Short's Gardens, within, on business; 5 at Mrs. Motte's, tea, conversed; 6 Short's Gardens, Rom. viii. 1! 8 at Mrs Mac-cune's, Mat. Clark, conversed, supper! 10; 10.45 at home, ⊥.

Saturday 11

5 Prayed, Journal; 6 John iv. to end; Journal; 8 tea, Sir John Gonson, in talk; 9 Journal, read; 1.15 walked, Short's Gardens, Vertue's, in talk; 2.30 at Bro. Dawson's, dinner, conversed; 4.15 at S. Ketteridge's, tea, conversed; Mrs. Bull! at Mrs. Mash's [? error for N], conversed; 6 Long Lane,[2] Acts xx.! the bands; 10.

Sunday 12

5 Within, tea; 6.15 Eccles. vii. 20; 8.45 the leaders; 10 St. Paul's; 1 at home, tea, writ N.; 3 the men leaders; 4.45 James iii. 2! 7 supper, the bands! 9.45 within; 10.

Monday 13

5 Prayed, in talk; 6 John v.; the bands; 8.30 at S. Aspernell's; 9 tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, within to many; 2.45 at Islington, Mrs. Witham's, dinner; 6.30 at Long Lane, Acts xx.! 9 at home, within; 10.

Tuesday 14

5 Prayed, within, writ; 6 John v.; the bands; 8.30 at S. Vandome's, tea, conversed, prayer! visited! 10 at home; 11 conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Smag's, dinner, conversed; 4 at S. Malton's, tea, conversed; 5 at S. Horner's, conversed! 6 John iv. 20! writ to Charles; 8.15 at [the] bands! 10.

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[1] A letter of Joseph Humphreys, who was acting as Moravian minister in Deptford, and had been reading this chapter, occasioned this. (See *W. M. Mag.* 1884, p. 280.) This exposition seems to have determined Joseph Humphreys' course. Five days earlier he wrote to say that he had been reading the latter part of this chapter, of which he gave a Calvinistic explanation. This led to Wesley's choice of subject. Humphreys was present and heard the exposition, but was not satisfied with it, and next month cast in his lot with Mr. Whitefield.

[2] Long Lane, between St. George's Church, Southwark, and St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey.

was on a sudden so much wiser than her teachers that I could neither understand her, nor she me. Nor could I help being a little surprised at the profound indifference she showed, who a few days before would have plucked out her eyes, had it been possible, and given them to me.

Wed. 15.—I explained, at Greyhound Lane,[1] the latter part of the fourth chapter to the Ephesians. I was so weak in body that I could hardly stand; but my spirit was much strengthened.

I found myself growing sensibly weaker all *Thursday*; so that on *Friday* the 17th I could scarce get out of bed, and almost as soon as I was up was constrained to lie down again. Nevertheless, I made shift to drag myself on, in the evening, to Short's Gardens. Having, not without difficulty, got up the stairs,[2] I read those words (though scarce intelligibly, for my voice too was almost gone), 'Whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate.' In a moment both my voice and strength returned; and from that time, for some weeks, I found such bodily strength as I had never done before since my landing in America.

Wednesday 15

5 Prayed, within; 6 John v.; 7.30 set out; 9 at Lady Huntingdon's, with Lady Huntingdon, conversed, tea; 12 Rom. v.! 1.30 conversed with her; 2.30 dinner, conversed with her and him [i.e. with the Earl]; 4.15 rode [from Enfield to Whitechapel]; 6 Greyhound Lane, Eph. iv. ult.; 8 at home, supper; 9 the bands; 10.

Thursday 16

5 Prayed, writ N.; 6 John v.; 7 the bands; 8 Spangenberg, tea, conversed; 9.15 read Poiret[3]; 10 Charles Kinchin, within; 11 conversed to many; 2 at Bro. Dolman's, christened his son; 4.30 visited; 6 at home, Acts ii. 27, etc., ate; 8 society; 10.

Friday 17

5¼ read Poiret; 6 John v.; the bands; 8.15 Bro. Blake's, tea, conversed; 9.15 visited; 10.30 at home, conversed to many; 1.30 prayer! 3 at S. Prengnell's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at Mrs. Motte's, tea; 5.30 Short's Gardens, Mrs. Flemming's, tea, conversed; 6 Rom. viii. 29, 30! 8.30 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, supper, conversed, 11.

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[1] In Whitechapel.

[2] 'Up the stairs' was evidently an upper room; probably, like many of the preaching-places in early Methodist times, especially in London—a loft.

[3] Wesley translated from Abbé Fleury and M. Poiret for his *Instructions for Children* (1745). Translated into Latin and published in 1748, it became a Kingswood School-book, running through several editions until 1812.

Mon. 20.—Being greatly concerned for those who were tossed about with divers winds of doctrine, many of whom were again entangled in sin, and carried away captive by Satan at his will, I besought God to show me where this would end, and opened my Bible on these words, 'And there was nothing lacking to them, neither small nor great, neither sons nor daughters, neither spoil nor any thing that they had taken to them. David recovered all.'[1]

Tues. 21.—I wrote to my brother, then at Bristol, in the following words[2]:—

Saturday 18

5¼ Drest, on business; 6 John v. 35! 7 writ upon Predestination; 8 Charles Kinchin came, tea, conversed; 9 writ; 12 read letters; 2 dinner, within; 3 letters; 5.15 at S. Bird's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, Acts xxi.; 8.15 the bands, prayer! 10.

Sunday 19

5¼ On business, tea, conversed; 6.30 Psa. lv. 5, 6; 8.45 the leaders; 10 S. Paul's; 1.45 at Bro. West's, he married [Esther Sutton Hopson]![3] 2.30 at home, writ [for] society; 3 the men leaders; 4 tea, conversed; 4.45 Psa. lv.; 6 supper; 7.15 the bands, prayer! 10.

Monday 20

5 Prayed, on business; 6 John vi.; the bands, Böhler came; 8.15 at S. Broad's, tea, conversed, visited; 10.30 at home, conversed to

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[1] This is one of many remarkable coincidences in connexion with this strange and, as many will remark, superstitious use of the Bible. It was a prophecy destined to be fulfilled.

[2] The MS. of this letter (mutilated for press purposes) is in R. Green's Book-Room Collection of Wesley Letters. It is endorsed, in Charles Wesley's handwriting, 'When I incline to yᵉ Germans.' Whitefield's name, as usual, is in initials, 'G. Wᵈ.' and 'G. W.'s.' The words 'in love with her' are in Byrom's shorthand. It will be noted that the 'bands' and the 'society' are distinct. The 'hand' purging the latter is the divine discipline of epidemic sickness which the Wesleys taught the Foundery society to regard as the chastening of the Lord. The 'hymns' referred to are those printed in Bristol, entitled, *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love*, which played so momentous a part in the Calvinistic controversy of the time, and which in an enlarged edition were reprinted in London. Sung in meetings of the society and read in Methodist homes, they were fuel to the flames of controversy. So were the tracts, pamphlets, and sermons which appeared in rapid succession from the press. Of one of the latter we have a glimpse in this letter. 'Barclay' is the tract entitled *Serious Considerations on Absolute Predestination*, printed by Farley in Bristol (1741), see Green's *Wes. Bibliog.* No. 22. Wesley prepared it in Dec. 1740 (see the Diary entries on p. 407). This letter throws sidelights on many interesting points. It is still probably incomplete, as are so many of the letters published in the *Works* and in biographies.

[3] This does not mean that this was his wedding day. (See p. 126.)

LONDON, *April* 21, 1741.

[It is not possible for me to set out yet. I must go round and glean after Mr. Whitefield. I will take care of the books you mention. My Journal is not written yet. The bands and society are my first care. The bands are purged; the society is purging; and we continually feel whose hand is in the work.

[Send the new-printed Hymns immediately. We presented a thousand of Barclay to Mr. Whitefield's congregation on Sunday. On Sunday next I propose to distribute a thousand more at the Foundery.

[I am settling a regular method of visiting the sick here. Eight or ten have offered themselves for the work, who are likely to have full employment; for more and more are taken ill every day. Our Lord will throughly purge His floor.

[I rejoice in your speaking your mind freely. Oh let *our* love be without dissimulation!

[But I can't yet agree with you in all points. Who is your informer concerning N. Bath? I doubt the facts. Have you had them face to face? Brother Nowers is not in love with her. Ask him about them. Let the premisses be but proved; I greatly commend the conclusion.

[I am not clear that brother Maxfield should not expound at Greyhound Lane; nor can I as yet do without him. Our clergymen have miscarried full as much as the laymen; and that the Moravians are other than laymen I know not.]

As yet I dare in no wise join with the Moravians: (1) Because their general scheme is mystical, not scriptural; refined in every point above what is written; immeasurably beyond the plain gospel. (2) Because there is darkness and closeness in all their behaviour, and guile in almost all their words. (3) Because they not only do not practise, but utterly despise and decry, self-denial and the daily cross. (4) Because they conform to the world, in wearing gold and gay or costly apparel. (5) Because they are by no means zealous of good works, or at least only to their own people. For these reasons (chiefly) I

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many; dinner, conversed to many; 2.45 writ for society; 4.30 at S[ister] Miller's, tea, conversed; 5.30 visited; 6.30 Long Lane, Acts xxii.; 9 at home, on business; 10 1 Sam. xxx. 19.

Tuesday 21

4¾ On business, writ; 5.30 John vi; 6.30 within to some; 7 writ for the society; 8.30 tea, within; 9 writ for the United Society; 12 writ to Charles, to Bro. Nowers; 2 at Mrs. Strahan's, dinner together; 3.45 at Nanny Burton's, S. Barnes and Bowman, within, tea; 5 at S. Horner's, tea, conversed; 6 at home, within; 6.30 Zech. iv. 6; writ to Bro. Baddily; 8 society; 10 ṁ.

will rather, God being my helper, stand quite alone than join with them; I mean till I have full assurance that they are better acquainted with 'the truth as it is in Jesus.'

[Oh my brother, my soul is grieved for you: the poison is in you: fair words have stolen away your heart. 'No English man or woman is like the Moravians!' So the matter is come to a fair issue. Five of us did still stand together a few months since, but two are gone to the right hand, Hutchins and Cennick; and two more to the left, Mr. Hall and you. Lord, if it be Thy gospel which I preach, arise and maintain Thine own cause! Adieu!]

Wednesday 22

4¾ Prayed, writ for society; 5.30 John vi.; the bands; 7.30 writ for society; 8.15 at Ruth Jaggers's, tea, conversed; 9.30 writ for society; 9.45 conversed to many; 2.30 communion; 3 visited; 3.30 at S. Ibbison's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at S. Roberts's, tea, conversed; visited; 6 at S. Hall's; 7 at Short's Gardens, Rom. viii. 15! 8.15 at home, supper; 9 the bands! 10.30.

Thursday 23

5 On business, within; 5.30 John vi.; the bands; 8.15 at Mary Burnet's, tea, conversed; 10 conversed to many; 2 at Mrs. Scot's, dinner, conversed; at Bro. Church's, tea, conversed; 4.30 at the Barn, Luke vi. 40; 6.45 at home, Isa. xxx. 12; 8 society; 10.

Friday 24

5 Prayed, on business; Knolton[1] came, conversed; 5.45 John vi. ult.; 6.30 conversed to many; 7 the bands; 8.15 at Bro. Moreton's, tea, conversed; 9 visited! at Sukey Marriot's, tea, conversed; 10.15 conversed to many; 1.30 prayer! within; 4 at Mrs. Redford's communion; 5 at sister Hall's, at S. Sc[h]olefield's, tea; 5.30 at Mrs. Stockdale's, conversed, visited; 6.15 Short's Gardens, Rom. viii. 2! 8.15 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, Mat. Clark, Mr. Witham, supper; saw [me] home! 11.

Saturday 25

5 Prayed, within; 5.30 John vii.; 6.45 writ for society; 8.15 tea, within; 9 writ, Peter Böhler, within! 12 writ to Charles, writ N.; 2 coach with Mrs. Scot; read upon Predestination; 4 Charlton, Bro. Wollard's, communion; 4.45 Deptford, Phil. iii. 13; 6.45 Long Lane, Acts xxiii.; 8.30 at home, supper, the bands; 10.30.

Sunday 26

5¼ Drest, tea, conversed; 6.15 Rom. viii. 29! the leaders; 10 St. Paul's, communion; 1 at Mrs. Clark's, dinner, conversed! visited; 2.45 at home, the leaders, tea; 5.30 Mary[le]bone, Isa. i. 18; 7 Short's Gardens, the bands; 10.30 at home, ⊥!

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[1] William Peter, fan-maker, corner of Star Alley, Mark Lane, Fenchurch Street: born in 1702 at Luton, a Baptist, joined and in America left the Brethren.

MAY 1, *Fri.*—I was with one who told me she had been hitherto taught of man, but now she was taught of God only. She added that God had told her not to partake of the Lord's Supper any more, since she fed upon Christ continually. Oh who is secure from Satan transforming himself into an angel of light?[1]

In the evening I went to a little lovefeast which Peter

Monday 27

5 Drest, within; 5.30 2 Cor. iii. 17, the bands; 8.15 at S. Angus', tea, conversed; 9.45 at home, conversed to many; 2 set out, in the chaise; 3.15 at Mary Clavel's, dinner, within; 4 at the Barn, Rom. viii. 29! 7 Long Lane, Acts xxiv.; 9 at home, supper, within; 9.45.

Tuesday 28

5 Prayed; 5.30 2 Cor. iii. 17; writ to George Whitefield; 8.15 tea, conversed; 11 writ to Bro. Humphreys and Charles; 1.30 walked; 3 Deptford; 4 the society, at Bro. Giles's; 4.45 in the boat; 6 at home, tea, 2 Cor. iii. 17, society, read G. Whitefield's letter, prayer; 9.45.

Wednesday 29

5 Prayed; 5.30 1 Cor. ix. 21, the bands; 8 at S. Shaw's, tea, conversed; 9.15 at home, writ N.; 10 conversed to many, Spangenberg, conversed! 12 went to Mr. Marriot, prayer! 1.15 at home, conversed to many, prayer; 2.45 at Mrs. Nightingale's, dinner, conversed; 4.30 at S. Haddock's, tea, conversed, at S. Morrison's; 6 Greyhound Lane, Ezek. xxxvi. 25! 8 at home, the bands, prayer! 10.45.

Thursday 30

5 Prayed, 1 Cor. ix. 21, the bands; 8.15 at S. Sweet's, tea, conversed; 9.15 at Sister Aspernell's, communion; 10 at home, conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Wilkinson's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 at S. Catison's, tea, conversed, prayer! 5.15 at Mrs. Doleman's, within; 6 at home, on business; 6.30 1 Cor. ix. 21, within; 8.30 society; 10.15.

MAY 1, *Friday*

5 Drest, prayed; 5.30 1 Cor. ix. 21, the bands; 8.15 at Nanny Morris's; 9 conversed, tea; 9.30 at S. Horner's, conversed! 10 at home, conversed to many; 11.30 prayer; 2.45 Mr. Bate of Deptford,[2] within, visited; 5 at S. Mann's, conversed, tea; 6.15 Short's Gardens, Rom. viii. 4, etc.; 9 at Bro. Bray's, Peter Böhler's lovefeast! seven of us; 10 prayer, 12.45 [the lovefeast, we now learn, was held in Bray's house at Little Britain].

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[1] Cf. April 14, above.

[2] The Rev. James Bate, M.A., Rector of St. Paul's, Deptford, and formerly chaplain to Walpole, who had issued pamphlets against Methodism, especially attacking Whitefield. (Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, Nos. 34 and 42; Tyerman, i. 249.)

Böhler made[1] for those ten who joined together on this day three years, 'to confess our faults one to another.' Seven of us were present; one being sick, and two unwilling to come. Surely the time will return when there shall be again

Union of mind, as in us all one soul![2]

Sat. 2.—I had a conversation of several hours with P. Böhler and Mr. Spangenberg.[3] Our subject was, a new creature; Mr. Spangenberg's account of which was this[4]:

> 'The moment we are justified, a new creature is put into us. This is otherwise termed the new man.
>
> 'But notwithstanding, the old creature or the old man remains in us till the day of our death.
>
> 'And in this old man there remains an old heart, corrupt and abominable. For inward corruption remains in the soul as long as the soul remains in the body.
>
> 'But the heart which is in the new man is clean. And the new man is stronger than the old; so that though corruption continually strives, yet while we look to Christ it cannot prevail.'

I asked him, 'Is there still an old man in you?' He said, 'Yes; and will be as long as I live.' I said, 'Is there, then, corruption in your heart?' He replied, 'In the heart of my old man there is; but not in the heart of my new man.' I asked, 'Does the experience of your brethren agree with yours?'

Saturday 2

5 Drest, prayed, Rom. v. 13, writ upon Predestination; 8 Spangenberg, Böhler, N. Morris, etc., tea, conversed! 11.30 writ upon Predestination; 1.30 on business, dinner; 2.30 visited some; 4 at Mrs. Lee's, tea, conversed; 5 visited, at the hospitals; 6.15 2 Cor. v. 17; 8.15 at home, the bands; 10.30.

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[1] The ultimate purpose of this memorial lovefeast was to win Wesley back to the Fetter Lane society.

[2] Quoted from memory and not verified—this quite in Wesley's manner. Many of his quotations are verbally inaccurate. In this case there may also have been a printer's error. The original reads thus: 'Union of mind, or in us both one soul' (*Paradise Lost*, vii. 705).

[3] See vol. i. p. 150. Wesley met Böhler and Spangenberg at Nanny Morris's.

[4] For Böhler's opinion see May 16. At this juncture Böhler and Spangenberg were not in full doctrinal agreement with Wesley. The doctrine of Justification by Faith was no longer a difficulty. Other questions, however, had emerged: Original Sin, the meaning and extent of Regeneration, Christian Perfection, and the relation of Good Works to Faith. Reunion between Moravians and Methodism was as impossible as union between Moravianism and the Anglican Church.

He answered, 'I know what I have now spoken is the experience of all the brethren and sisters throughout our church.'

A few of our brethren and sisters sitting by then spoke what they experienced. He told them, with great emotion, his hand trembling much, 'You all deceive your own souls. There is no higher state than that I have described. You are in a very dangerous error. You know not your own hearts. You fancy your corruptions are taken away, whereas they are only covered. Inward corruption never can be taken away till our bodies are in the dust.'

Was there inward corruption in our Lord? Or, cannot the servant be as his Master?

Sun. 3.—I gave the scriptural account of one who is 'in Christ a new creature,' from whom 'old things are passed away,' and in whom 'all things are become new.' In the afternoon I explained at Marylebone Fields, to a vast multitude of people, 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' The devil's children fought valiantly for their master, that his kingdom should not be destroyed; and many stones fell on my right hand and on my left. But when I began to examine them closely, what reward they were to have for their labour, they vanished away like smoke.

Sunday 3

5 Prayed, drest, tea; 6 2 Cor. v. 17; 8 the leaders; 10 S. Martin's, communion; 1 at Mr. Keen's, Peter Böhler, dinner, conversed; 2.30 Short's Gardens, the leaders; 4.30 at S. Flemmer's, tea, conversed; 5.30 Mary[le]bone, Micah vi. 7! 7 at Short's Gardens, tea, the bands; 10 at home, ṁ [? satis].

Monday 4

5 Prayed, John vii., the bands; 8 S. Perrin, conversed; 8.30 at Hannah Wainwright's, tea, conversed; 9.15 writ N., conversed to many; 2.30 at Bro. Garnault's, dinner, conversed, visited, at Mr. Hobbin's, senr., tea, conversed; 4.30 at S. Baddily's, Sally Lloyd, within; 5 at S. Hawthorn's, she ill, communion! 6 Guy's Hospital, Betty Patrick; 6.45 Acts xxv.; 8.45 at home, read N., supper; 10.15.

Tuesday 5

5 Prayed, John viii., writ Journal; 8 tea, conversed, Journal; 12.15 on business, read N.; 3 Deptford, Bro. Giles's, dinner, within; 3.45 the danc[ing] roo[m], 2 Cor. v. 17; 6.30 at home, Eccles. xii. 1! 8.30 writ to Charles, read his Journal; 10.15.

Wednesday the 6th was a day on which we agreed to meet for prayer and humbling our souls before God, if haply He might show us His will concerning our reunion with our brethren of Fetter Lane. And to this intent all the men and women bands[1] met at one in the afternoon. Nor did our Lord cast out our prayer, or leave Himself without witness among us. But it was clear to all, even those who were before the most eagerly desirous of it, that the time was not come: (1) because they had not given up their most essentially erroneous doctrines; and (2) because many of us had found so much guile in their words that we could scarce tell what they really held, and what not.

Thur. 7.—I reminded the United Society that many of our brethren and sisters had not needful food; many were destitute of convenient clothing; many were out of business, and that without their own fault; and many sick and ready to perish: that I had done what in me lay to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to employ the poor, and to visit the sick; but was not, alone, sufficient for these things, and therefore desired all whose hearts were as my heart:

1. To bring what clothes each could spare, to be distributed among those that wanted most.

Wednesday 6

5 Prayed, John viii., the bands, S. Harrison's, tea, conversed; 10 at home, conversed to many; 1.15 the bands, prayer, . . . christened! 3.15 visited some; 5 at S. Esther Kent's, tea, conversed; 6 Greyhound Lane, Luke vii., ad fin.; 8 the bands, 10.

Thursday 7

5 Prayed, John viii., at S. Knight's, tea; 7.45 with S. Gaskard in the chaise, read Bird; 10 Bexley, prayers, communion; 1 at Mr. Piers,[2] read my letter to him, dinner, conversed; 3 chaise, read; 6.15 at home, tea, Psa. cxlv. 9! society! 10.15.

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[1] The bands only were consulted (see Diary).

[2] Wesley always had a confidential friend. At this time almost his only intimate and reliable friend was Henry Piers. The vicarage garden was his one quiet retreat. He read and corrected his friend's sermons. Their correspondence must have been considerable. But where are the letters that passed? where any note in the Diary 'Writ Mr. Piers'? Was the personality behind 'Writ N, and Read N' Piers, vicar of Bexley? Cf. Diary, Monday, May 4, 1741, and Thursday the 7th. Is there, somewhere, a long series of journal-letters, after the style of the Moravian letters, written by Wesley to Piers? If, as is possible, 'N' is cipher, its translation would be 'M' or 'P.'

2. To give weekly a penny, or what they could afford, for the relief of the poor and sick.[1]

My design, I told them, is to employ, for the present, all the women who are out of business, and desire it, in knitting.[2]

To these we will first give the common price for what work they do; and then add, according as they need.

Twelve persons are appointed to inspect these, and to visit and provide things needful for the sick.

Each of these is to visit all the sick within their district, every other day; and to meet on Tuesday evening, to give an account of what they have done, and consult what can be done farther.

This week the Lord of the harvest began to put in His sickle among us. On *Tuesday* our brother Price, our sister Bowes on *Wednesday*, to-day our sister Hawthorn, died. They all went, in full and certain hope, to Him whom their soul loved.

Fri. 8.—I found myself much out of order. However, I made shift to preach in the evening; but on *Saturday* my bodily strength quite failed, so that for several hours I could scarce lift up my head.

Friday 8

5 Prayed, John viii., the bands; 8.15 at S. Sutton's, tea, conversed; 9.45 at home, conversed to many; 1.30 prayer; 3 visited, at Bro. Standex's, conversed; 4.30 at S. Motte's, tea, conversed; 6 Short's Gardens, Rom. viii. 7-15; 8.30 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, supper, prayer with him; 11.15.

Saturday 9

Ill; 6.30 drest, writ N., read; 8 tea, lay down; 9 read; 1.30 visited; 2 at Mr. Wathen's [? the surgeon he knew in Bristol], dinner, conversed; 4.15 at Mrs. Hawthorn's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, 1 Cor. xv.; 8.15 at home, the society; 10.

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[1] In the first days of the United Societies, as also in the Holy Club, the subscription list was a device for gathering funds for the relief of the poor. Many curious facts in the early history of the Great Queen Street, Hinde Street, and other societies show how persistent was the belief amongst the old Methodists that their first duty was to the poor, the sick, the sinful.

[2] For an account of the bitter and cruel slanders arising out of this knitting industry see Tyerman, vol. i. p. 357. Everywhere Wesley and his friends found more satisfaction in the practical Christianity that carried them to the poor and the suffering than in controversial disputes.

Sun. 10.—I was obliged to lie down most part of the day, being easy only in that posture. Yet in the evening my weakness was suspended while I was calling sinners to repentance. But at our lovefeast which followed, beside the pain in my back and head, and the fever which still continued upon me, just as I began to pray, I was seized with such a cough that I could hardly speak. At the same time came strongly into my mind, 'These signs shall follow them that believe.' I called on Jesus aloud, to 'increase my faith,' and to 'confirm the word of His grace.' While I was speaking, my pain vanished away, the fever left me, my bodily strength returned, and for many weeks I felt neither weakness nor pain. 'Unto Thee, O Lord, do I give thanks.'

Thur. 14.—Hearing that one [Nanny Morris] was in a high fever, of whom I had for some time stood in doubt, I went to

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Sunday 10

6½ Ill, Prov. xxiii. 26, the leaders; 9.15 slept; 10.30 communion; 11.15 lay down, read; 12.30 dinner, lay down; 2.15 the men leaders; 4.15 tea; 4.45 1 Cor. viii. 1! 7 the lovefeast, prayer! well! 9.15.

Monday 11

5 Prayed, John ix., the bands; 8.15 tea, read Poiret, writ N.; 10 conversed to many; 2 dinner, conversed to many; 3.45 visited S. Harper, Bro. Martin, Jos. Johnson, Mrs. Kent, communion; 5.15 at Mrs. Baddily's, tea; 6.15 Long Lane, Acts xxvi.; 8.15 at home, supper, read N.; 1.30.

Tuesday 12

5½ Prayed, John x., the bands; 8.30 S. Perrin, Nanny Morris, etc., tea, conversed, writ for society; 11 conversed to many; 1.30 in the coach with Mrs. Seaton and [Mrs.] Bolt; 3 at Bro. Brown's, Deptford, dinner; 4 1 Cor. viii. 1; 6.30 at home, Luke xvii. 10! 8 the Overseers of the Poor; 10.

Wednesday 13

5 Prayed, John x., read N.; 8.30 in the coach with S. Hawthorn and Bro. Merrick, read Poiret; 1 at Mr. Hawthorn's, Mrs. Hawthorn buried; 2 dinner, tea, within; 5 in the coach; 6 Poiret; 8.15 at home, supper, the bands, Mr. Hall! 10.30.

Thursday 14

5 Prayed, John x., the bands; 8 at Mrs. Flewet's, tea, conversed; 9.30 conversed to many; 2.15 at Mr. Cleland's, dinner, within; 3.30 visited many; 6.30 Luke xvii. 10! society, Nanny Morris ill; 10.30.

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her, and asked how she did. She replied, 'I am very ill—but I am very well. Oh, I am happy, happy, happy! for my spirit continually rejoices in God my Saviour. All the angels in heaven rejoice in my Saviour. And I rejoice with them, for I am united to Jesus.'

She added, 'How the angels rejoice over an heir of salvation! How they now rejoice over me! And I am a partaker of their joy. O my Saviour, how happy am I in Thee!'

Fri. 15.—I called again. She was saying, as I came in, 'My Beloved is mine; and He hath cleansed me from all sin. Oh how far is the heaven above the earth! So far hath He set my sins from me. Oh how did He rejoice when "He was heard in that He feared"! He was heard, and He gained a possibility of salvation for me and all mankind. It is finished: His grace is free for all: I am a witness: I was the chief of sinners, a backsliding sinner, a sinner against light and love; but I am washed, I am cleansed.'

I asked, 'Do you expect to die now?' She said, 'It is not shown me that I shall. But life or death is all one to me. I shall not change my company. Yet I shall more abundantly rejoice when we stand before the Lord; you and I, and all the other children which He hath given you.'

In the evening I called upon her again, and found her weaker, and her speech much altered. I asked her, 'Do you now believe? Do not you find your soul in temptation?' She answered, smiling and looking up, 'There is the Lamb; and where He is, what is temptation? I have no darkness, no cloud. The enemy may come; but he hath no part in me.' I said, 'But does not your sickness hinder you?' She replied, 'Nothing hinders me. It is the Spirit of my Father that worketh in me; and nothing hinders that Spirit. My body indeed is weak and in pain; but my soul is all joy and praise.'

Sat. 16.—I mentioned this to Peter Böhler. But he told me, 'There is no such state on earth. Sin will and must always

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Friday 15

5 Prayed, John x.; the bands; 8 at Nanny Morris's, conversed, prayer; Dr. Newton's, tea, conversed; 10 conversed to many; 1 prayer! tea; 3.15 visited many; 6.15 Short's Gardens, Rom. viii.! 8.45 at home, read N.; 10.

remain in the soul. The old man will remain till death. The old nature is like an old tooth: you may break off one bit, and another, and another; but you can never get it all away: the stump of it will stay as long as you live; and sometimes will ache too.'

Mon. 18.—At the pressing instance of my brother, I left London, and the next evening met him at Bristol.[1] I was a little surprised when I came into the Room, just after he had ended his sermon. Some wept aloud, some clapped their hands, some shouted, and the rest sang praise; with whom (having soon recovered themselves) the whole congregation joined. So I trust that, if ever God were pleased that we should suffer for the truth's sake, all other sounds would soon be swallowed up in the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

Saturday 16

5 Prayed, John x.; within; 7 writ N.; 8 tea, writ to Charles; 9 [writ] to Nowers, Peter Böhler, conversed, writ; 12 read letters, prayer! 2 dinner; 3 letters, prayer! 5 visited; 7 Radcliff Highway [spelt thus at that time], Acts ii. ult.; 9 at home, the bands; 10.

Sunday 17

5 Prayed, tea; 6 John xvi. 9, etc.; 8 the leaders; 10 communion; 1 at home, dinner, Diary; 2.15 the leaders; 4 at Nanny Morris's, communion; 4.45 Charles Square,[2] John xiv.; 6.30 at S. Waldron's, tea, conversed; 7.15 the bands; 9 Mr. Hall came, prayer; 10.15.

Monday 18

3¼ On business; 4 rode; 7.30 Colebrook, tea; 9 rode; 12.15 Reading, conversed to [a] stranger; 1 dinner; 1.45 rode; 6 Hungerford, supper, read; 8.

Tuesday 19

4 On business; 4.30 rode; 7.45 Marlborough, my horse lame, tea within; 9 rode; 12.30 Chippenham, dinner; 1.30 rode; 6 Kingswood School, Betty Bush, etc., prayer; 7 at Mr. Deschamps'; 7.30 at the Room, prayer! society, prayer, supper; 10.

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[1] Charles Wesley says nothing of this in his Journal, or of John Wesley's presence in Bristol till May 22.

[2] In a *Description of the Streets, Squares, &c., of London*, published 1708, it is described as 'a pleasant though small square, south from Charles Street, near Hoxton Market.' See also Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 558, note 2, where a description of a Methodist open-air service is given from the *New Weekly Miscellany*. The square still remains, and the centre is laid out as a small recreation-ground (see p. 368). John Newton lived in this square from 1780 to 1786.

Wed. 20.—I spent most of the morning in speaking with the new members of the society. In the afternoon I saw the sick; but not one in fear, neither repining against God.

Thur. 21.—In the evening I published the great decree of God, eternal, unchangeable (so miserably misunderstood and misrepresented by vain men that would be wise): 'He that believeth shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned.'

Sat. 23.—At a meeting of the stewards of the society (who receive and expend what is contributed weekly) it was found needful to retrench the expenses; the contributions not answering thereto. And it was accordingly agreed to discharge two of the schoolmasters at Bristol,[1] the present fund being barely sufficient to keep two masters and a mistress here, and one master and a mistress at Kingswood.

Wednesday 20

6¾ Drest, the women leaders; 8.30 at S. Downes', conversed, tea, prayer; 9.30 at home, conversed to many; 1.30 prayer, at S. England's, prayer; at S[ister] Cox's, communion! 3 at Mrs. Norman's, tea, conversed; 4 the select band [this is the first reference to the 'select' band]; 6 at the Room; 7 supper, the bands, prayer! 10.

Thursday 21

4½ Drest, Micah i. 9, etc.! 7 at Bro. Sayse's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9 on business; 9.30 conversed to many; 12.30 at Mr. Willis', dinner; 2.30 Kendalshire, Habak. iii. ult.! 5.30 at Mr. Martin's, tea, conversed; 6 Rom. viii. 29! 8.15 supper, society; 10.

Friday 22

4¾ Drest, Rev. iii.; at Dr. Bainton's, tea, within; 8 visited; 9 at home, on business, conversed to many; 1.15 prayer, at Bro. Hooper's, tea, conversed; at S. England's, tea, conversed; at S. Holder's; 6 Kingswood, on business, read N.; 8 tea, conversed; 8.30 Rom. viii. 29! prayer; 12.30

Saturday 23

7 Drest; 8 preached, visited many; 1 at Mrs. England's, dinner, conversed; visited; 5 Kingswood, the bands, prayer; 7.15 at the Room, within; the stewards; 10 walked; 11.30 [the] School.

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[1] That the school Wesley opened in the New Room at Bristol was, at first, even more ambitious than the one at Kingswood, is evident. It is also referred to in Wesley's well-known letter to Whitefield (April 1741), in which he defends the expenditure at Bristol and Kingswood. A copy of this letter, without address or signature, is in the Colman Collection; it is more complete than the version published in Tyerman. There is no reason for supposing that the copy is an abridgement of the original letter, or in any respect incorrect.

Mon. 25.[1]—Having settled all the business on which I came, I set out early, and on *Tuesday* called at Windsor. I found here also a few who have peace with God and are full of love both to Him and to one another. In the evening I preached at the Foundery [yet again,][2] on 'Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord.'

Fri. 29.—I spent an hour with poor Mr. M[ac-cun]e. His usual frown was vanished away. His look was clear, open,

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Sunday 24

6½ tea, the Kendalshire bands; 8 1 John iii. 5; 9 christened; the bands, communion! 12.30 S. Rawlins came; 1 at John Ashmishaw's, dinner, conversed, visited in Kingswood; 4 at the Room, drest; 5 Baptist Mills, Rom. viii. 29; Charles tar[ried], 5,000; 6.30 at Mrs. Bessels's, tea; 7.30 at home; 8 within with S. Purnell; 8 society, prayer! 10 at Bro. Deschamps', supper; 10.30.

Monday 25

3¼ Drest, tea; 4.30 rode with Bro. Nowers, conversed; 8.15 Chippenham, tea; 9 rode; 12.15 Marlborough, dinner; 1 rode; 4.45 Newbury; 5.30 rode; 8.30 Reading, supper; 9.30 ⋔.

Tuesday 26

5 Drest; 5.45 rode; 9 Windsor, at Bro. Larwood's, tea, within; 11 at the society room, Eph. ii. 8! 12.30 at Bro. Larwood's; 1 rode with him; 2.15 Colebrook, conversed; 3.15 rode; 6 at home, tea; 6.45 Exod. xiv. 13; 8 the leaders, within, prayer; 10.

Wednesday 27

5 Drest, prayed; 5.30 John xi.; the bands; 8 at Bro. Wilkinson's, tea, conversed, visited; 9.30 at home, slept; 10 conversed to many, writ to Mr. Hutchins; 1 dinner; 1.30 the bands, conversed, prayer; 3 visited; 4.30 at Mrs. Fox's, tea, conversed, prayer! 5.30 at S. Haddock's; 6 Greyhound Lane, Luke xvi. 2; 8 at home, supper, the bands; 10.

Thursday 28

5 Drest, John xi.; the bands; 8 tea, writ to Charles, George May, El. Hudgson, etc.; 12 read N.; 2 at Mr. Watkins's, conversed, dinner, prayer; 4 visited many; 6 at home, tea; 6.30 Eph. iv.; 8 society! 10.

Friday 29

5 Drest, prayed; John xi.; at [the] bands; 8.15 Hackney, at Mr. Clare's, tea, conversed; 9.30 at home, within; 11 at bro. Hall's, prayer, his

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[1] '*Sun.* 24.—I heard my brother at the Mills, and attended him to the society.' A stone was thrown into the room, but nobody was injured' (Charles Wesley's Journal). Cf. Diary under date.

[2] 1st ed.

and composed. He listened to the word of reconciliation with all possible marks of deep attention, though he was too weak to speak. Before I went we commended him to the grace of God, in confidence that our prayer was heard; to whom, at two in the morning, he resigned his spirit, without any sigh or groan.

JUNE 2, *Tues.*—I spoke plainly to Mr. Piers, who told me he had been much shaken by the 'still' brethren. But the snare is broken; I left him rejoicing in hope, and praising God for the consolation.

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child christened; 1 at bro. Hall's, dinner, conversed, Bro. Richards and Hales came; 3.15 at Mrs. Motte's, conversed, tea; 4.30 at Mrs. Mac-cune's with him, prayer! 5 tea at Mr. Bridge's; 6.15 Short's Gardens, Rom. viii. 16! 8.30 at home, supper; visited Is. Allison, conversed, prayer; 10.30.

Saturday 30

5 Prayed, John xii.; conversed to some; 7 corrected our hymns [the first reference to *our* hymns]; 8 tea, corrected; 1 dinner, writ N.; 3 visited many; 5 at Mrs. Hawthorn's, tea; at Sa. Perrin's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, Acts xxvi. 24! 8 at home, the women! 10.

Sunday 31

5 Tea, within; 6 Rom. ix. 18; 8 the leaders; 10 St. Paul's, communion; 1.30 at home, writ N., tea, the leaders; 5 Hoxton, Phil. iii.; 6.30 S. Aspernel's, tea, conversed; 7.30 the bands; 10.

JUNE 1, *Monday*

5 Prayed, drest, John xii., the bands; 7.30 rode; 9 Enfield Chace [Lady Huntingdon's], tea, conversed, Mr. Hall came; 11 set out; 12.30 at Mrs. Witham's, dinner; 1.30 at home, conversed to many; 3.15 visited many; 6.30 Long Lane, Acts xxvi.! 9 Deptford, supper, the society, within, prayer; 11.30.

Tuesday 2

3½ Drest, tea; 4.30 rode in the chair with Merrick, read; 6 at Mr. Piers', conversed; 6.30 Zech. iv. 7, etc.! 8 tea, conversed; 10 in the chair with him [intra], within; 12 at Mrs. Maylor's, within; 12.30 at Mrs. Sparrow's, within, dinner; 3.30 Deptford, Zech. iv. 7; 6.30 at home, Act. xxvi.; supper; 8 the leaders; 10.

Wednesday 3

5 Prayed, drest, John xiii., the bands; 8.45 at Mr. Vertue's; 11 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, conversed; 12 at S. Motte's, dinner; 1 at home, conversed to some; 2 christened many! 3 communion! tea; 5 visited; 6 Greyhound Lane, 2 Cor. vi. 1! 8 at home, supper, the bands; 10.

Thur. 4.—I exhorted a crowded congregation not to 'receive the grace of God in vain.' The same exhortation I enforced on the society (about nine hundred persons); and by their fruits it doth appear that they begin to love one another, 'not in word' only, 'but in deed and in truth.'

Fri. 5.—Hearing that a deaf-and-dumb man near Marienborn had procured a remarkable letter to be wrote into England, I asked James Hutton if he knew of that letter,[1] and what the purport of it was. He answered, Yes; he had read the letter; but he had quite forgot what it was about. I then asked Mr. V[iney], who replied, the letter was short, but he did not remember the purport of it.

Sun. 7.—I preached in Charles Square, on 'The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live.' A violent storm [of rain] began about the middle of the sermon; but these things move not those who seek the Lord. So much the more was His power present to heal; insomuch that many of

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Thursday 4

5 Prayed, drest, John xiii., the bands; 8 tea, writ N.; 9 conversed to many; 3 dinner; 4 visited; 6 at home, tea, 2 Cor. vi. 1! 8 supper, society! 10.

Friday 5

5 Drest, John xiii., bands; 9 at Mr. Vertue's; 12 at home; 1 conversed to many; 1.30 prayer! 3 tea, within; 4 at J. Hull's, tea, conversed; 5 at Mrs. Mace's, at Bro. Osgood's, tea, conversed; 6.15 Short's Gardens, Rom. viii.; 8 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, supper; 10.

Saturday 6

5 Prayed, John xiii., conversed to many, writ Journal; 8 at S. Wilde's, conversed, tea; 9 Journal, on business; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Doleman's, dinner, conversed, on business; 4 at S. Hughes', within; 4 visited; 5 at Bro. Windsor's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, Acts. xxviii., society! 10.

Sunday 7

5 Conversed to some, tea; 6 Heb. ii. 9; 8.30 the leaders; 10 St. Paul's, communion; 12.45 at Bro. Bond's, dinner; 2 at home, on business, the leaders; 4 tea; 4.45 Charles Square; 6 John v. 25, rain! 6.30 the lovefeast, prayer! 7.30 rode; 9 Lady Huntingdon's, within; 10.30 supper; 11 Eph. ii. 8!

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[1] No mention of this letter is found in the Hutton Memoirs.

our hearts danced for joy, praising 'the glorious God that maketh the thunder.'

Mon. 8.—I set out from Enfield Chace for Leicestershire.[1] In the evening we came to Northampton; and the next afternoon to Mr. Ellis's at Markfield,[2] five or six miles beyond Leicester.

For these two days I had made an experiment which I had been so often and earnestly pressed to do; speaking to none concerning the things of God, unless my heart was free to it. And what was the event? Why, (1) That I spoke to none at all for four-score miles together; no, not even to him that travelled with me in the chaise, unless a few words at first setting out. (2) That I had no cross either to bear or to take up, and commonly in an hour or two fell fast asleep. (3) That I had much respect shown me wherever I came; every one behaving to me as to a civil, good-natured gentleman. Oh how pleasing is all this to flesh and blood! Need ye 'compass sea and land' to make 'proselytes' to this?

Monday 8

3½ Drest, tea, conversed; 4.30 set out [this was the tour among the Moravians of the Midlands described by Tyerman, vol. i. p. 338; also the first journey to places other than Oxford and Bristol] in the chaise with Mr. Howard; 9.30 Dunstable, tea; 11 set out; 3.30 Newport Pagnell, coffee; 4.30 set out; 8.30 Northampton, supper; 10.15.

Tuesday 9

4 Drest; 4.45 set out; 8.30 Harborough, tea; 9.30 set out; 10.45 Leicester, Mr. Cra[d]dock, his son; 1 within, dinner; 3.30 set out;

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[1] This was Wesley's first visit to the Midlands since his conversion, and was made probably at the invitation of the Countess of Huntingdon, whose seat was at Donnington Park, near Castle Donnington. From her conversion the Countess was most zealous. David Taylor, an upper servant in the Huntingdon family, and Benjamin Ingham, Wesley's friend, had organized societies in these parts, which, immediately before Wesley's visit, the Moravians had visited. Their doctrine of 'stillness' had brought a blight upon societies and teachers. Tyerman (*Wesley*, vol. i. p. 339), by a strange oversight, makes this visit to the Midlands the occasion of Wesley becoming acquainted with the Countess of Huntingdon. But she was an early member of the Fetter Lane society (*Life and Times of Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 32), and, at the end of 1739 or beginning of 1740, writes to Wesley in strong words of commendation of Maxfield's preaching.

[2] For Markfield see *W.M. Mag.* 1856, p. 232. Mr. Ellis was the faithful friend of the Wesleys, and was well known to Lady Huntingdon.

Wed. 10.—I preached in the morning on the inward kingdom of God. And many, I trust, found they were heathens in heart, and Christians in name only.

In the afternoon we came to J[oseph C[aladine]'s,[1] about ten miles beyond Markfield: a plain, open-hearted man, desirous to know and do the will of God. I was a little surprised at what he said: 'A few months since there was a great awakening all round us; but since Mr. S[impson] came, three parts in four are fallen as fast asleep as ever.' I spoke to him of drawing people from the Church, and advising them to leave off prayer. He said there was no Church of England left, and that there was no Scripture for family prayer, nor for praying in private at any other particular times, which a believer need not do. I asked what our Saviour then meant by saying, 'Enter into thy closet and pray.' He said, 'Oh! that means Enter into the closet of your heart.'

Between five and six we came to Ockbrook,[2] where Mr.

5.15 Markfield; 6 Mr. Ellis, within; G. Angel and Clapham, within; 7 walked, introduced to Bro. Angel; 8 Bagworth; 9 at Mr. Exon's, Matt. xxiv. 42! 10.15 at home, within, tea; 11.30 prayer.

Wednesday 10

7 Writ to Bro. Maxfield, Diary, tea, within; 8.30 Rom. xiv. 17; 10.30 at home, in talk; 11 set out with David Taylor [Lady Huntingdon's evangelist coachman] and Mr. Howard; 1 Watton, ate, conversed; 1.30 walked, conversed; 3 at Joseph Caladine's, conversed, ate; 4.30 walked, at Geo. Moreley's, prayer; 6 Ogbrook, at Mr. Greve's, within; 7.30 heard Mr. Simpson; 8 Exod. xiv. 13; 9.30 at Mr. Grave's, tea, within; 10 at Jane Cooper's, conversed, prayer; 11.

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[1] It has been assumed that the J—— C——n was 'John Coltman,' a member of a remarkable family with whom Wesley had some acquaintance: see *Catherine Hutton and her Friends*, p. 86. Mr. Coltman had a house in Leicester. 'It was while the children were young that Mr. Coltman brought to his house in St. Nicholas Street Rev. John Wesley, after having heard him preach at Hinckley, and assured him that Leicester afforded him a wide field for his ministrations. This house is still standing; on the outer wall is a plate stating that John Bunyan once lodged there, also that John Wesley stayed there on a visit to Mr. Coltman.' From the Diary, however, it would appear that the J—— C—— was Joseph Caladin[e]. Wesley in the Diary spells the name with and without an 'e' (see June 10 and 13). The Coltman visit was probably at a later date.

[2] Ockbrook, a village about six miles south of Derby, where was a society, formed, doubtless, by Ingham, which, when he became a Moravian, he handed over, as he did all his other societies, to the United Brethren. Here Wesley found John Simpson, who had so much

S[impso]n then was. I asked Mr. Greaves[1] what doctrine he taught here. He said, 'The sum of all is this: "If you will believe, be still. Do not pretend to do good (which you cannot do till you believe); and leave off what you call the means of grace—such as prayer and running to church and sacrament."'

About eight, Mr. Greaves offering me the use of his church, I explained the true gospel stillness; and in the morning, *Thursday* the 11th, to a large congregation, 'By grace are ye saved through faith.'

In the afternoon we went on to Nottingham, where Mr. Howe[2] received us gladly. At eight the society met as usual. I could not but observe—(1) That the room was not half full, which used, till very lately, to be crowded within and without. (2) That not one person who came in used any prayer at all; but every one immediately sat down, and began either talking to his neighbour or looking about to see who was there. (3) That when I began to pray there appeared a general surprise, none

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Thursday 11

5¼ Journal; 7 at Mr. Grave's, tea, conversed; 8.30 Eph. ii. 8; 11 walked; 12.30 Smalley with Mr. Richardson together, dinner, together; 3 walked; 6 Nottingham, Mr. Howe's, tea, conversed; Peter Böhler and Charles Kinchin came; 8.30 society, Acts xvi. 30; 10.15.

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troubled them at Fetter Lane twelve months before. A venerable gentleman resident at Ockbrook, in answer to inquiries respecting Simpson at Ockbrook, in a private letter writes: 'I found he was a minister or lay agent who had charge for a time of the Ockbrook "society," before it was made a regular "congregation." He was excluded from his position shortly afterwards because he made a party for himself, and his teaching was not in accord with Scripture.' For anecdote of Simpson's visit to John Holmes of Spendon, see *Meth. Mag.* 1808, p. 315. See also above, p. 343.

[1] William Greaves was vicar of Ockbrook from 1734 to 1765 (see Caxton's *Churches of Derbyshire*, vol. iv. p. 207). Lady Huntingdon's biographer confuses William Greaves, of Ockbrook, with Charles Gaspar Graves (*Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 48).

[2] See, fully, *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 167. 'Mr. Howe had introduced Methodism into Nottingham, and had begun preaching in the market-place in 1740' (G. H. Harwood, in *History of Wesleyan Methodism in Nottingham*). Apparently Howe had met Wesley in London and brought 'one of our hymn-books' down with him. The earliest meetings of the Methodists in Nottingham were held at the spacious residence of Mr. James, on the south side, near the top of Girdlesmith Gate, now Pelham Street. Here, it is believed, Wesley preached his first sermon in Nottingham. The 'Society' was a 'Religious Society.' A Methodist society does not seem to have been organized until 1743, when Charles Wesley met its nine members.

once offering to kneel down, and those who stood choosing the most easy, indolent posture which they conveniently could. I afterwards looked for one of our hymn-books upon the desk (which I knew Mr. Howe had brought from London); but both that and the Bible were vanished away, and in the room lay the Moravian hymns and the Count's sermons.

I expounded (but with a heavy heart), 'Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved'; and the next morning described (if haply some of the secure ones might awake from the sleep of death) the fruits of true faith—'righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'[1]

In the evening we came to Markfield again, where the church was quite full, while I explained, 'All we like sheep have gone astray; . . . and the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all.'

Sat. 13.—In the morning I preached on these words, 'To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.' We then set out for Melbourne,[2] where, finding the house too small to contain those who were come together, I stood under a large tree and declared Him whom 'God hath exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto Israel, and remission of sins.'

Friday 12

5¼ Journal; 7.15 tea, within; 8.30 Rom. xiv. 17; 10 walked with Mr. Howe and Thomas; 11 they went; 2.30 Loughborow [Loughborough], Mrs. Perkins came, tea, conversed; 3.45 walked; 4.45 at David Taylor's, conversed, prayer; 6.30 Markfield, tea; 7.30 Isa. liii. 5, 6! 9.15 within, supper, prayer; 10.15.

Saturday 13

5 Journal; 7 tea, within; 8.15 Rom. iv. 5; 10 rode with David Taylor and Bro. Clapham; 12.30 Melborn[e], at Mr. Memry's, Journal; 2 dinner, upon the Common, Acts v. 30, etc.; 4.15 tea; 5 rode, 6.3 Hemington, supper; 7 Acts xvi. 30! 9.15 at Mr. Caladin's, conversed, prayer! 10.30.

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[1] David Taylor, C. Clephan, and Samuel Deacon had been working in the neighbourhood. (*Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. pp. 43, 58.)

[2] See Taylor's *History of English Baptists*, vol. ii. p. 4. A place of antiquity and interest. Baxter commenced his *Saints' Rest* at Melbourne Hall, the residence of the Cokes.

Thence I went to Hemington,[1] where also, the house not being large enough to contain the people, they stood about the door and at both the windows, while I showed 'what' we 'must do to be saved.'

One of our company seemed a little offended when I had done, at 'a vile fellow, notorious all over the country for cursing, swearing, and drunkenness; though he was now grey-headed, being nearly four-score years of age.' He came to me, and catching me hold by the hands, said, 'Whether thou art a good or a bad man, I know not; but I know the words thou speakest are good. I never heard the like in all my life. Oh that God would set them home upon *my* poor soul!' He then burst into tears, so that he could speak no more.

Sun. 14.—I rode to Nottingham again, and at eight preached at the market-place [at the Cross] to an immense multitude of people, on 'The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live.' I saw only one or two who behaved lightly, whom I immediately spoke to; and they stood reproved. Yet, soon after, a man behind me began aloud to contradict and blaspheme; but upon my turning to him, he stepped behind a pillar, and in a few minutes disappeared.

In the afternoon we returned to Markfield. The church was so excessive hot (being crowded in every corner), that I could not, without difficulty, read the Evening Service. Being afterwards informed that abundance of people were still without, who could not possibly get into the church, I went out to them, and explained that great promise of our Lord, 'I will heal their backslidings: I will love them freely.' In the evening I expounded in the church on her who 'loved much, because she had much forgiven.'

Sunday 14

4¾ Drest, prayed; 5 rode; 7 Nottingham, Mr. Howe's, tea, conversed; 8 at the Cross, John v. 25; 9.30 conversed to some; 10 rode; 2 Markfield, within; 3 dinner; 4 read prayers, Hos. xiv. 4; 6 at Mrs. Bacon's, tea, conversed; 7 writ; 7.30 Luke vi.! 9 at home, supper, prayer; 10.30.

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[1] Near Castle Donnington, and is graced with the ruins of an old abbey. Here for a season the Rev. Richard Watson met in class.

Mon. 15.—I set out for London, and read over in the way that celebrated book, Martin Luther's *Comment on the Epistle to the Galatians*.[1] I was utterly ashamed. How have I esteemed this book, only because I heard it so commended by others; or, at best, because I had read some excellent sentences occasionally quoted from it! But what shall I say, now I judge for myself, now I see with my own eyes? Why, not only that the author makes nothing out, clears up not one considerable difficulty; that he is quite shallow in his remarks on many passages, and muddy and confused almost, on all; but that he is deeply tinctured with mysticism throughout, and hence often dangerously[2] wrong. To instance only in one or two points: How does he (almost in the words of Tauler[3]) decry reason, right or wrong, as an irreconcilable enemy to the gospel of Christ! Whereas, what is reason (the faculty so called) but the power of apprehending, judging, and discoursing? Which power is no more to be condemned in the gross than seeing, hearing, or feeling. Again, how blasphemously does he speak of good works and of the law of God—constantly coupling the law with sin, death, hell, or the devil; and teaching that Christ delivers us from them all alike. Whereas it can no more be proved by Scripture that Christ delivers us from the law of God than that He delivers us from holiness or from heaven. Here (I apprehend) is the real spring of the grand error of the Moravians. They follow Luther, for better, for worse. Hence their 'No works; no law; no commandments.' But who art thou that 'speakest evil of the law, and judgest the law'?[4]

Monday 15

4 Drest, tea, prayer; 5.30 rode in the chaise, read Luther on the *Galatians*; 9.45 Harborough, Journal, tea, conversed; 11 read Luther; 2.30 Northampton, r[ead] Ignatius; 3.30 in the chaise, Ignatius; 8.15 Osborn, Journal; 9 supper, prayer; 9.45.

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[1] Charles Wesley and William Holland had found the Preface to the *Galatians* most precious on May 17, 1738. Wesley seems not to have known the book until now. (See vol. i. p. 475, note 2.)

[2] 1st ed., 'fundamentally.'

[3] Tauler greatly influenced Luther. In an age when salvation by ceremonies was the only gospel known, the great Dominican preached salvation in Christ.

[4] It is a significant fact that in this criticism of Luther and Moravianism Wesley makes no allusion to his own conversion in Aldersgate Street, which,

Tues. 16.—In the evening I came to London, and preached on those words (Gal. vi. 15), 'In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.'[1] After reading Luther's miserable comment upon the text, I thought it my bounden duty openly to warn the congregation against that dangerous treatise, and to retract whatever recommendation I might ignorantly have given of it.

Wed. 17.—I set out and rode slowly towards Oxford, but before I came to Wycombe my horse tired. There I hired another, which also tired before I came to Tetsworth. I hired a third here, and reached Oxford in the evening.

Thur. 18.—I inquired concerning the exercises previous to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity,[2] and advised with Mr. Gambold concerning the subject of my sermon before the University; but he seemed to think it of no moment: 'For,' said he, 'all here are so prejudiced that they will mind nothing

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Tuesday 16

4½ Drest, Diary; 5.30 rode, Ignatius; 9.15 St. Albans, tea, within; 11 set out; 2 Enfield, Mrs. Hutton and Mrs. Spangenberg, read my Journal, within; 3.30 rode; 5 London, at home, Bro. Nowers, within; the leaders; 6 tea, within; 6.30 Gal. v. 6! 7.45 supper, society, prayer; 10

Wednesday 17

5¼ Drest, John xiv. 1–4! 7 conversed to many; 7.45 on business, tea; 9 visited; 9.30 rode; 12.30 Uxbridge, tea; 1.30 rode; 3.30 at Wickam [High Wycombe] Bro. Bedd[er]s', tea, conversed; 5 rode; 7.30 Tetsworth, rode; 9.30 Oxford, at Mr. Evans', supper, prayer; 11.

Thursday 18

6 On business, Diary; 7.45 tea, conversed, writ to Nowers, r[ead] letters; 11 at College, at Mr. Vesey's, in talk; 12 at home, on business; dinner, Mr. Gambold, within; 2.30 writ to Charles, on business; 5 in the garden, meditated, read letters; prayers, Job xxxi.! 6.15 at home, tea, conversed; 7.15 at Mears' society, fourteen there! prayer! Luke xxii.; 8.45 at home, meditated, prayed 9.30.

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as he himself testified, was brought about by hearing one read from Luther's Preface to *The Epistle to the Romans.*

[1] The passage in the first edition differs: 'In the evening I came to London and preached on those words (Gal. v. 6): "In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love."' Cf. the Diary, which also gives Gal. v. 6.

[2] See Telford's *John Wesley*, p. 47.

you say.' I know that. However, I am to deliver my own soul, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.[1]

I found a great change among the poor people here. Out of twenty-five or thirty weekly communicants, only two were left. Not one continued to attend the daily prayers of the Church. And those few that were once united together were now torn asunder and scattered abroad.[2]

Mon. 22.—The words on which my book opened at the

Friday 19

5¼ Meditated, writ N.; 6 G[arde]n, meditated, read prayers; 7.15 at home, writ to J[ohn] C[ennick], tea, writ to Bro. Ingham, Mr. Ellis, Nanny Smith, Lady Huntingdon; 12 writ plan of sermon; 3 tea, sermon; 5 garden, meditated; read prayers; 6 Mr. Allen of Kettering, within; 7 garden, read Canones Conc. Tridentini, meditated, prayed; 9.15 at home, prayer; 9.45!

Saturday 20

5 Prayed; 5.15 writ Genesis upon Predestination; 7.30 tea; 8.15 read prayers; 9 at the rector's [of Lincoln], within, Mr. Allen there; 10 Genesis; 12.45 dinner; 1.15 Genesis upon Means of Grace; 4 read prayers; 5 Genesis upon Justification; tea, Genesis; 7 Mark viii. 19, ix. 1! visited Mrs. Hitchman, conversed, prayer; 8.15 with Richard Holmes, conversed; 9 at home, prayer; 10.

Sunday 21

5 Prayed, on business; 6.30 at Mrs. Hitchman's, the bands, within, prayer; 8 prayers; 9 at home, Mrs. Ford, within; 10 St. Mary's; 11 garden, Conc. Tridentini; 12.15 at home, dinner conversed; 2 St. Mary's; 3 garden, read; 4 prayers at the rector's, tea; 5.15 at home, tea, conversed; 6 M.'s society; 6 Isa. xxxv. 9; 7 H.'s society, Exod. xiv. 13! 9 at home, ate, within; 9.30 ṁ 10.30.

Monday 22

5 Prayed, writ; 6 garden, prayers; 7 at Mr. Bully's, tea, conversed; prayer; 8.15 at home, writ plan of Latin sermon[3]; 12.30 on business, 1 dinner; 2 writ plan; 4.30 on business; 5 at Mrs. Crisp's, tea; 5.30 read prayers; 6 at Mrs. Ford's, tea, within; 6.45 at Mr. Bull[y]'s, within; 7 at Mrs. Mears', within; 7.40 Mal. iii.! 8.30 at home, sick; 9.45.

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[1] The facts respecting the sermon preached before the University in St. Mary's have hitherto not been clear. They are fully treated below in a note under date July 25. It may here suffice to direct special attention to the Diary, which suggests that Lady Huntingdon influenced Wesley in his choice of a subject for the University sermon.

[2] Probably the two surviving communicants were Mrs. Hall and Mrs. Mears, at whose houses societies still met. See Diary.

[3] See Tyerman, vol. i. pp. 362, 263.

society [Mrs. Mears's], in the evening, were these: 'Ye are gone away from Mine ordinances, and have not kept them. Return unto Me, and I will return unto you, saith the Lord of hosts. Your words have been stout against Me, saith the Lord. But ye say, What have we spoken so much against Thee? Ye have said, It is vain to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept His ordinance?' (Mal. iii. 7, 13, 14).

Wed. 24.—I read over, and partly transcribed, Bishop Bull's[1] *Harmonia Apostolica.* The position with which he sets out is this: 'That all good works, and not faith alone, are the necessarily previous condition of justification,' or the forgiveness of our sins. But in the middle of the treatise he asserts that faith alone is the condition of justification: 'For faith,' says he, 'referred to justification, means all inward and outward good works.' In the latter end he affirms, 'That there are two justifications; and that only inward good works necessarily precede the former, but both inward and outward the latter.'

Sat. 27.—I rode to London, and enforced, in the evening, that solemn declaration of the great apostle, 'Do we then make

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Tuesday 23

5¾ Drest, prayed; 6.15 prayers; 7 at home, sermon; 8 tea, conversed; 9 sermon; 12.15 dinner, conversed; 1 sermon; 4.30 tea, conversed; 5.15 writ sermon; 7 at Mrs. Hall's, 2 Cor. vi. 1; 9 at home, singing, Diary; 9.30.

Wednesday 24

5 Prayed, sermon; 7.15 tea, conversed; 8 read prayers, in the Library, read Bishop Bull[2]; 12.15 at home, sermon; 1 dinner in the Library, Bishop Bull; 4 read prayers, Bishop Bull; 6 at Mrs. Hitchman's love-feast, within, prayer; 10.

Thursday 25

5 Sermon; 6.15 read prayers; 7 at Mrs. Compton's, tea, conversed; 8.45 at home; 9 sermon; 12.30 dinner, sermon; 5 at Mrs. Crips's, tea; 5.30 read prayers; 6 within with Smith; 6.30 within to Mr. Bull? 7 at Mrs. Compton's, Rom. i.; prayer, society! 9.45.

Friday 26

5 Sermon; 8 tea, sermon; 3 tea, sermon; 5.30 prayers; 6 supper, garden; 7 at Mrs. Hall's, Matt. v. 3! 8.45 at home, on business; 9.30.

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[1] Bishop Bull, bishop of St. David's, who was born in 1634 and died in 1709. S. Wesley, in his *Advice to a Clergyman*, p. 46, says: 'A strong and nervous writer, whose discourses and directions to his clergy can scarce be too often read.'

[2] *Harmonia Apostolica*; and see his *Collected Works*, revised by the Rev. Edward Burton, M.A. (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 19.)

void the law through faith? God forbid. Yea, we establish the law.'

Sun. 28.—I showed in the morning at large, 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty'—liberty from sin; liberty to be, to do, and to suffer, according to the written Word. At five I preached at Charles Square, to the largest congregation that, I believe, was ever seen there, on 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' As soon as I had done, I quite lost my voice. But it was immediately restored when I came to our little flock with the blessing of the gospel of peace; and I spent an hour and half in exhortation and prayer, without any hoarseness, faintness, or weariness.[1]

Mon. 29.—I preached in the morning on 'Ye are saved through faith.' In the afternoon I expounded at Windsor the story of the Pharisee and publican. I spent the evening at Wycombe, and the next morning, *Tuesday* the 30th, returned to Oxford.

Saturday 27

3 On business, tea; 4.15 rode; 6.30 Tetsworth, tea, in conversation; 7.45 rode; 10 at Mr. Crouch's, tea, conversed; 10.45 rode; 12.45 Uxbridge; 1 John Taylor, tea; 1.45 rode; 4.15 at home, dinner, within, slept; 6 the leaders; 6.30 Rom. iii. ult.! supper, society! 10.15.

Sunday 28

5½ Drest, in talk; 6 2 Cor. iii. 17! 8 the leaders, St. Paul's; 1 at Mr. Dolman's, dinner; 2.30 at home, in conversation to N[anny] Morris; 3 the leaders, tea; 5 Charles Square, Acts xxvi. 27; 7 the bands! 8.30 rode; 10 Lady Huntingdon's, Mr. Wright, 11 read sermon; 12 Acts xiii. 37, etc.! 2.

Monday 29

3½ Tea, rode; 5.30 at home, Eph. ii. 8! 7 conversed to many; 8.30 tea, slept; 9.45 rode; 12 Hounslow, dinner; 1 rode; 2.15 Eaton, conversed, ate; 3 Luke xviii. 10; 4 within; 4.30 rode with John Taylor, within; 5.30 at , tea, conversed! 6.30 rode; 8.30 Wycombe, Bro. Bedders', tea, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Tuesday 30

3½ Tea, conversed, prayer; 4.30 rode; 9.30 at Mr. Evans', on business, slept; 12 on business; dinner; 1.15 slept; 3 Diary, Journal; 5.45 garden, meditated, read; 7 at Mrs. Hall's, Matt. v. 4; 8.45 at home, on business; 9.15.

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[1] Notwithstanding his weariness he went at 10 p.m. to Lady Huntingdon's, and continued reading and discussing until two in the morning, when probably he slept; at 3.30 he had tea and rode back to the Foundery, where he preached at 5.30.

JULY 2, *Thur.*—I met Mr. Gambold again, who honestly told me he was ashamed of my company, and therefore must be excused from going to the society with me. This is plain dealing at least!

Sat. 4.—I had much talk with Mr. V[iney],[1] who allowed (1) that there are many (not one only) commands of God, both to believers and unbelievers; and (2) that the Lord's Supper, the Scripture, and both public and private prayer, are God's ordinary means of conveying grace to man. But what will this private[2] confession avail, so long as the quite contrary is still

JULY 1, *Wednesday*

3 Drest, on business; 4.15 rode; 7.15 Farnborough, tea; 8 rode; 11 Marlborough, Charles not there, tea, letters; 1.30 rode; 5 at Wantage, tea; 6 rode; 9 at home, supper, prayer; 10.

Thursday 2

5½ Drest, garden, prayers; 7 at Mr. Vesey's, tea; 8.15 at home; 9 writ N., writ to Bro. Nowers, to sister Emilia; 10.30 rode; 12 read account of religious societies; 12.45 at Comb[e], Mrs. Smith's, within; 1.45 dinner, within; 3 tea, within; 4 rode; 6 at home, tea; 7 Gambold and Hall! at Mrs. Compton's, Rom. i.; 8 society! 9 at home, supper; 10.15.

Friday 3

5¾ Drest, read prayers; 7 at home, began sermon upon Acts xxvi. [his University sermon; the one he preached[3]]; 8.30 tea, within; 9 sermon; 1 on business; 1.30 sermon, writ to Bro. Ingham, to Mr. Sandeman; 4 Mrs. Platt, within, tea, Mr. Gambold, conversed; 5.30 prayers, ate; 6.15 read Baxter's *Life*[4]; 7 Mrs. Hall's, Matt. v. 5, 6; 8 at Mrs. Bully's! 9 at Mrs. Hitchman's, within; 9.15 at home, Mr. ——; 10 supper, conversed, prayers; 10.45.

Saturday 4

6 Prayers, drest, sermon, tea; 8 read prayers; 9 writ sermon; 1 on business; 2 dinner; 2.15 sermon; 4 prayers; 5 sermon, tea; 6 Mr. Viney and Spaltzer, within! 8.30 they went, within; 9 prayer; 9.30.

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[1] Peter Böhler's interpreter in 1738, and now the Oxford Moravian minister (see Tyerman, vol. i. p. 362, also above, p. 3).

[2] 1st ed., 'moral.'

[3] See Green's *Bibliog.* No. 28.

[4] Probably *Reliquae Baxterianae*, or, Baxter's own Narrative of his Life and Times, published by Matthew Sylvester in 1696. An excerpt from this book has recently (1910) been edited by the Bishop of Chester and issued by Longmans.

declared in those *Sixteen Discourses*, published to all the world, and never yet either corrected or retracted?[1]

Mon. 6.—Looking for a book in our College Library, I took down, by mistake, the works of Episcopius,[2] which, opening on an account of the Synod of Dort, I believed it might be useful to read it through. But what a scene is here disclosed! I wonder not at the heavy curse of God which so soon after fell on our Church and nation. What a pity it is that the *holy Synod* of Trent and that of Dort did not sit at the same time; nearly allied as they were, not only as to the *purity of doctrine* which each of them established, but also as to the *spirit* wherewith they acted, if the latter did not exceed![3]

Sunday 5

5 Sermon; 6.30 tea; 8 Christ Church, communion; 9 in our library, [read] Bishop Bull; 12 Common Room, dinner; 12.45 writ from Bishop Bull; 2 St. Mary's; 3 writ; 4 prayers, writ; 6 at Mrs. Hall's, Matt. v. 7, etc.; 7 Mr. Fulford; 7.30 at Mrs. Mears', Rom. ii.; 8.30 at home, supper, Deb. Marcham, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Monday 6

5 Drest, Library, Bishop Bull, prayers; 7 at Mrs. Ford's, Viney, within, tea; 8.30 Bishop Bull; 12 dinner, read Episcopius [*Opera Theologica*, London 1678]; 5 garden, meditated, prayers; 6 Waag? in talk, at home, Diary; 7 read many things, within, prayer; 9.30.

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[1] These *Discourses* were by Zinzendorf, and were intended to set forth the belief of the Moravians.

[2] The leader of the Arminians at the Synod was Simon Episcopius. His great learning and eloquence won the admiration even of his opponents. He drew up the Arminian Confession of Faith.

[3] Charles Wesley (Journal, Jan. 5, 1744) says: 'I finished H.'s account of the iniquitous Synod of Dort; iniquitous even in the judgement of a predestinarian.'

Simon Episcopius, whose account of the Synod of Dort so shocked Wesley as he read it in the Lincoln College Library, had succeeded Arminius at Leyden, and was the chief speaker for the Remonstrants. He suffered with his brother ministers in the Dutch Church who shared his opinions. For some years he was banished from his native land, but eventually was permitted to return. He was born A.D. 1583, and died 1643.

The Diary shows that, driven by the disputes in Kingswood, London, and elsewhere (disputes in which Cennick, Whitefield, and others were involved), Wesley made Predestination a special study, reading and writing much. Known publications on the subject during this period include: The sermon on *Free Grace*, 1739; *Serious Considerations Concerning the Doctrines of Election and Reprobation*; Extract from Dr. Watts, 1740; *Absolute Predestination*; Extract from Barclay, 1741; *A Dialogue Between a Predestinarian and his Friend*, 1741; *The Scripture Doctrine Concerning Predestination, Election, and Reprobation* (extracted from a late author, 1741. In 1789 an edition of this was appended to *The Articles of Religion as Received and Taught by the M.E.C. of the*

Thur. 9.—Being in the Bodleian Library, I light on Mr. Calvin's account of the case of Michael Servetus,[1] several of whose letters he occasionally inserts; wherein Servetus often declares in terms, 'I believe the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God.' Mr. Calvin, however, paints him such a monster as never was—an Arian, a blasphemer, and what not: besides strewing over him his flowers of 'dog, devil, swine,' and so on, which are the usual appellations he gives to his opponents. But still he utterly denies his being the cause of Servetus's death. 'No,' says he, 'I *only advised* our magistrates, as having a right to restrain heretics by the sword, to seize upon and try that arch-heretic. But after he was condemned, *I said not one word about his execution*'!

Fri. 10.—I rode to London, and preached at Short's Gardens on 'the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.'

Tuesday 7

5 Drest, with Viney and Evans, washed; 6.30 at home, sermon; 7 tea, sermon; 10 Smi[th] came, corrected his sermon; 1 dinner, John Taylor, within; 2 writ sermon; 5 garden; 5.30 prayers; 6 at home, tea, within; 7 at Mrs. Mears', Rom. ii.! 8.30 read N.; 9 prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 8

4½ Sermon; 6 garden, read prayers; 7 at home, sermon, tea, sermon; 11 corrected all the hymns [first edition of *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, 1741, see Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, No. 30]; 2 writ N.; 3 tea, writ N.; 5.30 prayers; 6 at home, tea; 9 read N.; 9.30.

Thursday 9

5 Writ upon Predestination; 6 prayers; 7 tea, within; 8.15 Bodleian [Library], writ N. [? wrote narrative of Calvin *v.* Servetus, the substance of which was transferred to the Journal]; 11 in our Library, writ upon Predestination; 12 dinner, Library; 2 Bodleian, writ; 5 garden, prayers; at home, tea; 7 at Mrs. Compton's, Rom. ii.; society, at home; 9.45.

Friday 10

3 Drest, tea; 4 rode, read Tully's *Offices*; 7 Tetsworth, tea; 7.45 rode, Tully; at Bro Bedders', at Mr. Hollis', tea; 12 rode, [read] Tully; 3.30 Uxbridge, ended Tully, dinner; 5.45 Short's Gardens, tea, within; 6.30 Acts iii. 12, etc.! 8.30 at home, supper, within; 10.

United States of America); *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love*, 1741. Materials gathered and notes made at this time are no doubt incorporated in sermons and other publications of a later date.

[1] Servetus was a learned Spanish physician who deserved a better fate than assignment to the flames.

Sun. 12.—While I was showing, at Charles Square, what it is 'to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God,' a great shout began. Many of the rabble had brought an ox, which they were vehemently labouring to drive in among the people. But their labour was in vain; for in spite of them all, he ran round and round, one way and the other, and at length broke through the midst of them clear away, leaving us calmly rejoicing and praising God.

Mon. 13.—I returned to Oxford, and on *Wednesday* rode to Bristol. My brother, I found, was already gone to Wales; so that I came just in season; and that, indeed, on another account also; for a spirit of enthusiasm was breaking in upon many, who charged their own imaginations on the will of God, and

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Saturday 11

5¼ Drest; 5.30 John xiv., conversed to some; 8 rode with Bro. Nowers; 9.30 Enfield, Lady Huntingdon's, tea, conversed; 11.30 rode; 1 at home, conversed to many, dinner, conversed to many; 4.30 at S[ister] Horner's, tea, conversed; 5.15 visited Mrs. Grey, communion; 6.30 at home; 7 Hos. ii. 11, etc., supper; 8.15 society; 10.

Sunday 12

5¼ Drest, Acts vi. 31! 7.45 the leaders; 9.45 St. Paul's, communion; 1 at Bro. Nightingale's, prayer, conversed; 1.30 at home, dinner; 2 the leaders; 4 tea; 4.45 Charles Square Micah vi.! [the note of admiration would recall the graphic story of the ox told in the Journal]; 7 visited, at home, the bands! 10.

Monday 13

5 Drest, John xiv.; 7.30 at Bro. Kendrick's, within; 8 set out; 9 with him, within; 10.30 Uxbridge, tea, within; 11.30 rode; 1.30 Wycombe, Bro. Bedders', dinner, conversed; 2.30 rode; 4.30 Tetsworth, Tully *de Senectute*, tea; 5.15 rode; 7.15 at Mrs. Mears', Rom. ii., society; 8.30 at home [in his rooms at Lincoln], on business; 10.

Tuesday 14

6 Drest, sermon upon Perfection; 8 at Mrs. Stephen's; 9 sermon, ⍦; 12.30 dinner; 1 sermon; 5 tea, Viney, Spaltzer, Nanny Morris and Ford, within; 6.45 writ Diary; 7.30 read Calvin, within; 9.30.

Wednesday 15

2½ Drest; 3 rode; 6 Burford, tea; 7 rode; 9.15 Cirencester; 10 tea, conversed; 10.15 rode; 12.45 Petty France, dinner; 1.30 rode; 4 at Mr. Deschamps', at Mrs. England's, tea, conversed, visited some; home, within with Bro. Richards; 6 the women; 7.30 supper, the men! 10.

that not written, but impressed on their hearts. If these impressions be received as the rule of action instead of the written Word, I know nothing so wicked or absurd but we may fall into, and that without remedy.

Fri. 17.—The school at Kingswood was thoroughly filled between eight and nine in the evening. I showed them, from the example of the Corinthians, what need we have to bear one with another, seeing we are not to expect many fathers in Christ, no, nor young men among us, as yet. We then poured out our souls in prayer and praise, and our Lord did not hide His face from us.

Sun. 19.—After preaching twice at Bristol and twice at Kingswood, I earnestly exhorted the society to continue in the faith, 'enduring hardship, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ.' On

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Thursday 16

4½ Drest, 1 Kings xxii. ! the women leaders; 7 at S[ister] Stephen's; 8 tea, within; 8.15 within to many, slept; 11.15 Maltroom, Acts xvi. 34 ! 1 at Mrs. Norman's, within, dinner; 2.30 visited some; 3.30 at home, read N.; 4.15 visited some; 5.30 at S. Naylor's, tea, conversed; 6.15 visited Mrs. Jelf, tea, conversed; 7 Acts iii. 12 ! 8.30 society, prayer; 10.

Friday 17

4½ Drest, 1 Kings xxii., conversed to some; 7 at S. Turner's, tea, conversed; 8.15 at S. Pottam's; 9 at S. Purnell's, within; 10 at home, read; 11 conversed to many; 1.15 prayer; 3 conversed to some; 4 visited, walked; 6.30 Kingswood School, on business, Rachel Gotley, S. Baddily, tea, within; 8 prayers; 8.30 1 Cor. iii., prayers; 12.30.

Saturday 18

7¼ Tea, conversed; 8 Psa. cxiv. 1, etc.; 9.30 writ Journal; 11 Betty Bush, within; 12.30 walked; 1 at Mr. Willis', dinner, conversed; 3 at the School, Journal; 4.30 writ Preface to Dialogue[1]; 6 tea, conversed to S. Steed; 7 Matt. vi. 10; 8.45 at Mr. Deschamps', supper; 9 at home, the stewards, within; 10.15.

Sunday 19

4½ Drest; 2 Tim. ii. 3; 6.15 read Gell [see previous note on page 429]; 7 at Mr. Deschamps', tea; 8 at the School, 2 Tim. ii. 3; 9.30 Charles came, within, read sermon [probably the sermon he had written for St. Mary's]; 12.30 at S. Cambourn's, dinner; 1.30 at home with Charles; 2 read Bishop Bull; 2.15 Matt. vi. 10; 4.30 Baptist Mills, at Mrs. Bessel's, tea, within; 4.45 Acts xxvi. 28 ! at Mrs. Stafford's, tea, within; 7 society; 9.30 within to many, at Mr. Deschamps'; 11.

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[1] 'Between a Predestinarian and His Friend' (see Green's *Bibliography*, No. 24).

Monday (my brother being now returned from Wales) I rode back to Oxford.

Wed. 22.—At the repeated instance of some that were there, I went over to Abingdon. I preached on 'What must I do to be saved?' Both the yard and house were full. But so stupid, senseless a people, both in a spiritual and natural sense, I scarce ever saw before. Yet God is able of 'these stones to raise up children to Abraham.'

Fri. 24.—Several of our friends from London, and some from Kingswood and Bristol, came to Oxford. Alas! how long

Monday 20

2½ Drest, chocolate; 3 read (or rode) with Charles, within; 7.15 Malmsbury; 8 at Mr. Lines', tea, conversed; 8.45 read, conversed to s t r. (or s v r. = several) [strangers]; 11 Highworth, tea; 12 rode; 3 Oxford, at Mr. Evans', writ N., tea, slept; 6.30 at Mrs. Compton's, Rom. iii.! 8.30 at home, supper, prayer; 9.15.

Tuesday 21

7 Drest, writ sermon, tea, sermon; 12.30 dinner, sermon; 4.30 at Mrs. Stephen's, tea; 5.45 at home, Calvin; 6.45 Mr. Sarney, etc.; 7 at Mrs. Compton's, society! 9 at home, singing; 9.30.

Wednesday 22

4¾ Drest, ended sermon; 6 in our Library, Bishop Bull, etc.; 7 prayers, Library, Bishop Bull; 12 dinner, Library, Bishop Bull; 2 read N.; 3.15 at home, Diary, tea, on business; 4.30 walked, Jas. Mears; 5.30 met Nanny Morris, conversed; 6.30 Abingdon, at Mrs. Gleed's, within; 7 Acts xvi; 9 walked; 10.15 at Mr. Evans, within; 10.45.

Thursday 23

5 Drest, writ upon Predestination, Dialogue; 6 prayers, at the R's [Rector's], read my sermon [the sermon he had written for St. Mary's], conversed; 8.30 at home, tea, conversed; 9 Dialogue; 12.30 dinner, Dialogue; 5.30 tea, Dialogue; 7.15 society! 8.45 at home, singing; 9 writ; 9.30.

Friday 24

4½ Writ Dialogue; 6 prayers; 7 at home; 8.30 tea, within; 9 Haggar,[1] within to many; 2 at the Cross Inn with Mr. Cline, dinner; 3 at home, Haggar; 4 read my sermon, writ Haggar; 5.30 Mr. and Mrs. Bolt, tea; 6.15 Haggar; 7 society; 8.30 at the Dolphin, Mrs. Mac-cune, Motte, Miss Witham, etc.; 9 all at Mr. Evans', supper, prayer; 10.15 [the friends from London, etc., who came to Oxford to hear the sermon].

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[1] Henry Haggar published in 1654 *The Order of Causes of God's Foreknowledge.* This is evidently the book referred to (see Diary, July 28–9).

shall they 'come from the east, and from the west, and sit down in the kingdom of God,' while the children of the kingdom will not come in, but remain in utter darkness!

Sat. 25.—It being my turn (which comes about once in three years), I preached at St. Mary's, before the University. The harvest truly is plenteous. So numerous a congregation (from whatever motives they came) I have seldom seen at Oxford. My text [1] was the confession of poor Agrippa, 'Almost

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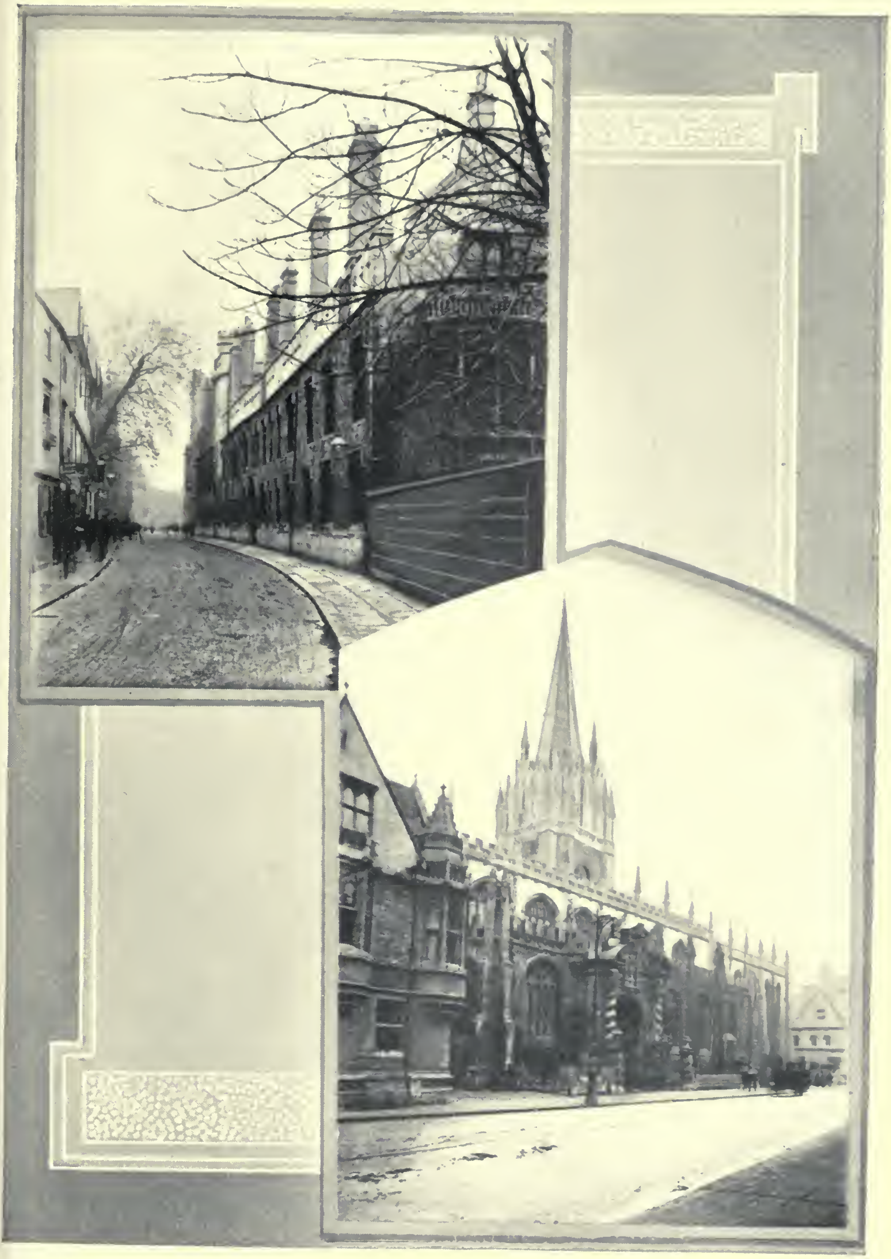
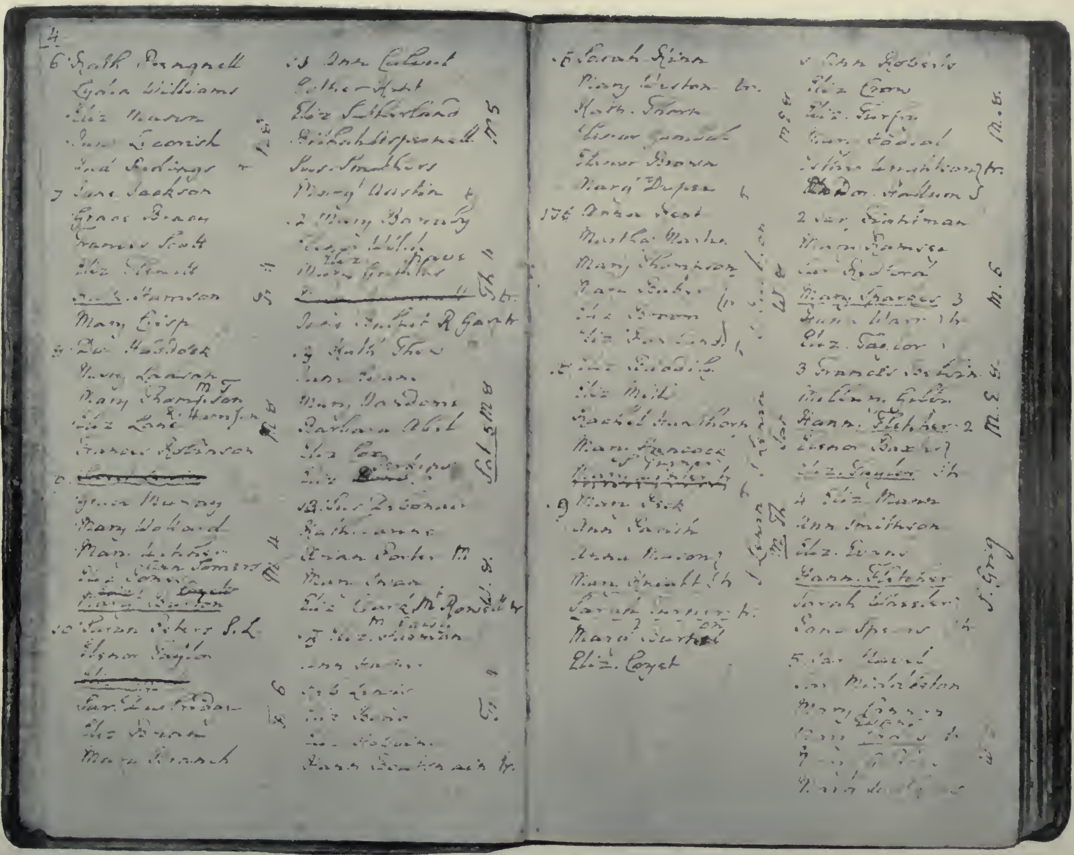
[1] The sermon was on a text from which Wesley had preached in Charles Square on Sunday afternoon, June 28, and probably on many occasions previously. For the University he carefully rewrote it in his rooms at Lincoln, devoting many hours during several days to the task. The record of this rewriting is preserved in the Diary. The sermon was afterwards printed by Strahan, and published at twopence. Wesley's own estimate of its importance may be gathered from the fact that he placed it second in the series of Standard Sermons, and immediately after another sermon, also preached at St. Mary's three years earlier—the great manifesto on 'Salvation by Faith.' Tyerman's theory respecting this sermon has always been regarded as 'curious.' He writes (vol. i. p. 362):

> It is almost certain, however, that this was not the sermon that Wesley meant to preach. After his decease a mutilated MS. in English was found among his papers, dated June 24, 1741 (a month before he preached at Oxford), and also a copy of the same in Latin. This was a discourse on the text, 'How is the faithful city become an harlot!' There can be no question that the sermon was written with the design of being delivered before the University, and that for some reason the design was abandoned.

The Diary confirms the correctness of this conjecture. In June 1741 Wesley went up to Oxford and consulted Gambold as to the St. Mary's sermon, who told him that it mattered not what he said. The University was indifferent. He then wrote a sermon in Latin, apparently from notes in English, on Isa. i. 21. It was afterwards published in his *Works* (vol. vii. p. 452), and dated June 24, 1741. The presumption is that this was the sermon he read at Lady Huntingdon's on Sunday night, June 28, and that *she* it was who dissuaded him from preaching it at St. Mary's. Its place in the *Works* is the 'Fifth Series, consisting of eight discourses which were published from Mr. Wesley's MSS. after his death, but never designed by him for publication' (see the editorial sub-title page). The editor remarks that most of these discourses were written before Wesley obtained correct views of the way of salvation. He excepts the first of the series: 'True Christianity Defended,' Isa. i. 21—which he pronounces to be 'in every way worthy of its author.' He evidently thought it had actually been delivered before the University. A careful study of the Diary shows that after Wesley's resolve with reference to this sermon had been shaken, and whilst the sermon on 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian' was being rewritten, he pursued those studies in the Bodleian and his own College Libraries which so strongly colour the unpreached sermon. He made large extracts from Bishop Bull. In the Colman Collection is a careful copy in Latin of the Lincoln Statutes which he so freely quotes in the sermon. Whether to be preached or not, he completed the sermon and left it in two versions—Latin and English—among his papers. Adam Clarke, as we learn from a prefatory note, edited the English version for the press, or, rather, translated the more perfect Latin version. Another interesting fact in connexion with this



1. LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD. 2. ST. MARY'S, OXFORD.



REDUCED FACSIMILE LISTS OF LONDON BANDS

thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' I have 'cast my bread upon the waters.' Let me 'find it again after many days'!

In the afternoon I set out (having no time to spare), and on *Sunday* the 26th preached at the Foundery on the 'liberty' we have 'to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus.'

Mon. 27.—Finding notice had been given that I would preach in the evening at Hackney, I went thither, and openly declared those glad tidings, 'By grace are ye saved through faith.' Many, we heard, had threatened terrible things; but no man opened his mouth. Perceive ye not yet that 'greater is He that is in us than he that is in the world'?

Tues. 28.—I visited one that was going heavily and in fear 'through the valley of the shadow of death.' But God heard

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Saturday 25

4¾ Drest, prayed; writ N.; 6.45 Bro. Nowers came, within; 7.30 tea, at the Dolphin; 8 in the Library, prayers; 9 Library; 10[1] preached at St. Mary's! 11 at home, writ upon Predestination; 1 within with S. Hall; 2 Mrs. Mac-cune, etc., dinner, within; 4 writ; 4.30 in the landau with them; 8.30 Stokenchurch; 9.45 supper; 11.

Sunday 26

2½ Drest; 4.30 set out; 9 Uxbridge, tea; 11 set out; 2.30 at Mrs. Motte's; 3.15 at home, dinner, within with Su[key] Hard[ing], etc.; 5 Heb. x. 22; 7 within, the bands, Mrs. Meriton! 10.

Monday 27

5 Within; 5.30 John xiv. ult.! visited; 7 with four bands; 8.15 tea, within; 9 sorted things and papers; 12 within to many; 5.15 at S. Frecquer's, within, visited some; 6 at Hackney, Bro. Shorehouse, Eph. ii. 8; 7 at Mr. Clear's; 7.45 within; 8.30 at home, within, with Sukey Hard[ing]; 9.30 Nanny Smith; 10 communion, in talk, slept; 12.

Tuesday 28

5 Drest, within; 5.30 John xv.! within to some; 7 the bands; 8.30 in conversation; 9 *Order of Causes*; on business, writ N.; 12 dinner, conversed to many; 4 visited; 4 at Nanny Morris', within; 6.30 Judg. vi. 1! 7.30 leaders; 8.45 visited with Mrs. Mac-cune, conversed, prayer! 9.45 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, supper, conversed; 11.15.

University sermon has already been noted. The sermon substituted was preached in Charles Square to an open-air congregation on the afternoon of Sunday, June 28, 1741—the day on which, late in the evening, he visited the Countess of Huntingdon, read a sermon, and continued in consultation or discussion until two o'clock on the Monday morning.

[1] 'We met at ten to pray for a blessing on my brother's sermon, which he is preaching at this hour before the University' (C. Wesley's Journal, July 25).

the prayer, and soon lifted up the light of His countenance upon her; so that she immediately broke out into thanksgiving, and the next day quietly fell asleep.

Fri. 31.—Hearing that one of our sisters (Jane Muncy[1]) was ill, I went to see her.

She was one of the first women [meeting in the] bands at Fetter Lane; and, when the controversy concerning the means of grace began, stood in the gap and contended earnestly for the ordinances once delivered to the saints. When, soon after, it was ordered that the unmarried men and women should have no conversation with each other, she again withstood to the face those who were 'teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' Nor could all the sophistry of those who are, without controversy, of all men living the wisest in their generation, induce her either to deny the faith she had received, or to use less plainness of speech, or to be less zealous in recommending and careful in practising good works. Insomuch that many times, when she had been employed in the labour of love till eight or nine in the evening, she then sat down and wrought with her hands till twelve or one in the morning; not that she wanted anything herself, but that she might have to give to others for necessary uses.

Wednesday 29

4½ Walked; 5.15 at home, slept; 5.45 John xv., the bands, on business; 9 *Order of Causes*; 12 conversed to many, visited; 5 at Sister Allar's, tea, visited; 6.30 Greyhound Lane, Luke xviii. 18 ! 8 at home, supper, the bands, conversed, prayer; 10.45.

Thursday 30

4 Within; John xiv., visited; 7 the bands, tea; 9 writ N.; 10 Diary, ended Haggar; 12 within to many ! 2.30 at Mrs. Scot's, dinner, conversed; 3.30 visited many ! 6.45 at home, Josh. vi; 8.30 society ! 11.

Friday 31

5 Within; 5.30 John xiv. ult., the bands; 8.30 at Bro. Wild's, tea, conversed; 9 writ Haggar, writ N.; 12 conversed to many; 1.45 prayer ! 3 at Bro. Nave's, tea, within; 3.45 at S. Ibbison's, tea, conversed; 5 at S. Motte's, Bro. Ingham there, tea; 6 Short's Gardens, Rom. viii.; visited J[ane] Muncy ! 9 at home, supper; 10.

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[1] This account was reprinted in the *Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 153, 'because the tracts [i.e. the Journals] from which most of these accounts are taken are not in many hands.' The Diary notes suggest that the 'Accounts' or 'Narratives' which Wesley so frequently wrote were prepared, in the first instance, for reading in the bands and societies of Methodism. Wesley fed the members on Scripture exposition (which in the early morning services was systematic), on hymns, and on religious experience.

From the time that she was made leader of one or two bands she was more eminently a pattern to the flock: in self-denial of every kind, in openness of behaviour, in simplicity and godly sincerity, in steadfast faith, in constant attendance on all the public and all the private ordinances of God. And as she had laboured more than they all, so God now called her forth to suffer. She was seized at first with a violent fever, in the beginning of which they removed her to another house. Here she had work to do which she knew not of. The master of the house was one who 'cared for none of these things.' But he observed her, and was convinced. So that he then began to understand and lay to heart the things that bring a man peace at the last.

In a few days the fever abated, or settled, as it seemed, into an inward imposthume; so that she could not breathe without violent pain, which increased day and night. When I came in she stretched out her hand and said, 'Art thou come, thou blessed of the Lord? Praised be the name of my Lord for this.' I asked, 'Do you faint, now you are chastened of Him?' She said, 'Oh no, no, no; I faint not; I murmur not; I rejoice evermore.' I said, 'But can you in everything give thanks?' She replied, 'Yes; I do, I do.' I said, 'God will make all your bed in your sickness.' She cried out, 'He does, He does; I have nothing to desire. He is ever with me, and I have nothing to do but to praise Him.'

In the same state of mind, though weaker and weaker in body, she continued till Tuesday following, when, several of those who had been in her band being present, she fixed her eyes upon them, and fell into a kind of agonizing prayer that God would keep them from the Evil One. But in the afternoon, when I came, she was quite calm again, and all her words were prayer and praise. The same spirit she breathed when Mr. Maxfield called the next day; and soon after he went she slept in peace. 'A mother in Israel' hast thou been, and 'thy works shall praise thee in the gates'!

AUG. 1, *Sat.*—I had a long conversation with Mr. Ingham. We both agreed (1) that none shall finally be saved who have not, as they had opportunity, done all good works; and (2) that if a justified person does not do good, as he has opportunity, he will lose the grace he has received; and if he 'repent' not, 'and do the former works,' will perish eternally. But with

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AUG. 1, *Saturday*

5 Drest, John xv. within to Bro. Ingham; 8 Mr. Meriton, within, tea; 9 writ Haggar, within; 12 on business, within; 2 at Bro. Barrow's, dinner, conversed; 4 at S. Paul's, tea, conversed; 6 Long Lane, 1 John i.; 8 at home, supper, society! 10.30.

regard to the unjustified (if I understand him) we wholly disagreed. He believed it is not the will of God that they should wait for faith in doing good. I believe this is the will of God; and that they will never find Him unless they seek Him in this way.

Sun. 2.—I went, after having been long importuned by Dr. Deleznot, to the chapel in Great Hermitage Street, Wapping.[1] Mr. Meriton [2] (a clergyman from the Isle of Man) read prayers. I then preached on these words in the former Lesson, 'Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself? Because he hath humbled himself, I will not bring this evil in his days': and took occasion thence to exhort all unbelievers to use the grace God had already given them; and in keeping His law, according to the power they now had, to wait for the faith of the gospel.

Sunday 2

5 Drest, within; 5.45 Rom. iii. ult.; 7 the leaders; 9 tea, S o ch [probable error for c o ch = coach]; 10 Wapping, Mr. Meriton read prayers; 11 preached, 1 Kings xxi. ult, communion! 2.30 at home, dinner, the leaders; 5 John xxi. 5! 7.30 the bands; 10.

Monday 3

5 Drest, John xvi., the bands; 8 tea, within to some; 9 writ for bands; 12 conversed to many; 4.30 at Mrs. Barnes', tea, conversed; 5.30 visited, communion; 6.45 John xviii. 5! 8.15 at Bro. Frecquer's, within, supper; 10.15.

Tuesday 4

5 Prayed, drest; John xvi., the bands; 8.30 rode; 9.45 Enfield [Lady Huntingdon's], tea, conversed with them; 12 rode; 1.15 at home, writ to Nowers; 2 visited, at Mr. Witham's, conversed; 3.15 at

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[1] The chapel was then used by the Huguenot families. See *Arm. Mag.* 1786, p. 676; *Works*, vol. xiii. pp. 222, 275. Wesley preached on five successive Sundays in this small church, and administered the sacrament to five successive batches, each of 200 members, until all the society had received it. The church was regularly used afterwards by the Methodists. (*W.M. Mag.* 1855, p. 224.)

[2] Of this clergyman comparatively little is known. He attended the first Conference in 1744. A few weeks before that meeting Charles Wesley says: 'I dined at Felix Farley's with Mr. Meriton, longing to escape to us out of the hands of Calvin' (Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. i. p. 389; see also pp. 413–15 for an account of his trial in Shrewsbury, and vol. ii. p. 20 for Charles Wesley's elegy). Until 1753, when he died, he shared the travels, the labours, and the perils of the Wesleys. For further information on Mr. Meriton see *W.M. Mag.* 1900, p. 495.

Fri. 7.—The body of our sister Muncy being brought to Short's Gardens, I preached on those words, 'Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them.' From thence we went with it to the grave, in St. Giles's churchyard,[1] where I performed the last office in the presence of such an innumerable multitude of people as I never saw gathered together before. Oh what a sight it will be when God saith to the grave, 'Give back,' and all the dead, small and great, shall stand before Him!

Wed. 12.—I visited one whom God is purifying in the fire, in answer to the prayers of his wife, whom he was just going to beat (which he frequently did), when God smote him in a moment, so that his hand dropped, and he fell down upon the

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Bro. Milbur[ne]'s, tea, conversed; 4.30 visited S. Muncy; 5 coach; 6 Chelsea, Eph. ii. 8! 9.15 at home, writ to Charles, Nanny Smith! 10.30.

Wednesday 5

5 Drest, John xvi., the bands; 8.30 tea, Bro. Ingham, conversed; 11 writ N.; 12 conversed to many; 1.30 prayer! 3.15 visited; 6.15 Greyhound Lane, John ix.! 8.15 at home, within, supper; 8.30 the bands; 11.

Thursday 6

5 Drest, John xvi., the bands; 8.30 Mr. Mash; 9.30 writ; 11 visited; 11.30 at home, writ to Charles; 12 conversed to many; 2.15 at Bro. Harley's, dinner, at S. Ewin's, tea, visited; 6.30 1 John iii. 1! writ to John Taylor; 8.30 society; 10.30.

Friday 7

5 Drest, John xvii., the bands; 8.30 tea, within; 9.30 Maxfield; 10 writ for the bands; 12 conversed to many; 1.30 prayer, visited; 4.30 Short's Gardens, tea, conversed; 5.15 Rev. xiv.! 6 buried Jane Muncy! 8 at Mrs. Mac-cune's, supper, conversed; 11 at home.

Saturday 8

6½ Drest, on business; 8.15 tea, within; 9 Bro. Maxfield, on business; 12 read letters; 2.30 at Mr. Strahan's, dinner; 4 at James Hutton's, in talk, visited; 5.15 at S. Wollard's, tea, conversed, visited some;

At this point the Diaries in the Colman Collection cease. The only other Diary at present known is preserved at Headingley College—a precious fragment covering the last few weeks of the venerable diarist's life.

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[1] This was St. Giles-in-the-Fields, not far from Short's Gardens.

ground, having no more strength than a new-born child. He has been confined to his bed ever since, but rejoices in hope of the glory of God.

Fri. 14.—Calling on a person near Grosvenor Square, I found there was but too much reason here for crying out of the increase of Popery; many converts to it being continually made by the gentleman who preaches in Swallow Street three days in every week. Now, why do not the champions who are continually crying out, 'Popery, Popery!' in Moorfields, come hither, that they may not always be fighting 'as one that beateth the air'? Plainly, because they have no mind to fight at all, but to show their valour without an opponent. And they well know they may defy Popery at the Foundery without any danger of contradiction.

Wed. 19.—The scripture which came in turn to be expounded was the ninth chapter to the Romans. I was then constrained to speak an hour longer than usual; and am persuaded most if not all who were present saw that this chapter has no more to do with personal, irrespective predestination than the ninth of Genesis.

Thur. 20.—A clergyman having sent me word that if I would preach in the evening on the text he named he would come to hear me, I preached on that text, Matt. vii. 15[1]; and strongly enforced the caution of our Lord to 'beware of false prophets'; that is, all preachers who do not speak as the oracles of God.

Tues. 25.—I explained, at Chelsea,[2] the nature and necessity of the new birth. One (who, I afterwards heard, was a Dissenting teacher) asked me when I had done, '*Quid est tibi nomen?*' and, on my not answering, turned in triumph to his companions, and said, 'Aye, I told you he did not understand Latin!'

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[1] *Works*, vol. v. p. 413. Wesley was constantly preaching on the Sermon on the Mount. He would find no difficulty in complying with the clergyman's request.

[2] Lady Huntingdon lived in Chelsea for a time; so also did Zinzendorf, who desired to found a settlement here. The following references in the *Memoirs of James Hutton* show that the ground was acquired by Hutton from Sir Hans Sloane, and that there was a dwelling-house, a garden, and a burying-ground. The last still remains. In it are buried Cennick, Mrs. Gambold, Hutton, and Peter Böhler. On June 15, 1750, the agreement was made and signed (*Memoirs*, p. 254). Mary Cripse, the only daughter of Sir John Cripse, Bart., was converted under George Stonehouse, who married her contrary to the will of her relatives. Through this marriage she became acquainted with Hutton, Molther, Spangenberg, and Zinzendorf. The last-named adopted her as his daughter under the name of 'Maria Theresa' in remembrance of his own deceased daughter. She was intimately associated with the work of the Brethren in Yorkshire. Her story is told at some length in the

Wed. 26.—I was informed of a remarkable conversation, at which one of our sisters was present a day or two before; wherein a gentleman was assuring his friends that he himself was in Charles Square when a person told Mr. Wesley to his face that he, Mr. Wesley, had paid twenty pounds already, on being convicted for selling Geneva; and that he now kept two Popish priests in his house. This gave occasion to another to mention what he had himself heard at an eminent Dissenting teacher's, viz. that it was beyond dispute Mr. Wesley had large remittances from Spain, in order to make a party among the poor; and that, as soon as the Spaniards landed, he was to join them with twenty thousand men.[1]

Mon. 31.—I began my course of preaching on the Common Prayer.

SEPT. 1, *Tues.*—I read over Mr. Whitefield's account of God's dealings with his soul. Great part of this I know to be true. Oh 'let not mercy and truth forsake thee! Bind them about thy neck! Write them upon the table of thy heart!'

Thur. 3.—James Hutton having sent me word that Count Zinzendorf would meet me at three o'clock in the afternoon, I went at that time to Gray's Inn Walks.[2] The most material

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Memoirs. She died on Dec. 21, 1751, and with her child was interred 'in the garden at Chelsea' (*Memoirs*, p. 271). Hutton frequently held meetings in Chelsea (ibid. p. 376). In his will (1763) he describes himself as 'of Chelsea, in the County of Middlesex, late of Westminster, Gentleman' (p. 550). The last reference is the following (p. 559): 'On the evening of the 4th (May 1795) his remains were removed privately from Oxted Cottage to the room at the end of the chapel at Chelsea, where they lay until Monday the 11th, when, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, they were interred in the burying-ground there. The stone over the grave bears the inscription:

JAMES HUTTON,
Born, Sept. the 14th, 1715,
Departed this life,
May 3rd, 1795.'

[1] Tyerman (vol. i. pp. 356–60) gives a graphic description of other slanders published in the *Scots Mag.* and elsewhere during the year 1741.

[2] Gray's Inn Gardens, then open to the public as a promenade.

part of our conversation (which I dare not conceal) was as follows. To spare the dead,[1] I do not translate:

Z. *Cur Religionem tuam mutasti?*

W. *Nescio me Religionem meam mutasse. Cur id sentis? Quis hoc tibi retulit?*

Z. *Plane tu. Id ex epistola tua ad nos video. Ibi, Religione, quam apud nos professus es, relicta, novam profiteris.*

W. *Qui sic? Non intelligo.*

Z. *Imo, istic dicis, 'Vere Christianos non esse miseros peccatores.' Falsissimum. Optimi hominum ad mortem usque miserabilissimi sunt peccatores. Siqui aliud dicunt, vel penitus impostores sunt, vel diabolice seducti. Nostros fratres meliora decentes impugnasti. Et pacem volentibus, eam denegasti.*

W. *Nondum intelligo quid velis.*

Z. *Ego, cum ex Georgia ad me scripsisti, te dilexi plurimum. Tum corde simplicem, te agnovi. Iterum scripsisti. Agnovi corde simplicem, sed turbatis ideis. Ad nos venisti. Ideae tuae tum magis turbatae erant et confusae. In Angliam rediisti. Aliquandiu post, audivi fratres nostros tecum pugnare. Spangenbergium misi ad pacem inter vos conciliandam. Scripsit mihi, 'Fratres tibi injuriam intulisse.' Rescripsi, ne pergerent, sed et veniam a te peterent. Spangenberg scripsit iterum, 'Eos petiisse; sed te gloriari de iis, pacem nolle.' Jam adveniens, idem audio.*

W. *Res in eo cardine minime vertitur. Fratres tui (verum hoc) me male tractarunt. Postea veniam petierunt. Respondi, 'Id supervacaneum; me nunquam iis succensuisse: Sed vereri,* (1) *Ne falsa docerent.* (2) *Ne prave viverent.'*

Ista unica est, et fuit, inter nos quaestio.

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[1] i.e. Zinzendorf. He died in 1760. This sentence does not appear in any edition prior to that of Jackson's, who probably inserted it from one of Wesley's manuscript notes. Southey (*Life of Wesley*, Cavendish ed., p. 189) censures Wesley for not translating the Latin dialogue; but he had not seen Wesley's reason for leaving it untranslated. See Moore's reply. Moore reports a remark of 'Mr. Stonehouse, the rector of Islington,' upon this conversation; but he confuses the Rev. George Stonehouse with the Rev. Sir James! Charles Wesley, in his Journal for Sept. 6, 1741, writes: 'I was astonished by a letter from my brother relating his conference with the Apostle of the Moravians.' Moore translates the Dialogue (vol. i. p. 481).

The Brethren sent a communication to the *London Daily Post*, drawing attention to the *Brudingische Sammlung*, in which this conversation is given in full. This German serial also contained the full reply to Wesley's letter concerning the Moravians.

It should be remembered that Zinzendorf had publicly called the two Wesleys 'false teachers and deceivers of souls in respect of the doctrine of Christian Perfection.'

Z. *Apertius loquaris.*

W. *Veritus sum, ne falsa docerent* (1) *De fine fidei nostrae (in hac vita) scil. Christiana perfectione;* (2) *De mediis gratiae, sic ab Ecclesia nostra dictis.*

Z. *Nullam inhaerentem perfectionem in hac vita agnosco. Est hic error errorum. Eum per totum orbem igne et gladio persequor, conculco, ad internecionem do. Christus est sola Perfectio nostra. Qui perfectionem inhaerentem sequitur, Christum denegat.*

W. *Ego vero credo, Spiritum Christi operari perfectionem in vere Christianis.*

Z. *Nullimode. Omnis nostra perfectio est in Christo. Omnis Christiana perfectio est, fides in sanguine Christi. Est tota Christiana perfectio, imputata, non inhaerens. Perfecti sumus in Christo, in nobismet nunquam perfecti.*

W. *Pugnamus, opinor, de verbis. Nonne omnis vere credens sanctus est?*

Z. *Maxime. Sed sanctus in Christo, non in se.*

W. *Sed, nonne sancte vivit?*

Z. *Imo, sancte in omnibus vivit.*

W. *Nonne, et cor sanctum habet?*

Z. *Certissime.*

W. *Nonne, ex consequenti, sanctus est* in se?

Z. *Non, non. In Christo tantum. Non sanctus* in se. *Nullam omnino habet sanctitatem* in se.

W. *Nonne habet in corde suo amorem Dei et proximi, quin et totam imaginem Dei?*

Z. *Habet. Sed haec sunt sanctitas legalis, non Evangelica. Sanctitas Evangelica est fides.*

W. *Omnino lis es de verbis. Concedis, credentis cor totum esse sanctum et vitam totam: Eum amare Deum toto corde, eique servire totis viribus. Nihil ultra peto. Nil aliud volo per Perfectio vel Sanctitas Christiana.*

Z. *Sed haec non est sanctitas ejus. Non magis sanctus est, si magis amat, neque minus sanctus, si minus amat.*

W. *Quid? Nonne credens, dum crescit in amore, crescit pariter in sanctitate?*

Z. *Nequaquam. Eo momento quo justificatur, sanctificatur penitus. Exin, neque magis sanctus est, neque minus sanctus, ad mortem usque.*

W. *Nonne igitur pater in Christo sanctior est infante recens nato!*

Z. *Non. Sanctificatio totalis ac Justificatio in eodem sunt instanti; et neutra recipit magis aut minus.*

W. *Nonne vero credens crescit indies amore Dei? Num perfectus est amore simulac justificatur?*

Z. *Est. Non unquam crescit in amore Dei. Totaliter amat eo momento, sicut totaliter sanctificatur.*

W. *Quid itaque vult Apostolus Paulus, per, ' Renovamur de die in diem?'*

Z. *Dicam. Plumbum si in aurum mutetur, est aurum primo die, et secundo, et tertio. Et sic renovatur de die in diem. Sed nunquam est magis aurum, quam primo die.*

W. *Putavi, crescendum esse in gratia!*

Z. *Certe. Sed non in sanctitate. Simulac justificatur quis, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus habitant in ipsius corde. Et cor ejus eo momento aeque purum est ac unquam erit. Infans in Christo tam purus corde est quam pater in Christo. Nulla est discrepantia.*

W. *Nonne justificati erant Apostoli ante Christi mortem?*

Z. *Erant.*

W. *Nonne vero sanctiores erant post diem Pentecostes, quam ante Christi mortem?*

Z. *Neutiquam.*

W. *Nonne eo die impleti sunt Spiritu Sancto?*

Z. *Erant. Sed istud donum Spiritus, sanctitatem ipsorum non respexit. Fuit donum miraculorum tantum.*

W. *Fortasse te non capio. Nonne nos ipsos abnegantes, magis magisque mundo morimur, ac Deo vivimus?*

Z. *Abnegationem omnem respuimus, conculcamus.*[1] *Facimus credentes omne quod volumus et nihil ultra. Mortificationem omnem ridemus. Nulla purificatio praecedit perfectum amorem.*

W. Quae dixisti, Deo adjuvante, perpendam.

The letter referred to by the Count was written August 8 preceding. It was as follows, excepting two or three paragraphs, which I have omitted as less material:

JOHN WESLEY, A PRESBYTER OF THE CHURCH OF GOD IN ENGLAND, TO THE CHURCH OF GOD AT HERRNHUT IN UPPER LUSATIA[2]

1. IT may seem strange that such a one as I am should take upon me to write to you. You I believe to be dear children of God, through faith which is in Jesus. Me you believe (as some of you have declared) to be 'a child of the devil, a servant of corruption.' Yet whatsoever I am, or whatsoever you are, I beseech you to weigh the following words; if haply God, who 'sendeth by whom He will send,'

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[1] Zinzendorf explains this in his pamphlet (1735): 'It was no self-denial to my Saviour, nor any mortification, to lead a holy life in this world, and to do good deeds. . . . So I also scorn heartily the doing good, by way of self-denial and mortification.'

[2] In this letter the footnotes preceded by the asterisk, &c., are by Wesley.

may give you light thereby; although 'the mist of darkness' (as one of you affirms) should be reserved for me for ever.

2. My design is freely and plainly to speak whatsoever I have seen or heard among you, in any part of your Church, which seems not agreeable to the gospel of Christ. And my hope is that the God whom you serve will give you thoroughly to weigh what is spoken; and if in anything 'ye have been otherwise minded' than the truth is, 'will reveal even this unto you.'

3. And first, with regard to Christian salvation, even the present salvation which is through faith, I have heard some of you affirm: (1) That it does not imply the proper taking away our sins, the cleansing our souls from all sin, but only the tearing the system of sin in pieces. (2) That it does not imply liberty from sinful thoughts.

4. I have heard some of you affirm, on the other hand: (1) That it does imply liberty from the commandments of God, so that one who is saved through faith is not obliged or bound to obey them, does not do anything as a commandment, or as a duty. To support which they have affirmed that there is * no command in the New Testament but to believe; that there is no duty required therein but that of believing; and that to a believer there is no commandment at all. (2) That it does imply liberty to conform to the world,† by talking on useless if not trifling subjects; by joining in worldly diversions in order to do good; by putting on of gold and costly apparel,‡ or by continuing in

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* In the answer to this letter, which I received some weeks after, this is explained as follows: 'All things which are a *commandment* to the natural man are a *promise* to all that have been justified. The thing itself is not lost, but the notion which people are wont to have of commandments, duties,' &c.

I reply: 1. If this be all you mean, why do you not say so explicitly to all men? 2. Whether this be all, let any reasonable man judge, when he has read what is here subjoined.

† The Brethren answer to this, 'We believe it much better to discourse out of the newspapers than to chatter about holy things to no purpose.' Perhaps so. But what is this to the point? I believe both the one and the other to be useless, and therefore an abomination to the Lord.

This objection, then, stands in full force, the fact alleged being rather defended than denied.

The joining in worldly diversions in order to do good (another charge which cannot be denied), I think, would admit of the same defence, viz. 'That there are other things as bad.'

‡ 'We wear,' say the Brethren, 'neither gold nor silver.' You forget. I have seen it with my eyes. 'But we judge nobody that does.' How! Then you must judge both St. Peter and Paul false witnesses before God. 'And because those professions that minister thereto [to sin, to what God has flatly forbidden] relate to trade, and trade is a thing relating to the magistrate, we therefore let all these things alone, entirely suspending our judgement concerning them.'

What miserable work is here! Because trade relates to the magistrate, am I not to consider whether my trade be innocent or sinful? Then, the keeper of a Venetian brothel is clear. The magistrate shall answer for him to God!

those professions, the gain of which depends on ministering hereto. (3) That it does imply liberty to avoid persecution, by * not reproving even those who sin in your sight; by not letting your light shine before those men who love darkness rather than light; by not using plainness of speech, and a frank, open carriage to all men. Nay, by a close, dark, reserved conversation and behaviour, especially toward strangers. And in many of you I have more than once found (what you called 'being wise as serpents') much subtlety, much evasion and disguise, much guile and dissimulation. You appeared to be what you were not, or not to be what you were. You so studied 'to become all things to all men,' as to take the colour and shape of any that were near you. So that your practice was indeed no proof of your judgement; but only an indication of your design *nulli laedere os*[1]; and your conformity to that (not scriptural) maxim, *Sinere mundum vadere ut vult: Nam vult vadere.*†

5. Secondly, with regard to that faith through which we are saved, I have heard many of you say, 'A man may have justifying faith and not know it.' Others of you, who are now in England (particularly Mr. Molther) I have heard affirm ‡ that there is no such thing as weak faith; that there are no degrees in faith; that there is no justifying faith where there is ever any doubt; and that there is no justifying faith without the plerophory of faith, the clear, abiding witness of the Spirit; that there is no justifying faith where there is not, in the full, proper sense, a new or clean heart; and that those who have not these two gifts are only awakened, not justified.

6. Thirdly, as to the way to faith, here are many among us whom some of your brethren have advised (what it is not to be supposed they would as yet speak to me, or in their public preaching) § not to use

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* This fact also you grant, and defend thus: 'The power of reproving relates either to outward things or to the heart. Nobody has any right to the former but the magistrate.' (Alas! alas! what casuistry is this!) 'And if one will speak to the heart, he must be first sure that the Saviour has already got hold of it.' What, then, must become of all other men? Oh how pleasing is all this to flesh and blood!

† To let the world go as it will: for it will go.

‡ In the Preface to the second Journal the Moravian Church is cleared from this mistake.[2]

§ The substance of the answer to this and the following paragraphs is: (1) That none ought to communicate till he has faith, that is, a sure trust in the mercy of God through Christ. This is granting the charge. (2) That 'if the Methodists hold this sacrament is a means of getting faith, they must act according to their persuasion.' We do hold it, and know it to be so to many of those who are previously convinced of sin.

[1] 'To insult no one to his face.' 'Clemens, placidus, nulli laedere os, arridere omnibus' (Terence, *Adelphi*, vol. v. p. 10. See *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 34.)

[2] Böhler, in a letter to Wesley, written several years later, denied that Molther ever held the opinions imputed to him. (Moore's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 491, n.)

those ordinances which our Church terms 'means of grace' till they have such a faith as implies a clean heart, and excludes all possibility of doubting. They have advised them, till then, not to search the Scriptures, not to pray, not to communicate; and have often affirmed that to do these things is seeking salvation by works; and that till these works are laid aside, no man can receive faith; for, 'No man,' say they, can do these things without trusting in them: if he does not trust in them, why does he do them?'

7. To those who answered, 'It is our duty to use the ordinances of God,' they replied, 'There are no ordinances of Christ the use of which is now bound upon Christians as a duty, or which we are commanded to use. As to those you mention in particular (viz. prayer, communicating, and searching the Scripture) if a man have faith he need not, if he have not he must not use them. A believer may use them, though not as enjoined; but an unbeliever (as before defined) may not.

8. To those who answered, 'I hope God will through these means convey His grace to my soul,' they replied, 'There is no such thing as means of grace; Christ has not ordained any such in His Church. But if there were, they are nothing to you; for you are dead; you have no faith; and you cannot work while you are dead. Therefore, let these things alone till you have faith.'

9. And some of our English brethren, who are joined with yours, have said openly, 'You will never have faith till you leave running about to church and sacrament, and societies.' Another of them has said (in his public expounding), 'As many go to hell by praying as by thieving.' Another, 'I knew one who, leaning over the back of a chair, received a great gift. But he must kneel down to give God thanks: so he lost it immediately. And I know not whether he will ever have it again.' And yet another, 'You have lost your first joy: therefore you pray: that is the devil. You read the Bible: that is the devil. You communicate: that is the devil.'

10. Let not any of you, my brethren, say, 'We are not chargeable with what they speak.' Indeed you are; for you can hinder it if you will. Therefore, if you do not, it must be charged upon you. If you do not use the power which is in your hands, and thereby prevent their speaking thus, you do in effect speak thus yourselves. You make their words your own; and are, accordingly, chargeable with every ill consequence which may flow therefrom.

11. Fourthly, with regard to your Church,* you greatly, yea, above measure, exalt yourselves and despise others.

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* 'A religion,' you say, 'and a Church are not all one: a religion is an assembly wherein the Holy Scriptures are taught after a prescribed rule.' This is too narrow a definition. For there are many Pagan (as well as a Mahometan)

I have scarce heard one Moravian brother, in my life, own his Church to be wrong in anything.

I have scarce heard any of you (I think not one in England) own himself to be wrong in anything.

Many of you I have heard speak of your Church as if it were infallible, or so led by the Spirit that it was not possible for it to err in anything.

Some of you have set it up (as indeed you ought to do, if it be infallible) as the judge of all the earth, of all persons (as well as doctrines) therein; and you have accordingly passed sentence upon them at once, by their agreement or disagreement with your Church.

Some of you have said that there is no true Church on earth but yours; yea, that there are no true Christians out of it. And your own members you require to have implicit faith in her decisions, and to pay implicit obedience to her directions.

12. Fifthly, you receive not the ancient but the modern mystics as the best interpreters of Scripture; and in conformity to these, you mix much of man's wisdom with the wisdom of God; you greatly refine the plain religion taught by the letter of Holy Writ, and philosophize on almost every part of it, to accommodate it to the mystic theory. Hence you talk much, in a manner wholly unsupported by Scripture, against mixing nature with grace, against imagination, and concerning the animal spirits, mimicking the power of the Holy Ghost. Hence your brethren zealously caution us against animal joy, against natural love of one another, and against selfish love of God; against which (or any of them) there is no one caution in all the Bible. And they have, in truth, greatly lessened, and had wellnigh destroyed, brotherly love from among us.

13. In conformity to the mystics, you likewise greatly check joy in the Holy Ghost by such cautions against sensible comforts as have no tittle of Scripture to support them. Hence also your brethren here damp the zeal of babes in Christ, talking much of false zeal, forbidding them to declare what God hath done for their souls, even when their

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religions. Rather, a religion is a method of worshipping God, whether in a right or a wrong manner.

'The Lord has such a peculiar hand in the several constitutions of religion that one ought to respect every one of them.' I cannot possibly: I cannot respect, either the Jewish (as it is now) or the Romish religion. You add:

'A Church (I will not examine whether there are any in this present age, or whether there is no other beside ours) is a congregation of sinners who have obtained forgiveness of sins. That such a congregation should be in an error, cannot easily happen.'

I find no reason, therefore, to retract anything which is advanced on this or any of the following heads.

hearts burn within them to declare it, and comparing those to uncorked bottles who simply and artlessly speak of the ability which God giveth.

14. Hence, lastly, it is that you undervalue your good works (especially works of outward mercy), never publicly insisting on the necessity of them, nor declaring their weight and excellency. Hence, when some of your brethren have spoken of them, they put them on a wrong foot; viz. 'If you find yourself moved, if your heart is free to it, then reprove, exhort, relieve.' By this means you wholly avoid the taking up your cross in order to do good; and also substitute an uncertain, precarious inward motion in the place of the plain written Word. Nay, one of your members has said of good works in general (whether works of piety or of charity), 'A believer is no more obliged to do these works of the law than a subject of the King of England is obliged to obey the laws of the King of France.'

15. My brethren, whether ye will hear, or whether ye will forbear, I have now delivered my own soul. And this I have chosen to do in an artless manner, that if anything should come home to your hearts the effect might evidently flow, not from the wisdom of man, but from the power of God.

August 8, 1740.[1]

Thus have I declared, and in the plainest manner I can, the real controversy between us and the Moravian Brethren: an unpleasing task, which I have delayed at least as long as I could with a clear conscience. But I am constrained at length nakedly to speak the thing as it is, that I may not hinder the work of God.

I am very sensible of the objection which has so often been made, viz. 'You are inconsistent with yourself. You did tenderly love, highly esteem, and zealously recommend these very men; and now you do not love or esteem them at all. You not only do not recommend them, but are bitter against them; nay, and rail at them, before all the world.'

This is partly true and partly false. That the whole case may be better understood, it will be needful to give a short account of what has occurred between us from the beginning.

My first acquaintance with the Moravian Brethren began in my voyage to Georgia. Being then with many of them in the same ship, I narrowly observed their whole behaviour. And I greatly approved of all I saw. Therefore I unbosomed myself to them without reserve.

From February 14, 1735, to December 2, 1737, being with them

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[1] See Diary, p. 374.

(except when I went to Frederica or Carolina) twice or thrice every day, I loved and esteemed them more and more. Yet a few things I could not approve of. These I mentioned to them from time to time, and then commended the cause to God.

In February following I met with Peter Böhler. My heart clave to him as soon as he spoke. And the more we conversed, so much the more did I esteem both him and all the Moravian Church [1]; so that I had no rest in my spirit till I executed the design which I had formed long before; till, after a short stay in Holland, I hastened forward, first to Marienborn, and then to Herrnhut.

In September 1738, soon after my return to England, I began the following letter to the Moravian Church; but, being fearful of trusting my own judgement, I determined to wait yet a little longer, and so laid it by unfinished :

MY DEAR BRETHREN,

I cannot but rejoice in your steadfast faith, in your love to our blessed Redeemer, your deadness to the world; your meekness, temperance, chastity, and love of one another. I greatly approve of your conferences and bands; of your method of instructing children; and, in general, of your great care of the souls committed to your charge.

But of some other things I stand in doubt, which I will mention in love and meekness. And I wish that, in order to remove those doubts, you would on each of those heads, first, plainly answer whether the fact be as I suppose; and, if so, secondly, consider whether it be right.

Do you not wholly neglect joint fasting?

Is not the Count all in all? Are not the rest mere shadows; calling him Rabbi; almost implicitly both believing and obeying him?

Is there not something of levity in your behaviour? Are you, in general, serious enough?

Are you zealous and watchful to redeem time? Do you not sometimes fall into trifling conversation?

Do you not magnify your own Church too much?

Do you believe any who are not of it to be in gospel liberty?

Are you not straitened in your love? Do you love your enemies and wicked men as yourselves?

Do you not mix human wisdom with divine; joining worldly prudence to heavenly?

Do you not use cunning, guile, or dissimulation in many cases?

Are you not of a close, dark, reserved temper and behaviour?

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[1] Wesley and Böhler remained friends through all these controversies. The latter disagreed with the Count, as did many of the Moravians in Germany.

Is not the spirit of secrecy the spirit of your community?

Have you that childlike openness, frankness, and plainness of speech so manifest to all in the apostles and first Christians?

It may easily be seen that my objections then were nearly the same as now. Yet I cannot say my affection was lessened at all till after September 1739, when certain men among us began to trouble their brethren and subvert their souls. However, I cleared the Moravians still, and laid the whole blame on our English brethren.

But from November the 1st I could not but see (unwilling as I was to see them) more and more things which I could in nowise reconcile with the gospel of Christ. And these I have set down with all simplicity, as they occurred in order of time, believing myself indispensably obliged so to do, both in duty to God and man.

Yet do I this because I love them not? God knoweth. Yea, and in part I esteem them still: because I verily believe they have a sincere desire to serve God; because many of them have tasted of His love, and some retain it in simplicity; because they love one another; because they have *so much* of the truth of the gospel, and *so far* abstain from outward sin; and, lastly, because their discipline is, in most respects, so truly excellent.

'But why, then, are you bitter against them?' I do not know that I am. Let the impartial reader judge. And if any bitter word has escaped my notice, I here utterly retract it. 'But do not you rail at them?' I hope not. God forbid that I should rail at a Turk, infidel, or heretic. To one who advanced the most dangerous error I durst say no more than 'The Lord rebuke thee.' But I would point out what those errors were; and, I trust, in the spirit of meekness.

In this spirit, my brethren, I have read, and endeavoured to consider, all the books you have published in England, that I might inform myself whether, on farther consideration, you had retracted the errors which were advanced before. But it does by no means appear that you have retracted any of them: for, waiving the odd and affected phrases therein; the weak, mean, silly, childish expressions; the crude, confused, and indigested notions; the whims, unsupported either by Scripture or sound reason; yea, waiving those assertions which, though contrary to Scripture and matter of fact, are, however, of no importance,—those three grand errors run through almost all those books, viz. *Universal Salvation*, *Antinomianism*, and a kind of new-reformed *Quietism*.

1. Can Universal Salvation be more explicitly asserted than it is in these words?—

'By this His name *all* can and *shall* obtain life and salvation' (*Sixteen Discourses*, p. 30). This *must* include all *men*, at least; and *may* include all *devils* too.

Again, 'The name of the wicked will not be so much as mentioned on the great day' (*Seven Discourses*, p. 22).[1] And if they are not so much as *mentioned*, they cannot be *condemned*.

2. How can Antinomianism[2]—that is, making void the law through faith—be more expressly taught than it is in these words?—

'To believe certainly, that Christ suffered death for us: this is the true means to be saved at once.

'We want no more. For the history of Jesus coming into the world "is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth"; the bare historical knowledge of this' (*Sixteen Discourses*, p. 57).

'There is but *one duty*, which is that of *believing*' (ibid. p. 193).

'From any demand of the law, no man is obliged now to go one step, to give away one farthing, to eat or omit one morsel' (*Seven Discourses*, p. 11).

'What did our Lord do with the law? He abolished it' (ibid. p. 33).

'Here one may think, This is a fine sort of Christianity, where nothing good is commanded, and nothing bad is forbid. But thus it is' (ibid. p. 34).

'So one ought to speak now. All commands and prohibitions are unfit for our times' (ibid.).

3. Is not the very essence of Quietism (though in a new shape) contained in these words?—

'The whole matter lies in this, that we should *suffer ourselves to be relieved*' (*Sixteen Discourses*, p. 17).

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[1] This volume bears the following title:

Seven Sermons on the Godhead of the Lamb; or, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, **by the Right Reverend and Most Illustrious Count Zinzendorf, Bishop of the Moravian Church, preached in the congregation, just before his second voyage to the West Indies: and translated from the German Manuscript. London: Printed for James Hutton, Bookseller, at the 'Bible and Sun,' in Little Wyld Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1742.**

[2] 'N.B. I speak of Antinomian doctrine, abstracted from practice, good or bad' (Wesley).

'One must *do nothing*, but *quietly attend* the voice of the Lord' (ibid. p. 29).

'To tell men who have not experienced the power of grace what they should do, and how they ought to behave, is as if you should send a lame man upon an errand' (ibid. p. 70).

'The beginning is not to be made with doing what our Saviour has commanded. For whosoever will begin with doing, when he is dead, he can do nothing at all; but whatever he doeth in his own activity is but a cobweb; that is, good for nothing' (ibid. pp. 72, 81).

'As soon as we *remain passive* before Him as the wood which a table is to be made from, then something comes of us' (*Seven Discourses*, p. 22).

O my brethren, let me conjure you yet again, in the name of our common Lord, 'if there be any consolation of love, if any bowels and mercies,' remove 'the fly' out of 'the pot of ointment'; separate 'the precious from the vile'! Review, I beseech you, your whole work, and see if Satan hath gained no advantage over you. 'Very excellent things' have been 'spoken of thee, O thou city of God.' But may not 'He which hath the sharp sword with two edges' say, 'Yet, I have a few things against thee'? Oh that ye would repent of these, that ye might be 'a glorious Church; not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing'!

Three things, above all, permit *me*, even *me*, to press upon you, with all the earnestness of love. First, with regard to your doctrine, that ye purge out from among you the leaven of Antinomianism wherewith you are so deeply infected, and no longer 'make void the law through faith.' Secondly, with regard to your discipline, that ye 'call no man Rabbi, Master,' Lord of your faith, 'upon earth.' Subordination, I know, is needful; and I can show you such a subordination as in fact answers all Christian purposes, and is yet as widely distant from that among *you* as the heavens are from the earth. Thirdly, with regard to your practice, that ye renounce all craft, cunning, subtlety, dissimulation—wisdom, falsely so called; that ye put away all disguise, all guile out of your mouth; that in all 'simplicity and godly sincerity' ye 'have your conversation in this world'; that ye use 'great plainness of speech' to all, whatever ye suffer thereby—seeking only, 'by manifestation of the truth,' to 'commend' yourselves 'to every man's conscience in the sight of God.'[1]

June 24, 1744.

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[1] To understand this Fourth Extract of the Journal we must remember its purpose and the date of its publication. It has been here treated as a section of the Journal—a chapter in the autobiography of John Wesley and the early history of Methodism; but in reality, as first published, it was more apologetic than journalistic. Its date of publication, be it remembered, is not 1741, but 1744, three years subsequent to the last transaction recorded. It is some indication, if not evidence, of Wesley's absolute familiarity with the Bible that he should have found so perfect a motto for the title-page: 'When I had waited.' This was no hasty, ill-considered publication. He waited three years before sending the sheets to press. During those years the English Moravian Church came to the birth, and was duly established among the Churches of Christendom. 'When I had waited (for they spake not, but stood still, and answered no more), I said, I will answer also my part, I also will show mine opinion,' &c.—a text well worth studying before reading over again the Fourth Extract of Wesley's Journal. Methodism had narrowly escaped absorption into the nascent Anglo-Moravian Church; into, on the other hand, the Religious Societies of the Anglican Church. It had passed in Bristol from Baldwin Street to the Horsefair; in London from Fetter Lane to the Foundery; from the solemn aisles of Georgian churches to the fields and hillsides and market-places. It had discovered the 'leader' and the 'lay preacher.' It had become itinerant and evangelistic, more definite in its doctrinal beliefs and in the main outlines of its organization. The battle of Predestinarianism *versus* Free Grace was joined. More important still, Methodism was finally cut adrift from the beautiful, dreamy, but wholly impracticable mysticism of German Quietism as interpreted by Molther and Böhler and misinterpreted by Bray and Taylor and Simpson. Arminian Methodism, led by the Wesleys and forced into an independent position by the shortsightedness of the English Church; Calvinistic Methodism, led by Lady Huntingdon, George Whitefield, and Howell Harris; Moravianism, with its stainless daily life, its strange but winsome idealism, and its splendid missionary zeal and example,—these were the new spiritual forces which were saving and rehabilitating English Christianity. This Extract illuminates an extremely interesting period.

In its original form the Fourth Extract was issued, as were so many of the sermons, with hymns attached. The first is a hymn of twenty-three verses entitled, 'The Means of Grace.' It was first published in the second part of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, by John and Charles Wesley, in 1740. In reality it is a poem—a chapter in verse of personal experience—an argument addressed to a poetry-loving people. It is John Wesley's view, even more than his brother's, of the virtue and limitations of Moravian 'Stillness.' The second hymn first appeared in this place without the name of the author attached. It was afterwards published in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1749, by Charles Wesley. The hymn may be too sacramental in sentiment for modern Methodists; yet several of the verses, in subtle spiritual analysis as well as in poetic expression, are worthy of the great name attached to them. But this also is a poem more than a hymn. It is Charles Wesley's opinion—and John's—with reference to the misuse and right use of the greatest of all ordinances—the Word and the Sacramental Table. Both hymns are helpful to a perfect understanding of the Wesley position at this period.

PART THE FIFTH

THE JOURNAL

FROM SEPTEMBER 3, 1741, TO OCTOBER 27, 1743

The Fifth Part of the Journal, unlike its predecessors, was published without Preface. The initial controversies of the Evangelical Revival on Stillness and Predestination were, so far, settled. The combatants went their several ways. Wesley's providential calling led him farther and farther afield. His Journal became a record of journeyings, oft, of daily preaching, of ceaseless pastoral oversight. The little volume needed no Preface. It told its own tale and pointed its own moral.

The following is the title-page of the first edition: 'An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal, from Sept. 3, 1741, *to October* 27, 1743. *Bristol: Printed by Felix Farley; and sold at the School-Room in the Horse-fair: also by T. Tyre, near Gray's Inn-Gate, Holborn; and at the Foundery near Upper-Moor-fields, London.* M.DCC.XLIX.

THE JOURNAL

From September 3, 1741, *to October* 27, 1743

1741. SEPT. 6, *Sun.*[1]—Observing some who were beginning to use their liberty as a cloak for licentiousness, I enforced, in the morning, those words of St. Paul (worthy to be written in the heart of every believer), 'All things are lawful for me; but all things are not expedient'; and, in the evening, that necessary advice of our Lord, 'That men ought always to pray, and not to faint.'

Mon. 7.—I visited a young man in St. Thomas's Hospital[2] who, in strong pain, was praising God continually. At the desire of many of the patients, I spent a short time with them in exhortation and prayer. Oh what a harvest might there be, if any lover of souls who has time upon his hands would constantly attend these places of distress, and, with tenderness and meekness of wisdom, instruct and exhort those on whom God has laid His hands to know and improve the day of their visitation!

Wed. 9.—I expounded in Greyhound Lane, Whitechapel, part of the one hundred and seventh Psalm. And they did rejoice whom 'the Lord had redeemed, and delivered from the hand of the enemy.'

Sat. 12.—I was greatly comforted by one whom God had lifted up from the gates of death, and who was continually telling, with tears of joy, what God had done for his soul.

Sun. 13.—I met about two hundred persons, with whom severally I had talked the week before, at the French chapel in Hermitage Street, Wapping, where they gladly joined in the service of the Church, and particularly in the Lord's Supper, at which Mr. Hall assisted. It was more than two years after this that he began so vehemently to declaim against my brother and me, as 'bigots to the Church and those carnal ordinances,' as he loved to term them.

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[1] This month was memorable in the history of the Moravian Brethren on account of the synodal conference held from the 11th to the 23rd of the month, in the house in Red Lion Street, taken by Spangenberg (*Hutton*, p. 74).

[2] Then on the east side of the Borough of Southwark, near London Bridge. See Maitland's *History of London*, p. 678, with engraving of the Hospital.

Fri. 18.—I buried the only child of a tender parent, who, having soon finished her course, after a short sickness, went to Him her soul loved, in the fifteenth year of her age.

Sun. 20.—I preached in Charles Square, Hoxton, on these solemn words, 'This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.' I trust God blessed His word. The scoffers stood abashed, and opened not their mouth.

Mon. 21.—I set out, and the next evening met my brother at Bristol, with Mr. Jones,[1] of Fonmon Castle, in Wales; now convinced of the truth as it is in Jesus, and labouring with his might to redeem the time he had lost, to make his calling sure, and to lay hold on eternal life.

Thur. 24.—In the evening we went to Kingswood. The House was filled from end to end. And we continued in ministering the word of God, and in prayer and praise, till the morning.

Sun. 27.—I expounded at Kingswood (morning and afternoon), at Bristol, and at Baptist Mills, the message of God to the church of Ephesus, particularly that way of recovering our first love which God hath prescribed, and not man: 'Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works.'[1]

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[1] Robert Jones, J.P., of Fonmon Castle, was one of the county squires of Glamorgan. Charles Wesley having preached in the parish church of Wenvoe, Mr. Jones invited him to call at Fonmon Castle. Charles writes in his Journal, July 15, 1741, 'Mr. Jones received me very courteously. He civilly apologized for his first questions, which he asked as a magistrate—whether I was a Papist; whether a member of the Established Church of England; was fully satisfied with my answers, and found we were contemporaries at the same college.' There can be little doubt that Mr. Jones's real object was to learn what he himself must do to be saved. He induced a neighbouring clergyman to let Charles Wesley occupy his pulpit, and also persuaded Charles to postpone his return to Bristol, that he might hear him again and again. Charles Wesley, returning from Bristol, preached in the dining-room and courtyard of Fonmon Castle. He persuaded Mr. Jones to visit 'our beloved colliers.' While on this errand John Wesley arrived at Bristol. Mr. Jones claimed to be descended from one of the Welsh princes. Captain Philip Jones, who purchased Fonmon Castle, was one of Cromwell's friends and officers. Mr. Jones was first convinced under one of Howell Harris's open-air sermons. (See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 44, and an article by the Rev. R. Butterworth in *W.M. Mag.* 1900, p. 26.)

Tues. 29.—I was pressed to visit Nicholas Palmer, one who had separated from us, and behaved with great bitterness, till God laid His hand upon him. He had sent for me several times, saying he could not die in peace till he had seen me. I found him in great weakness of body and heaviness of spirit. We wrestled with God on his behalf; and our labour was not in vain. His soul was comforted; and, a few hours after, he quietly fell asleep.

OCT. 1, *Thur.*—We set out for Wales; but, missing our passage over the Severn in the morning, it was sunset before we could get to Newport. We inquired there if we could hire a guide to Cardiff; but there was none to be had. A lad coming in quickly after, who was going (he said) to Llanishen,[2] a little village two miles to the right of Cardiff, we resolved to go thither. At seven we set out. It rained pretty fast; and, there being neither moon nor stars, we could neither see any road, nor one another, nor our own horses' heads. But the promise of God did not fail; He gave His angels charge over us, and soon after ten we came safe to Mr. Williams's[3] house at Llanishen.

Fri. 2.—We rode to Fonmon Castle. We found Mr. Jones's daughter[4] ill of the small-pox; but he could cheerfully leave her and all the rest in the hands of Him in whom he now believed. In the evening I preached at Cardiff, in the Shire Hall, a large and convenient place, on 'God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in His Son.' There having been a feast in the town that day, I believed it needful to add a few words upon intemperance: and while I was saying, 'As for you, drunkards, you have no part in this life; you abide in death; you choose death and hell,' a man cried out vehemently, 'I am one; and thither I am going.' But I trust God at that hour began to show him and others 'a more excellent way.'

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[1] Tyerman (*Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 482) prints a letter of Charles Wesley's, addressed 'To the Rev. Mr. Wesley, at Mr. Hooper's, maltster, Bristol,' and endorsed by John Wesley, 'Sept. 28, 1741. In a panic about G.W.' In this letter Charles deplores his brother's credulity, and condemns his leniency in not denouncing publicly Whitefield's doctrine of Predestination, and asks him to send word by first post that he has 'warned the flock from going to hear the other's gospel.' Mr. Hooper lived in Old Market Street. He is frequently mentioned in Charles Wesley's Journal and in the Diary. It is believed that the 'Maltroom' in Temple Backs, which succeeded Weavers' Hall as a society meeting-place (p. 289), belonged to him.

[2] Three miles and a half from the Cardiff of Wesley's time. It is now a suburb.

[3] Probably 'Thomas Williams, of Blew House, Gent.,' mentioned in the old Jury Lists.

[4] Catherine, who survived.

Sat. 3.—About noon we came to Pontypool. A clergyman stopped me in the first street; a few more found me out soon after, whose love I did not find to be cooled at all by the bitter adversaries who had been among them. True pains had been taken to set them against my brother and me, by men who 'know not what manner of spirit' they 'are of.' But, instead of disputing, we betook ourselves to prayer; and all our hearts were knit together as at the first.

In the afternoon we came to Abergavenny. Those who are bitter of spirit have been here also; yet Mrs. James[1] (now Mrs. Whitefield) received us gladly, as she had done aforetime. But we could not procure even two or three to join with us in the evening beside those of her own household.

Sun. 4.—I had an unexpected opportunity of receiving the Holy Communion. In the afternoon we had a plain, useful sermon on the Pharisee and the publican praying in the temple; which I explained at large in the evening to the *best-dressed* congregation I have ever yet seen in Wales. Two persons came to me afterwards who were, it seemed, convinced of sin and groaning for deliverance.

Mon. 5.—I preached in the morning, at Pontypool, to a small but deeply attentive congregation. Mr. Price[2] conducted us from thence to his house at Watford. After resting here an hour we hastened on, and came to Fonmon, where I explained and enforced those words, 'What must I do to be saved?' Many seemed quite amazed while I showed them the nature of salvation and the gospel way of attaining it.

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[1] George Whitefield was married to Elizabeth James, a widow, Nov. 14, 1741, at St. Martin's Chapel, Caerphilly. (Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 530; see also *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 84,. note.)

[2] Thomas Price, J.P. See above, April 10, 1740; C. Wesley's Journal, Nov. 15, 1740; *W.M. Mag.* 1902, p. 853.

Tues. 6.—I read prayers and preached in Porthkerry church.[1] My text was, 'By grace are ye saved through faith.' In the evening, at Cardiff, I expounded Zech. iv. 7: 'Who art thou, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain.' The next morning we set out, and in the evening praised God with our brethren in Bristol.

Thur. 8.—I dined with C[aptain] T[urner],[2] greatly praising God for having done His own wise and holy will in taking away 'the desire of his eyes.'[3] In the evening I preached on 'Looking unto Jesus'; and many were filled with consolation.

Fri. 9.—The same Spirit helped our infirmities at the hour of intercession; and again, at Kingswood, in the evening. I was just laid down, when one came and told me Howell Harris desired to speak with me at Bristol, being just come from London, and having appointed to set out for Wales at three in the morning. I went, and found him with Mr. [Joseph] Humphreys and Mr. S[impson]. They immediately fell upon their favourite subject; on which, when we had disputed two hours, and were just where we were at first, I begged we might exchange controversy for prayer. We did so, and then parted in much love, about two in the morning.

Sat. 10.—His journey being deferred till Monday, Howell Harris came to me at the New Room. He said, as to the decree of reprobation, he renounced and utterly abhorred it. And as to the not falling from grace: (1) He believed that it ought not to be mentioned to the unjustified, or to any that were slack and careless, much less that lived in sin; but only to the earnest and disconsolate mourners. (2) He did himself believe it was possible for one to fall away who had been 'enlightened' with some knowledge of God, who had 'tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made partaker of the Holy Ghost,' and wished we could all agree to keep close, in the controverted points, to the very words of Holy Writ. (3) That he accounted no man so justified as not to fall till he had a thorough, abiding hatred to all sin and a continual hunger and thirst after all righteousness. Blessed be thou of the Lord, thou man of peace! Still follow after peace and holiness.

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[1] Mr. Richards, his faithful friend, was vicar. (See C. Wesley's Journal, July 15, Aug. 25 and 28, Sept. 10 and 13, 1741.) He had been converted under Charles Wesley's preaching at Fonmon; but, it is feared, fell away.

[2] Joseph Turner, master of a vessel which early in 1743 (not 1744, as Moore, *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 8), sailed from Bristol to St. Ives, Cornwall, and brought back information of a society of the Woodward-Horneck type, which led to a visit by Charles Wesley, July 16, 1743, in company with T. W. and Mr. Shepherd.

[3] Captain Turner's wife was one of those whose profession of 'sinless perfection' distressed Cennick (Moravian *Messenger*, April 12, 1906, p. 93).

Thur. 15.[1]—I was preparing for another journey to Wales, which I had designed to begin on Friday, when I received a message from Howell Harris, desiring me to set out immediately, and meet him near the New Passage. I accordingly set out at noon; but, being obliged to wait at the water-side, did not reach Wilcrick (the place he had appointed for our meeting) till an hour or two after night. But this was soon enough; for he had not been there, nor could we hear anything of him; so we went back to Magor, and thence in the morning to Llanmartin, a village two miles off, where we heard Mr. Daniel Rowlands[2] was to be, and whom accordingly we found there. Evil surmisings presently vanished away, and our hearts were knit together in love. We rode together to Machen[3] (five miles beyond Newport), which we reached about twelve o'clock. In an hour after Howell Harris came, and many of his friends from distant parts. We had no dispute of any kind; but the spirit of peace and love was in the midst of us. At three we went to church. There was a vast congregation, though at only a few hours' warning.

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[1] On Oct. 13, 1741, Wesley wrote to the Bishop of Bristol:

My Lord,

Several persons have applied to me for baptism. It has pleased God to make me instrumental in their conversion. This has given them such a prejudice for me, that they desire to be received into the Church by my ministry. They choose, likewise, to be baptized by immersion, and have engaged me to give your Lordship notice, as the Church requires.

[2] A clergyman of the Established Church in Wales, son of the vicar of Llangeitho, a living afterwards held by his elder brother John, to whom he became curate. Converted under Griffith Jones, he became one of the most powerful preachers in the evangelical revival of the Welsh Church. This was his first meeting with John Wesley, and the beginning of a warm friendship. See Young's *History of Methodism in Wales*, p. 30.

[3] The church contains monuments of the Morgans, Lord Tredegar's ancestors. In the inn, where Methodist services were long held, is preserved a chair, said to have been used by Wesley.

After prayers, I preached on those words in the Second Lesson, 'The life which I now live, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me.' Mr. Rowlands then preached in Welsh, on Matt. xxviii. 5: 'Fear not ye; for ye seek Jesus, which was crucified.'

We rode afterwards to St. Bride's-in-the-Moors[1]; where Mr. Rowlands preached again. Here we were met by Mr. [Joseph] Humphreys and Thomas Bissicks, of Kingswood. About eleven a few of us retired, in order to provoke one another to love and to good works. But T. Bissicks immediately introduced the dispute, and others seconded him. This Howell Harris and Mr. Rowlands strongly withstood; but, finding it profited nothing, Mr. Rowlands soon withdrew. Howell Harris kept them at bay till about one o'clock in the morning: I then left them and Capt. T[urner] together. About three they left off just where they began.

Sat. 17.—Going to a neighbouring house, I found Mr. H[umphreys] and T. Bissicks tearing open the sore with all their might. On my coming in, all was hushed; but Mrs. James,[2] of Abergavenny (a woman of candour and humanity), insisted that those things should be said to my face. There followed a lame piece of work; but although the accusations brought were easily answered, yet I found they left a soreness on many spirits. When Howell Harris heard of what had passed, he hasted to stand in the gap once more; and with tears besought them all 'to follow after the things that make for peace'; and God blessed the healing words which he spoke; so that we parted in much love, being all determined to let controversy alone, and to preach 'Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.'

I preached at Cardiff at three, and about five set out thence for Fonmon Castle. Notwithstanding the great darkness of the night, and our being unacquainted with the road, before eight we came safe to the congregation, which had been some time waiting for us.[3]

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[1] Near the mouth of the Usk.

[2] Mrs. Whitefield. Howell Harris had a high opinion of her judgement, and wished her to write to the societies.

[3] The dining-hall was fitted up as a chapel. The pulpit was preserved, the sconces being given by the family to the Wesleyan chapel at St. Athan.

Sun. 18.—I rode to Wenvoe.[1] The church was thoroughly filled with attentive hearers, while I preached on those words, 'Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you.' In the afternoon I read prayers and preached at Porthkerry.[2] In the evening there was a great concourse of people at the Castle,[3] to whom I strongly declared 'the hope of righteousness which is through faith.'

Mon. 19.—I preached once more at Porthkerry, and in the afternoon returned to Cardiff and explained, to a large congregation, 'When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both.'

Tues. 20.—At eleven I preached at the prison[4] on 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.' In the afternoon I was desired to meet one[5] of the honourable women, whom I found a mere sinner, groaning under the mighty hand of God. About six, at Mr. W——'s[6] desire, I preached once more on those words, 'Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you.'

Wed. 21.—I set out soon after preaching, and about nine came to Newport. A clergyman, soon after I was set down, came into the next room and asked aloud, with a tone unusually sharp, where those vagabond fellows were. Capt. T[urner], without any ceremony, took him in hand; but he soon quitted the field, and walked out of the house. Just as I was taking horse, he returned and said, 'Sir, I am afraid you are in a wrong way; but if you are right, I pray God to be with you, and prosper your undertakings.'

About one I came to Caldecot, and preached to a small attentive company of people[7] on 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled.' Between seven and eight we reached Bristol.

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[1] The home of the Rev. John Hodges.

[2] Charles Wesley held a remarkable service in the little church near the park at Porthkerry (C. Wesley's Journal, July 5, 1741).

[3] His favourite preaching-place in Cardiff; probably on the steps of the Keep.

[4] Then in St. Mary Street (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 175).

[5] Probably Sarah Young, mentioned by Charles Wesley Nov. 10, 1740. It is thought that she is the one Wesley met on March 5, 1742 (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 82).

[6] Probably Mr. Williams, curate of St. John's, Cardiff.

[7] At the Cross, now removed. It stood in the open space in front of the Cross Inn.

Thur. 22.—I called upon Edward W——, who had been ill for several days. I found him in deep despair. Since he had left off prayer, 'all the waves and storms were gone over him.' We cried unto God, and his soul revived. A little light shone upon him, and, just as we sung,

Be Thou his strength and righteousness,
  His Jesus and his all,

his spirit returned to God.

Fri. 23.—I saw several others who were ill of the same distemper. Surely our Lord will do much work by this sickness. I do not find that it comes to any house without leaving a blessing behind it. In the evening I went to Kingswood, and found Ann Steed[1] also praising God in the fires, and testifying that all her weakness and pain wrought together for good.

Sat. 24.[2]—I visited more of the sick, both in Kingswood and Bristol; and it was pleasant work, for I found none of them 'sorrowing as men without hope.' At six I expounded 'God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all'; and His light broke in upon us in such a manner that we were even lost in praise and thanksgiving.

Sun. 25.—After the sacrament at All Saints', I took horse for Kingswood; but before I came to Lawrence Hill my horse fell, and, attempting to rise again, fell down upon me. One or two women ran out of a neighbouring house, and, when I rose, helped me in. I adore the wisdom of God. In this house were three persons who began to run well, but Satan had hindered them; but they resolved to set out again, and not one of them has looked back since.

Notwithstanding this delay, I got to Kingswood by two.

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[1] A notable member. 'The first witness in Bristol of the great salvation' (i.e. of 'sanctification'). See below, Oct. 28, 1762, when Wesley preached her funeral sermon; also Diary, July 18, 1741.

[2] On this date the Countess of Huntingdon wrote to Wesley:

'Since you left us, the *still ones* are not without their attacks. I fear much more for your brother than for myself, as the conquest of the one would be nothing in respect to the other. They have by one of their agents reviled me very much, but I have taken no sort of notice of it. I comfort myself that you approve a step with respect to them which your brother and I have taken; no less than his declaring open war against them. He seemed under some difficulty about it at first, till he had free liberty given him to use my name, as the instrument in God's hands that had delivered him from them. . . . We set out a week ago for Donnington, and you shall hear from me as soon as I arrive, and have heard how your little flock goes on in that neighbourhood' (*Meth. Mag.* 1798, p. 490).

The words God enabled me to speak there, and afterwards at Bristol (so I must express myself still, for I dare not ascribe them to my own wisdom), were as a hammer and a flame; and the same blessing we found at the meeting of the society, but more abundantly at the lovefeast which followed. I remember nothing like it for many months. A cry was heard from one end of the congregation to the other; not of grief, but of overflowing joy and love. 'O continue forth Thy loving-kindness unto them that know Thee, and Thy righteousness unto them that are true of heart!'[1]

The great comfort I found, both in public and private, almost every day of the ensuing week, I apprehend was to prepare me for what followed; a short account of which I sent to London soon after in a letter, the copy of which I have subjoined, although I am sensible there are several circumstances therein which some may set down for mere enthusiasm and extravagance.

DEAR BROTHER,

All last week I found hanging upon me the effects of a violent cold I had contracted in Wales; not, I think (as Mr. Turner[2] and Walcam[3] supposed), by lying in a damp bed at St. Bride's, but rather by riding continually in the cold and wet nights and preaching immediately after. But I believed it would pass off, and so took little notice of it till Friday morning. I then found myself exceeding sick; and as I walked to Baptist Mills (to pray with Susanna Basil, who was ill of a fever), felt the wind pierce me, as it were, through. At my return I found myself something better; only I could not eat anything at all. Yet I felt no want of strength at the hour of intercession, nor at six in the evening, while I was opening and applying those words, 'Sun, stand thou still in Gibeon; and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon.' I was afterwards refreshed, and slept well; so that I apprehended no farther disorder, but rose in the morning as usual, and declared, with a strong voice and enlarged heart, 'Neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love.' About two in the afternoon, just as I was set down to dinner, a shivering came upon me, and a little pain in my back; but no sickness at all, so that I ate a little;

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[1] Ps. xxxvi. 10 (Prayer-book Version).

[2] Capt. Turner, above.

[3] John Walcam, broker and teaman, Castle Precincts, Bristol Roll Book, 1754; for whom see *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 95. Charles Wesley visited his dying daughter Dec. 10, 1750. John Wesley tells the pathetic story of her last days, June 1, 1751. John Walcam is in Lightwood's roll of the members, 1746.

and then, growing warm, went to see some that were sick. Finding myself worse about four, I would willingly have lain down. But having promised to see Mrs. G——, who had been out of order for some days, I went thither first, and thence to Weavers' Hall. A man gave me a token for good as I went along; 'Aye,' said he, 'he will be a martyr too by-and-by.' The scripture I enforced was, 'My little children, these things I write unto you that ye sin not. But if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' I found no want either of inward or outward strength. But afterwards finding my fever increased, I called on Dr. Middleton. By his advice I went home[1] and took my bed: a strange thing to me who had not kept my bed a day (for five-and-thirty years) ever since I had the small-pox. I immediately fell into a profuse sweat, which continued till one or two in the morning. God then gave me refreshing sleep, and afterwards such tranquillity of mind that this day, *Sunday*, NOVEMBER 1, seemed the shortest day to me I had ever known in my life.

I think a little circumstance ought not to be omitted, although I know there may be an ill construction put upon it. Those words were now so strongly impressed upon my mind that for a considerable time I could not put them out of my thoughts: 'Blessed is the man that provideth for the poor and needy; the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble. The Lord shall comfort him when he lieth sick upon his bed; make Thou all his bed in his sickness.'

On *Sunday* night likewise I slept well, and was easy all *Monday* morning. But about three in the afternoon the shivering returned much more violent than before. It continued till I was put to bed. I was then immediately as in a fiery furnace. In a little space I began sweating; but the sweating seemed to increase rather than allay the burning heat. Thus I remained till about eight o'clock, when I suddenly awaked out of a kind of doze, in such a sort of disorder (whether of body or mind, or both) as I know not how to describe. My heart and lungs, and all that was within me, and my soul too, seemed to be in perfect uproar. But I cried unto the Lord in my trouble, and He delivered me out of my distress.

I continued in a moderate sweat till near midnight, and then slept pretty well till morning. On *Tuesday*, November 3, about noon, I was removed to Mr. Hooper's.[2] Here I enjoyed a blessed calm for several hours, the fit not returning till six in the evening; and then in such a manner as I never heard or read of. I had a quick pulse, attended with violent heat; but no pain, either in my head, or back, or limbs; no sickness, no stitch, no thirst. Surely God is a present help in time of trouble. And He does 'make all' my 'bed in' my 'sickness.'

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[1] To his private apartments in the Room in the Horsefair.

[2] The maltster in Old Market Street. To this home letters were addressed (Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 482). Here, too, Charles Wesley was nursed when sick. Mrs. Hooper died May 6, 1741. See Charles Wesley's Journal, May 1, 4, 6, 1741, and his Elegy on her death (Osborn's *Wesley Poetry*).

Wed. 4.—Many of our brethren agreed to seek God to-day by fasting and prayer. About twelve my fever began to rage. At two I dozed a little, and suddenly awaked in such a disorder (only more violent) as that on Monday. The silver cord appeared to be just then loosing, and the wheel breaking at the cistern. The blood whirled to and fro, as if it would immediately force its way through all its vessels, especially in the breast, and excessive burning heat parched up my whole body, both within and without. About three, in a moment the commotion ceased, the heat was over, and the pain gone. Soon after, it made another attack, but not near so violent as the former. This lasted till half-past four, and then vanished away at once. I grew better and better till nine; then I fell asleep, and scarce awaked at all till morning.

Thur. 5.—The noisy joy of the people in the streets[1] did not agree with me very well; though I am afraid it disordered their poor souls much more than it did my body. About five in the evening my cough returned, and, soon after, the heat and other symptoms; but with this remarkable circumstance, that for fourteen or fifteen hours following I had more or less sleep in every hour. This was one cause why I was never light-headed at all, but had the use of my understanding from the first hour of my illness to the last, as fully as when in perfect health.

Fri. 6.—Between ten and twelve the main shock began. I can give but a faint account of this, not for want of memory, but of words. I felt in my body nothing but storm and tempest, hail-stones and coals of fire. But I do not remember that I felt any fear (such was the mercy of God!) nor any murmuring. And yet I found but a dull, heavy kind of patience, which I knew was not what it ought to be. The fever came rushing upon me as a lion, ready to break all my bones in pieces. My body grew weaker every moment; but I did not feel my soul put on strength. Then it came into my mind, 'Be still, and see the salvation of the Lord. I will not stir hand or foot; but let Him do with me what is good in His own eyes.' At once my heart was at ease. 'My mouth was filled with laughter, and my tongue with joy.' My eyes overflowed with tears, and I began to sing aloud. One who stood by said, 'Now he is light-headed.' I told her, 'Oh no; I am not light-headed; but I am praising God. God is come to my help, and pain is nothing; glory be to God on high!' I now found why it was not expedient for me to recover my health sooner: because then I should have lost this experimental proof, how little everything is which can befall the body so long as God carries the soul aloft, as it were on the wings of an eagle.

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[1] Guy Fawkes Day.

An hour after, I had one more grapple with the enemy, who then seemed to collect all his strength. I essayed to shake myself, and praise God as before, but I was not able; the power was departed from me. I was shorn of my strength, and became weak and like another man. Then I said, 'Yet here I hold; lo, I come to bear Thy will, O God.' Immediately He returned to my soul, and lifted up the light of His countenance. And I felt, 'He rideth easily enough, whom the grace of God carrieth.'

I supposed the fit was now over, it being about five in the afternoon, and began to compose myself for sleep; when I felt first a chill, and then a burning all over, attended with such an universal faintness, and weariness, and utter loss of strength, as if the whole frame of nature had been dissolved. Just then my nurse, I know not why, took me out of bed, and placed me in a chair. Presently a purging began, which I believe saved my life. I grew easier from that hour, and had such a night's rest as I have not had before since it pleased God to lay His hand upon me.'

From *Saturday* the 7th to *Sunday* the 15th I found my strength gradually increasing, and was able to read Turretin's *History of the Church* [1] (a dry, heavy, barren treatise), and the Life of that truly good and great man, Mr. Philip Henry.[2] On *Monday* and *Tuesday* I read over the *Life of Mr. Matthew Henry*—a man not to be despised, either as a scholar or a Christian, though, I think, not equal to his father. On *Wednesday* I read over once again *Theologia Germanica*.[3] Oh how was it that I could ever so admire the affected obscurity of this unscriptural writer! Glory be to God, that I now prefer the plain apostles and prophets before him and all his mystic followers!

Thur. 19.—I read again, with great surprise, part of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius.[4] But so weak, credulous, thoroughly injudicious a writer have I seldom found. *Friday* the 20th I began Mr. Laval's [5] *History of the Reformed Churches*

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[1] *Historia Ecclesiastica Compendium*, by John Alphonse Turretin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Geneva.

[2] See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 47.

[3] Which he had studied in Georgia.

[4] See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 47.

[5] Stephen Abel Laval, one of the ministers of the United Chapels of Castle Street and Berwick Street. *A Compendious History of the Reformation in France and of the Reformed Churches in that Kingdom* was published in the year 1737. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 47.

in France: full of the most amazing instances of the wickedness of men and of the goodness and power of God. About noon the next day I went out in a coach as far as the school in Kingswood; where one of the mistresses lay (as was believed) near death, having found no help from all the medicines she had taken. We determined to try one remedy more; so we poured out our souls in prayer to God. From that hour she began to recover strength, and in a few days was out of danger.

Sun. 22.—Being not suffered to go to church as yet, I communicated at home. I was advised to stay at home some time longer; but I could not apprehend it necessary, and therefore, on *Monday* the 23rd, went to the New Room, where we praised God for all His mercies. And I expounded for about an hour (without any faintness or weariness) on 'What reward shall I give unto the Lord for all the benefits that He hath done unto me? I will receive the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord.'

I preached once every day this week, and found no inconvenience by it.

Sun. 29.—I thought I might go a little farther. So I preached both at Kingswood and at Bristol; and afterwards spent near an hour with the society, and about two hours at the lovefeast. But my body could not yet keep pace with my mind. I had another fit of my fever the next day; but it lasted not long, and I continued slowly to regain my strength.

On DECEMBER 3, *Thursday*, I was able to preach again, on 'By their fruits ye shall know them'; and *Friday* evening, on 'Cast thy bread upon the waters, and after many days thou shalt find it again.'

Mon. 7.—I preached on 'Trust ye in the Lord Jehovah; for in the Lord is everlasting strength.' I was showing what cause we had to trust in the Captain of our salvation, when one in the midst of the room cried out, 'Who was *your* captain the other day, when you hanged yourself? I know the man who saw you when you was cut down.' This wise story, it seems, had been diligently spread abroad, and cordially believed by many in Bristol. I desired they would make room for the man to come nearer; but the moment he saw the way open he ran away with all possible speed, not so much as once looking behind him.

Wed. 9.—God humbled us in the evening by the loss of more than thirty of our little company, whom I was obliged to exclude, as no longer adorning the gospel of Christ. I believed it best openly to declare both their names and the reasons why they were excluded.[1] We then all cried unto God that this might be for their edification, and not for destruction.

Fri. 11.—I went to Bath. I had often reasoned with myself concerning this place, 'Hath God left Himself without witness?' Did He never raise up such as might be shining lights, even in the midst of this sinful generation? Doubtless He has; but they are either gone 'to the desert,' or hid under the bushel of prudence. Some of the most serious persons I have known at Bath are either *solitary Christians*, scarce known to each other, unless by name; or *prudent Christians*, as careful not to give offence as if that were the unpardonable sin, and as zealous to 'keep their religion to themselves' as they should be to 'let it shine before men.'

I returned to Bristol the next day. In the evening one desired to speak with me. I perceived him to be in the utmost confusion, so that for a while he could not speak. At length he said, 'I am he that interrupted you at the New Room on Monday: I have had no rest since, day or night, nor could have till I had spoken to you. I hope you will forgive me, and that it will be a warning to me all the days of my life.'

Tues. 15.—It being a hard frost, I walked over to Bath, and had a conversation of several hours with one who had lived above seventy, and studied divinity above thirty, years; yet remission of sins was quite a new doctrine to him. But I trust God will write it on his heart.[2]

In the evening I took down the names of some who desired to strengthen each other's hands in God. Thus 'the bread' we have 'cast upon the waters is found again after many days.'

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[1] So in London, Dec. 27.

[2] An anecdote in Moore (*Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 400) makes it probable that this was Dr. George Cheyne, the brother-in-law of Dr. Middleton, Charles Wesley's friend and physician. The *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* mentions the 'more serious' aspect in which he came to regard religious matters about this time. For his death see Feb. 4, 1745. He was the great Bath specialist for gout. (See p. 534.)

I returned to Bristol the next day.

Thur. 17.—We had a night of solemn joy, occasioned by the funeral of one of our brethren, who died with a hope full of immortality.

Fri. 18.—Being disappointed of my horse, I set out on foot in the evening for Kingswood. I catched no cold, nor received any hurt, though it was very wet, and cold, and dark. Mr. Jones, of Fonmon, met me there; and we poured out our souls before God together. I found no weariness till, a little before one, God gave me refreshing sleep.

Sun. 20.—I preached once more at Bristol, on 'Little children, keep yourselves from idols'; immediately after which I forced myself away from those to whom my heart was now more united than ever; and I believe their hearts were even as my heart. Oh what poor words are those: 'You abate the *reverence* and *respect* which the people owe to their pastors'! Love is all in all; and all who are alive to God *must* pay this to every true pastor; wherever a flock is duly fed with the pure milk of the word, they will be ready (were it possible) to pluck out their eyes, and give them to those that are over them in the Lord.

I took coach on *Monday* the 21st, and on *Wednesday* came to London.

Thur. 24.—I found it was good for me to be here, particularly while I was preaching in the evening. The society afterwards met; but we scarce knew how to part, our hearts were so enlarged toward each other.

Sat. 26.—The morning congregation was increased to above thrice the usual number, while I explained 'Grace be unto you, and peace, from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ.' At Long Lane likewise, in the evening, I had a crowded audience, to whom I spoke from those words, 'Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgements, and His ways past finding out!'

Sun. 27.—After diligent inquiry made, I removed all those from the congregation of the faithful whose behaviour or spirit was not agreeable to the gospel of Christ: openly declaring the objections I had to each, that others might fear, and cry to God for them.[1]

Thur. 31.—By the unusual overflowing of peace and love to all which I felt, I was inclined to believe some trial was at hand. At three in the afternoon my fever came; but, finding it was not violent, I would not break my word, and therefore went at four and committed to the earth the remains of one who had died in the Lord a few days before; neither could I refrain from exhorting the almost innumerable multitude of people who were gathered together round her grave to cry to God, that they might die the death of the righteous, and their last end be like hers. I then designed to lie down; but Sir John G[anson][2] coming, and sending to speak with me, I went to him, and from him into the pulpit, knowing God could renew my strength. I preached, according to her request who was now with God, on those words with which her soul had been so refreshed a little before she went hence, after a long night of doubts and fears: 'Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself. For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.'

At the society which followed many cried after God with a loud and bitter cry. About ten I left them, and committed myself into His hands, to do with me what seemed Him good.

1742. JAN. 1, *Fri.*—After a night of quiet sleep, I waked in a strong fever, but without any sickness, or thirst, or pain. I consented, however, to keep my bed; but on condition that every one who desired it should have liberty to speak with me. I believe fifty or sixty persons did so this day; nor did I find any inconvenience from it. In the evening I sent for all the bands who were in the House,[3] that we might magnify our Lord together. A near relation[1] being with me when they came, I asked her afterwards if she was not offended. 'Offended!' said she: 'I wish I could be always among you. I thought I was in heaven.'

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[1] See Dec. 9, above.

[2] A Middlesex magistrate (see above, p. 425; and Charles Wesley's Journal, *May* 31, 1740; *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 275). On Dec. 8, 1764, Wesley recalls the firmness with which Sir John Ganson and the Middlesex Justices repressed all anti-Methodist violence. 'Ganson' is the correct spelling, as in Moore and Watson, and as Wesley himself has it in *Works*, vol. xiii.; but he also spells it 'Gonson,' and Charles Wesley, 'Gunson.'

[3] i.e. the Foundery.

This night also, by the blessing of God, I slept well, to the utter astonishment of those about me, the apothecary in particular, who said he had never seen such a fever in his life. I had a clear remission in the morning, but about two in the afternoon a stronger fit than any before; otherwise I had determined to have been at the meeting of the bands: but good is the will of the Lord.

Sun. 3.—Finding myself quite free from pain, I met the leaders, morning and afternoon, and joined with a little company of them in the great sacrifice of thanksgiving.[2] In the evening, it being the men's lovefeast, I desired they would all come up. Those whom the room would not contain stood without, while we all with one mouth sang praise to God.

Mon. 4.—I waked in perfect health. Does not God both kill and make alive? This day, I understand, poor Charles Kinchin died![3]

Cui pudor, et justitiae soror,
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?[4]

I preached morning and evening every day, for the remaining part of the week.

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[1] Most probably Mrs. Lambert (Anne Wesley), who was at the death-bed of her mother in the July following. But there were unmarried sisters of his mother living in London. S. Wesley jun. mentions Aunt Ann Annesley, Shire House, Hackney.

[2] The Eucharist.

[3] See vol. i. p. 443, Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, pp. 363–70, &c. He left a widow, Esther Kinchin, mentioned in *Hutton's List*, p. 93. She was Hutton's sister. She became Vice-Eldress of the newly-formed (1742) Fetter Lane Moravian Church, and Warder of the Widows' Choir (Hutton, pp. 93, 97, 90). She afterwards married Schlicht. She and her first and second husbands wrote hymns for the first Anglo-Moravian hymn-book, published by James Hutton in 1742.

[4] From Horace, *Od.* i. 24, addressed to Virgil:

Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget! Cui Pudor, et Justitiae soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?

(So then everlasting sleep weighs down Quintilius!
Ah, when shall Modesty, and the sister of Justice, incorruptible Fidelity, and naked Truth, ever find any one for his equal?)
—C. L. Ford in *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 27.

On *Saturday*, while I was preaching at Long Lane, a rude rout lift up their voice on high. I fell upon them without delay. Some pulled off their hats, and opened their mouth no more; the rest stole out one after another. All that remained were quiet and attentive.

Sun. 10.—I got a little time to see Mr. Dolman.[1] Two years ago he seemed to be dying of an asthma; being hardly able to rise at eight o'clock in a morning, after struggling, as it were, for life. But from the time he came thither first, he rarely failed to be at the Foundery by five o'clock. Nor was he at all the worse; his distemper being suspended, till within a very few days. I found him just on the wing, and full of love, and peace, and joy in believing. And in the same spirit (as I afterwards understood) he continued, till God took him to Himself.

Mon. 11.—I went twice to Newgate, at the request of poor R[obert] R[amsey],[2] who lay there under sentence of death; but was refused admittance. Receiving a few lines from him the day he was to die, I desired Mr. Richards[3] to try if he could be admitted then. But he came back with a fresh refusal.

It was above two years before, that, being destitute and in distress, he applied to me at Bristol for relief. I took him in, and employed him for the present, in writing and keeping accounts for me. Not long after I placed him in the little school[4] which was kept by the United Society. There were many suspicions of him during that time, as well as of his companion, Gwillam Snowde; but no proof appeared, so that, after three or four months, they quietly returned to London. But they did not deceive God, nor escape His hand. Gwillam Snowde was soon apprehended for a robbery, and, when condemned, sent for me and said nothing lay heavier upon him than his having thus returned evil for good. I believe it was now the desire of poor Ramsey, too, to tell me all that he had done. But the hour was past: I could not now be permitted to see or speak with him. So that he who before would not receive the word of God from my mouth now desired what he could not obtain. And on *Wednesday* he fell a sacrifice to the justice of a long-offended God. O consider this, ye that now forget God, and know not the day of your visitation!

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[1] See Diary July and Aug. 1740; April and June, 1741.

[2] See above, Jan. 31, Feb. 12, 1740; and Tyerman, vol. i. p. 292.

[3] Thomas Richards, the itinerant, who would have known Ramsey whilst he was connected with the finance of Kingswood.

[4] In the Horsefair Room.

In the afternoon I buried the body of James St. Angel, who, having long been tried in the fire, on Monday, in the full triumph of faith, gave up his spirit to God.

I heard of several to-day who began to run well but did not endure to the end. Men fond of their own opinions tore them from their brethren, and could not keep them when they had done; but they soon fell back into the world, and are now swallowed up in its pleasures or cares. I fear those zealots who took these souls out of my hands will give but a poor account of them to God.

On *Thursday* and *Friday* I visited the sick, by many of whom I was greatly refreshed.

Mon. 18.—We greatly rejoiced in the Lord at Long Lane, even in the midst of those that contradicted and blasphemed. Nor was it long before many of them also were touched, and blasphemies were turned to praise.

Thur. 21.—I again visited many that were sick, but I found no fear either of pain or death among them. One (Mary Whittle) said, 'I shall go to my Lord to-morrow; but before I go, He will finish His work.' The next day she lay quiet for about two hours, and then, opening her eyes, cried out, 'It is done, it is done! Christ liveth in me! He lives in me'; and died in a moment.

Fri. 22.—I met the society in Short's Gardens, Drury Lane, for the first time.

Sat. 23.—I called on another who was believed to be near death, and greatly triumphing over it. 'I know,' said she, 'that my Redeemer liveth, and will stand at the latter day upon the earth. I fear not death; it hath no sting for me. I shall live for evermore.'

Mon. 25.—While I was explaining at Long Lane, 'He that committeth sin is of the devil,' his servants were above measure enraged: they not only made all possible noise (although, as I had desired before, no man stirred from his place, or answered them a word), but violently thrust many persons to and fro, struck others, and brake down part of the house. At length they began throwing large stones upon the house, which, forcing their way wherever they came, fell down, together with the tiles, among the people, so that they were in danger of their lives. I then told them, 'You must not go on thus; I am ordered by the magistrate, who is, in this respect, to us the minister of God, to inform him of those who break the laws of God and the king: and I must do it, if you persist herein; otherwise I am a partaker of your sin.' When I ceased speaking, they were more outrageous than before. Upon this I said, 'Let three or four calm men take hold of the foremost, and charge a constable with him, that the law may take its course.' They did so, and brought him into the house, cursing and blaspheming in a dreadful manner. I desired five or six to go with him to Justice Copeland, to whom they nakedly related the fact. The Justice immediately bound him over to the next Sessions at Guildford.

I observed, when the man was brought into the house, that many of his companions were loudly crying out, 'Richard Smith! Richard Smith!' who, as it afterward appeared, was one of their stoutest champions. But Richard Smith answered not; he was fallen into the hands of One higher than they. God had struck him to the heart; as also a woman, who was speaking words not fit to be repeated, and throwing whatever came to hand, whom He overtook in the very act. She came into the house with Richard Smith, fell upon her knees before us all, and strongly exhorted him never to turn back, never to forget the mercy which God had shown to his soul. From this time we had never any considerable interruption or disturbance at Long Lane, although we withdrew our prosecution, upon the offender's submission and promise of better behaviour.

Tues. 26.—I explained, at Chelsea, the faith which worketh by love. I was very weak when I went into the room; but the more 'the beasts of the people' increased in madness and rage, the more was I strengthened, both in body and soul; so that I believe few in the house, which was exceedingly full, lost one sentence of what I spoke. Indeed, they could not see me, nor one another at a few yards' distance, by reason of the exceeding thick smoke, which was occasioned by the wild-fire, and things of that kind, continually thrown into the room. But they who could praise God in the midst of the fires were not to be affrighted by a little smoke.

Wed. 27.—I buried the body of Sarah Whiskin, a young woman late of Cambridge; a short account of whom follows,[1] in the words of one that was with her during her last struggle for eternity.

The first time she went, intending to hear Mr. Wesley, was January 3; but he was then ill. She went again, Tuesday the 5th, and was not disappointed. From that time she seemed quite taken up with the things above, and could willingly have been always hearing, or praying, or singing hymns. Wednesday the 13th she was sent for into the country; at which news she cried violently, being afraid to go, lest she should again be conformable to the world. With tears in her eyes, she asked me, 'What shall I do? I am in a great strait.' And being advised to commit her cause to God, and pray that His will might be done, not her own, she said she would defer her journey three days, to wait upon God, that He might show His will concerning her. The next day she was taken ill of a fever; but being something better on Friday, she sent and took a place in the Cambridge coach for the Tuesday following. Her sister asked her if she thought it was the will of God she should go. She answered, 'I leave it to the Lord; and am sure He will find a way to prevent it, if it is not for my good.' Sunday the 17th she was ill again, and desired me to write a note that she might be prayed for. I asked what I should write. She answered, 'You know what I want: a lively faith.' Being better on Monday the 18th, she got up, to prepare for her journey; though still desiring God to put a stop to it, if it was not according to His will. As soon as she rose from prayer she fainted away. When she came to herself, she said, 'Where is that scripture of Balaam journeying, and the angel of the Lord standing in the way? I can bring this home to myself. I was just going this morning; and see, God has taken away all my strength.'

From this hour she was almost continually praying to God that He would reveal Himself to her soul. On Tuesday the 19th, being in tears, I asked what was the matter. She answered, 'The devil is very busy with me.' On asking, 'Who condemns you?' she pointed to her heart, and said, 'This; and God is greater than my heart.' On Thursday, after Mr. Richards had prayed with her, she was much cheerfuller, and she could not doubt but God would fulfil the desire which He had given her.

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[1] This account is reproduced in the *Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 198.

Fri. 22.—One of her sisters coming out of the country to see her, she said, 'If I had come to you, evil would have befallen me; but I am snatched out of the hands of the devil. Though God has not yet revealed Himself to me, yet I believe, were I to die this night, before to-morrow I should be in heaven.' Her sister saying, 'I hope God will restore you to health,' she replied, 'Let Him do what seemeth Him good.'

Sat. 23.—She said, 'I saw my mother, and brother, and sister, in my sleep; and they all received a blessing in a moment.' I asked if she thought she should die, and whether she believed the Lord would receive her soul. Looking very earnestly, she said, 'I have not seen the Lord yet; but I believe I shall see Him and live: although these are bold words for a sinner to say. Are they not?'

Sun. 24.—I asked her, 'How have you rested?' She answered, 'Very well; though I have had no sleep, and I wanted none, for I have had the Lord with me. Oh let us not be ashamed of Him, but proclaim Him upon the house-top; and I know, whatever I ask in the name of Jesus, according to His will, I shall have.' Soon after she called hastily to me, and said, 'I fear I have deceived myself: I thought the Amen was sealed in my heart; but I fear it is not. Go down and pray for me, and let Him not go till He has given my heart's desire.' Soon after she broke out into singing, and said, 'I was soon delivered of my fears; I was only afraid of a flattering hope; but if it had been so, I would not have let Him go.'

Her sister that was come to see her was much upon her mind. 'You,' said she, 'are in pain for her; but I have faith for this little child: God has a favour unto her.' In the afternoon she desired me to write a bill for her. I asked, 'What shall I write?' She said, 'Return thanks for what God has done for me, and pray that He would manifest Himself to my relations also. Go to the preaching. Leave but one with me.' Soon after we were gone she rose up, called to the person that was with her, and said, 'Now it is done; I am assured my sins are forgiven.' The person answering, 'Death is a little thing to them that die in the Lord'; she replied, with vehemence, 'A little thing! It is nothing.' The person then desiring she would pray for her, she answered, 'I do: I pray for all. I pray for all I know, and for them I do not know: and the Lord will hear the prayer of faith.' At our return, her sister kneeling by the bedside, she said, 'Are you not comforted, my dear, for me?' Her speech then failing, she made signs for her to be by her, and kissed her and smiled upon her. She then lay about an hour without speaking or stirring; till about three o'clock on Monday morning, she cried out, 'My Lord and my God!' fetched a double sigh, and died.

Fri. 29.—Hearing of one who had been drawn away by those who prophesy smooth things, I went to her house; but she was purposely gone abroad. Perceiving there was no human help, I desired the congregation at Short's Gardens to join with me in prayer to God that He would suffer her to have no rest in her spirit till she returned into the way of truth. Two days after, she came to me of her own accord, and confessed, in the bitterness of her soul, that she had no rest day or night while she remained with them out of whose hands God had now delivered her.

[There was something remarkable in the manner of their lovefeast, at which she was present, *Sunday* the 31st. For above an hour all were silent: no singing, no prayer, no word of exhortation. Then Mr. S—— said, 'My sisters, I was thinking in my heart how many Scripture-names there are among you.' (Might he not as well have been thinking how many barley-corns would reach from London to Edinburgh?) 'There are three Marthas'; so he went on, telling with great exactness how many there were of every name. Then silence ensued. After a while he spake again. 'Seven of our sisters are going to Pennsylvania; but my Saviour will give us as many more.' One replied, 'See, He has given us one already.' 'It is in my heart,' said Mr. S——, 'to give Him thanks for it.' On which he spoke a few words of thanksgiving. Just before they broke up Mrs. H—— said, 'My Saviour puts it into my heart to pray.' She then spoke five or six sentences, and the company was dismissed.][1]

FEB. 1, *Mon.*—I found, after the exclusion of some who did not walk according to the gospel, about eleven hundred, who are, I trust, of a more excellent spirit, remained in the society.[2]

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[1] A paragraph in the original edition, omitted in later editions, is here restored.

[2] This included the societies at the Foundery, Short's Gardens, Greyhound Lane, Wapping, and Long Lane. In the Colman Collection there are lists of the whole Society, dating from the early part of the year 1742. There can be little if any doubt that one of these is the actual list of members revised on this occasion by John Wesley; it is full of erasures and additions, and is

Thur. 4.—A clergyman lately come from America,[1] who was at the preaching last night, called upon me, appeared full of good desires, and seemed willing to cast in his lot with us. But I cannot suddenly answer in this matter. I must first know what spirit he is of; for none can labour with us unless he 'count all things dung and dross, that he may win Christ.'

Fri. 5.—I set out, and with some difficulty reached Chippenham on Saturday evening; the weather being so extremely rough and boisterous that I had much ado to sit my horse. On *Sunday*, about noon, I came to Kingswood, where were many of our friends from Bath, Bristol, and Wales.[2] Oh that we may ever thus 'love one another with a pure heart fervently'!

Mon. 8.—I rode to Bath, and in the evening explained the latter part of the seventh of St. Luke. Observing many noisy persons at the end of the room, I went and stood in the midst of them; but the greater part slipped away to that end from which I came, and then took heart, and cried aloud again. I paused, to give them their full scope, and then began a particular application to them. They were very quiet in a short

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in the clear, beautiful handwriting frequently met with in copied letters of this period. This, and all the Society, Band, Select Society, and Penitent Lists from this date to 1745 are preserved in Wesley's small note-books, many of them in his handwriting. See facsimiles on pp. 443-4, 480. It would be possible to give the complete list of the eleven hundred members here referred to. On one of the pages are small figures in pencil, apparently in John Wesley's writing—such figures as an enumerator would make in adding up the numbers. The latest of these lists (for Nov. 1746) is what would now be called a 'Church Roll.' The names, each with a number prefixed, and many with '1' or '2/6' affixed, are entered apparently in order of membership, men and women, single and married together—from '1' to '2,008.'

[1] This clergyman may have been Dr. Andrews, or possibly Mr. Thompson of St. Gennys, Cornwall, with whom Wesley at a later period was closely associated, whom he had met in Pompon on his first journey from Charlestown to Savannah (vol. i. p. 350), and who, with the apostolic Griffith Jones, was often at Bath at this time (*Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 53, note).

[2] Among these would be Mr. Gwynne, of Garth, who exhibited to Wesley a late publication of William Law. To this reference is made in the following extract from a manuscript letter:

> This he said after he had read your letter to me, about some sentiments of Mr. Law's late book. I showed it to Mr. Wesley, who intends coming here some time this summer. (From Mr. Gwynne to Howell Harris.)

The letter was in the possession of Mr. Marriott, and was dated July 13, 1742.

time, and, I trust, will not forget it so soon as some of them may desire.

Wednesday the 10th, and the following days of this week, I spoke severally with all those who desired to remain in the United Society, to watch over each other in love.

Mon. 15.—Many met together to consult on a proper method for discharging the public debt[1]; and it was at length agreed, (1) that every member of the society who was able should contribute a penny a week; (2) that the whole society should be divided into little companies or classes[2]—about twelve in each class; and (3) that one person in each class should receive the contribution of the rest, and bring it in to the stewards, weekly.

Fri. 19.—I went to Bath. Many threatened great things; but I knew the strength of them and their god. I preached on 'He shall save His people from their sins,' none disturbing or interrupting me.

Sat. 20.—I preached at Weavers' Hall: it was a glorious time. Several dropped to the ground as if struck by lightning. Some cried out in bitterness of soul. I knew not where to end, being constrained to begin anew again and again. In this acceptable time we begged of God to restore our brethren who are departed from us for a season; and to teach us all to

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[1] That is, for building the Room in the Horsefair. For this Wesley had become personally responsible, when he took the whole management into his own hands (see above, p. 197). Captain Foy proposed the penny-a-week subscription, and offered to be responsible for eleven poorer members who might not have a penny to give ('Thoughts upon Methodism,' Wesley's *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 259). A family of Foys, merchants and captains, was well-known and influential in Bristol during much of the eighteenth century. The most prominent was John Foy, Alderman, Sheriff, Mayor, Master of the Venturers, who appears in the Poll-book for 1754 as 'Mariner.' A Captain Matthew Foy sailed from Bristol in his ship *The Tiger* in 1748. One of these may be Wesley's 'Captain Foy.' The daughter of John Foy married Alexander Edgar, Mayor of Bristol in 1787-8, who invited Wesley to preach in the Mayor's Chapel on College Green (see Journal, March 16, 1788). The Moravians in London divided their Society into 'classes' somewhere about Feb. 1744. These were conducted very much on the plan familiar to Methodists, and superseded 'the bands,' which 'had no longer the blessing they used to have.' (*Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp. 130 and 133.)

[2] 'Class' has no suggestion of teaching in it. It was the Latin *classis*, from the six divisions or orders of the Roman people under the legislation of Servius Tullius.

'follow after the things that make for peace' and the 'things whereby one may edify another.'

Sun. 21.—In the evening I explained the 'exceeding great and precious promises' which are given us: a strong confirmation whereof I read, in a plain, artless account of a child whose body then lay before us. The substance of this was as follows:

John Woolley[1] was for some time in your school, but was turned out for his ill behaviour. Soon after he ran away from his parents, lurking about for several days and nights together, and hiding himself in holes and corners, that his mother might not find him. During this time he suffered both hunger and cold. Once he was three whole days without sustenance, sometimes weeping and praying by himself, and sometimes playing with other loose boys.

One night he came to the New Room. Mr. Wesley was then speaking of disobedience to parents. He was quite confounded, and thought there never was in the world so wicked a child as himself. He went home, and never ran away any more. His mother saw the change in his whole behaviour, but knew not the cause. He would often get upstairs by himself to prayer, and often go alone into the fields, having done with all his idle companions.

And now the devil began to set upon him with all his might, continually tempting him to self-murder: sometimes he was vehemently pressed to hang himself, sometimes to leap into the river; but this only made him the more earnest in prayer; in which, after he had been one day wrestling with God, he saw himself, he said, surrounded on a sudden with an inexpressible light, and was so filled with joy and the love of God that he scarce knew where he was, and with such love to all mankind that he could have laid himself on the ground for his worst enemies to trample upon.

From this time his father and mother were surprised at him, he was so diligent to help them in all things. When they went to the preaching, he was careful to give their supper to the other children; and when he had put them to bed, hurried away to the Room, to light his father or mother home. Meantime he lost no opportunity of hearing the preaching himself, or of doing any good he could, either at home or in any place where he was.

One day, walking in the fields, he fell into talk with a farmer, who spoke very slightly of religion. John told him he ought not to talk so, and enlarged upon that word of the apostle (which he begged him to consider deeply), 'Without holiness no man shall see the Lord.'

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[1] See *Arm. Mag.* vol. iv. p. 259.

The man was amazed, caught the child in his arms, and knew not how to part with him.

His father and mother once hearing him speak pretty loud in the next room, listened to hear what he said. He was praying thus: 'Lord, I do not expect to be heard for my much speaking. Thou knowest my heart; Thou knowest my wants.' He then descended to particulars. Afterwards he prayed very earnestly for his parents, and for his brothers and sisters by name; then for Mr. John and Charles Wesley, that God would set their faces as a flint, and give them to go on conquering and to conquer; then for all the other ministers he could remember by name, and for all that were, or desired to be, true ministers of Christ.

In the beginning of his illness his mother asked him if he wanted anything. He answered, 'Nothing but Christ; and I am as sure of Him as if I had Him already.' He often said, 'O mother, if all the world believed in Christ, what a happy world would it be!—and they may; for Christ died for every soul of man: I was the worst of sinners, and He died for *me*. O Thou that callest the worst of sinners, call *me*! Oh, it is a free gift! I am sure I have done nothing to deserve it.'

On Wednesday he said to his mother, 'I am in very great trouble for my father; he has always taken an honest care of his family, but he does not know God; if he dies in the state he is in now, he cannot be saved. I have prayed for him, and will pray for him.[1] If God should give him the true faith, and then take him to Himself, do not you fear—do not you be troubled; God has promised to be "a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow." I will pray for you and him in heaven; and I hope we shall sing hallelujah in heaven together.'

To his eldest sister he said, 'Do not puff yourself up with pride. When you receive your wages, which is not much, lay it out in plain necessaries. And if you are inclined to be merry, do not sing songs; that is the devil's diversion. There are many lies and ill things in those idle songs; do you sing psalms and hymns. Remember your Creator in the days of your youth. When you are at work, you may lift up your heart to God; and be sure never to rise or go to bed without asking His blessing.'

He added, 'I shall die; but do not cry for me. Why should you cry for me? Consider what a joyful thing it is to have a brother go to heaven. I am not a man; I am but a boy. But is it not in the Bible, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast ordained strength"? I know where I am going; I would not be without this knowledge for a thousand worlds; for though I am not in heaven yet, I am as sure of it as if I was.'

On Wednesday night he wrestled much with God in prayer. At last, throwing his arms open, he cried, 'Come, come, Lord Jesus! I am Thine. Amen and Amen!' He said, 'God answers me in my heart, "Be of good cheer, thou hast overcome the world"'; and immediately after he was filled with love and joy unspeakable.

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[1] 'N.B.—His father died not long after' (Wesley).

He said to his mother, 'That school was the saving of my soul; for there I began to seek the Lord. But how is it that a person no sooner begins to seek the Lord, but Satan straight stirs up all his instruments against him?'

When he was in agony of pain, he cried out, 'O Saviour, give me patience! Thou hast given me patience, but give me more. Give me Thy love, and pain is nothing: I have deserved all this, and a thousand times more; for there is no sin but I have been guilty of.'

A while after he said, 'O mother, how is this? If a man does not do his work, the masters in the world will not pay him his wages. But it is not so with God: He gives me good wages, and yet I am sure I have done nothing to gain them. Oh, it is a free gift; it is free for every soul, for Christ has died for all.'

On Thursday morning his mother asked him how he did. He said, 'I have had much struggling to-night, but my Saviour is so loving to me, I do not mind it; it is no more than nothing to me.'

Then he said, 'I desire to be buried from the Room; and I desire Mr. Wesley would preach a sermon over me, on those words of David (unless he thinks any other to be more fit), "Before I was afflicted I went astray; but now I have kept Thy word."'

I asked him, 'How do you find yourself now?' He said, 'In great pain, but full of love.' I asked him, 'But does not the love of God overcome pain?' He answered, 'Yes! pain is nothing to me; I did sing praises to the Lord in the midst of my greatest pain; and I could not help it.' I asked him if he was willing to die; he replied, 'Oh yes, with all my heart.' I said, 'But if life and death were set before you, what would you choose then?' He answered, 'To die, and to be with Christ; I long to be out of this wicked world.'

On Thursday night he slept much sweeter than he had done for some time before. In the morning he begged to see Mr. John Wesley. When Mr. Wesley came, and, after some other questions, asked him what he should pray for, he said, that God would give him a clean heart and renew a right spirit within him. When prayer was ended, he seemed much enlivened, and said, 'I thought I should have died to-day; but I must not be in haste. I am content to stay. I will tarry the Lord's leisure.'

On Saturday one asked if he still chose to die: he said, 'I have no will; my will is resigned to the will of God. But I shall die. Mother, be not troubled; I shall go away like a lamb.'

On Sunday he spoke exceeding little. On Monday his speech began to falter: on Tuesday it was gone; but he was fully in his senses, almost continually lifting up his eyes to heaven. On Wednesday, his speech being restored, his mother said, 'Jacky, you have not been with your Saviour to-night.' He replied, 'Yes, I have.' She asked, 'What did He say?' He answered, 'He bid me not be afraid of the devil; for he had no power to hurt me at all, but I should tread him under my feet.' He lay very quiet on Wednesday night. The next morning he spent in continual prayer, often repeating the Lord's Prayer, and earnestly commending his soul into the hands of God.

He then called for his little brother and sister, to kiss them; and for his mother, whom he desired to kiss him. Then (between nine and ten) he said, 'Now let me kiss you'; which he did, and immediately fell asleep.

He lived some months above thirteen years.

Sun. 28.—In the evening I set out for Wales. I lay that night about six miles from Bristol,[1] and preached in the morning, MARCH 1, to a few of the neighbours. We then hastened to the passage; but the boat was gone half an hour before the usual time: so I was obliged to wait till five in the afternoon. We then set out with a fair breeze; but when we were nearly half over the river, the wind entirely failed. The boat could not bear up against the ebbing tide, but was driven down among the rocks, on one of which we made shift to scrabble[2] up; whence, about seven, we got to land.

That night I went forward about five miles, and the next morning came to Cardiff. There I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Jones, of Fonmon, still pressing on into all the fullness of God. I rode with him to Wenvoe. The church was thoroughly filled while I explained the former part of the Second Lesson, concerning the barren fig-tree; and the power of the Lord was present both to wound and to heal.

I explained in the evening at Fonmon, though in weakness and pain, how Jesus saveth us from our sins. The next morning, at eight, I preached at Bonvilston,[1] a little town four miles from Fonmon. Thence I rode to Llantrisant, and sent to the minister,[2] to desire the use of his church. His answer was, he should have been very willing, but the bishop had forbidden him. By what law? I am not legally convicted, either of heresy or any other crime. By what authority, then, am I suspended from preaching? By bare-faced arbitrary power.

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[1] Perhaps at some friendly house near the Old Passage, but evidently not near enough to see the movement of the ferry-boat. Charles Wesley on Oct. 31, 1743, when on his way to the Passage for Wales, preached at 'Farmer' Whitchurch's house, but there is now not even any local tradition.

[2] Bailey, 1735, 'to feel about with the hands.' Cf. 1 Sam. xxi. 13. Johnson: 'To paw with the hands.' Bunyan uses the word in the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Another clergyman immediately offered me his church; but, it being too far off, I preached in a large room,[3] spent a little time with the society in prayer and exhortation, and then took horse for Cardiff.

Thur. 4.—About noon I preached at Llanishen,[4] and was afterward much refreshed in meeting the little earnest society. I preached at Cardiff, at seven, on 'Be not righteous overmuch,' to a larger congregation than before; and then exhorted the society to fear only the being over-wicked, or the falling short of the full image of God.

Fri. 5.—I talked with one[5] who used frequently to say, 'I pray God, I may never have this new faith. I desire that I may not know my sins forgiven, till I come to die.' But as she was, some weeks since, reading the Bible at home, the clear light broke in upon her soul: she knew all her sins were blotted out, and cried aloud, 'My Lord and my God!'

In the evening I expounded, 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.' We afterwards admitted several new members into the society, and were greatly comforted together.

Sat. 6.—I left Cardiff, and about eight in the evening came to Bristol.

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[1] Abbreviated to 'Bolston.' Until recently a sycamore-tree marked the spot where Wesley stood when preaching at the cross roads near the hamlet of Bonvilston (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 176).

[2] Mr. Harris, whom Charles Wesley had found exceedingly civil (Nov. 17, 1740). The bishop was Dr. Gilbert.

[3] Probably that now used as town library under the Town Hall, rather this than in the 'Rock and Fountain' inn. An upright stone under the east window of the church records the death of Mr. Harris at the age of sixty-nine years.

[4] Charles Wesley preached in the church here, which his brother does not mention, though he visited the village several times.

[5] Possibly the 'honourable woman' of Oct. 20, 1741. Almost certainly Sarah Young. (C. Wesley's Journal, Nov. 10, 1740; also R. Butterworth in *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 82.)

Wed. 10.—I was with a gentlewoman whose distemper has puzzled the most eminent physicians for many years, it being such as they could neither give any rational account of nor find any remedy for. The plain case is, she is tormented by an evil spirit, following her day and night. Yea, try all your drugs over and over; but at length it will plainly appear that 'this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.'

Fri. 12.—I read part of Dr. Cheyne's *Natural Method of curing Diseases*, of which I cannot but observe it is one of the most ingenious books which I ever saw. But what epicure will ever regard it? for 'the man talks against good eating and drinking'![1]

Our Lord was gloriously present with us at the watch-night, so that my voice was lost in the cries of the people. After midnight about a hundred of us walked home together, singing and rejoicing, and praising God.

Fri. 19.[2]—I rode once more to Pensford, at the earnest request of several serious people. The place where they desired me to preach was a little green spot near the town. But I had no sooner begun than a great company of rabble, hired (as we afterwards found) for that purpose, came furiously upon us, bringing a bull, which they had been baiting, and now strove to drive in among the people. But the beast was wiser than his drivers; and continually ran either on one side of us or the other, while we quietly sang praise to God, and prayed for about an hour. The poor wretches, finding themselves disappointed, at length seized upon the bull, now weak and tired, after having been so long torn and beaten, both by dogs and men; and, by main strength, partly dragged and partly thrust him in among the people. When they had forced their way to the little table on which I stood, they strove several times to throw it down, by thrusting the helpless beast against it; who, of himself, stirred no more than a log of wood. I once or twice put aside his head with my hand, that the blood might not drop upon my clothes; intending to go on as soon as the hurry should be a little over. But, the table falling down, some of our friends caught me in their arms and carried me right away on their shoulders; while the rabble wreaked their vengeance on the table, which they tore bit from bit. We went a little way off, where I finished my discourse without any noise or interruption.

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[1] See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 48, also Green's *Wes. Bibliog.* No. 101. Some of Cheyne's theories mentioned in *Arm. Mag.* 1779, p. 433, are also mentioned in Boswell's *Life of Johnson.* By excessive eating he had become nervous, short-breathed, &c., and was thirty-three stone in weight; but recovered his health and cheerfulness by the use of a milk and vegetable diet.

[2] From a letter to Wesley from the Countess of Huntingdon dated March 15, which is given in *Meth. Mag.* 1798, p. 642, it would appear that he was accustomed to consult her in relation to the publication of his Journals (*Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 51). So also, apparently, did Charles Wesley (see letter Oct. 24, 1741; *Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 42).

Sun. 21.—In the evening I rode to Marshfield, and on *Tuesday*, in the afternoon, came to London.

Wed. 24.—I preached for the last time in the French chapel at Wapping, on 'If ye continue in My word, then are ye My disciples indeed.'

Thur. 25.[1]—I appointed several earnest and sensible men to meet me, to whom I showed the great difficulty I had long found of knowing the people who desired to be under my care. After much discourse, they all agreed there could be no better way to come to a sure, thorough knowledge of each person than to divide them into classes, like those at Bristol, under the inspection of those in whom I could most confide. This was the origin of our classes at London, for which I can never sufficiently praise God, the unspeakable usefulness of the institution having ever since been more and more manifest.

Wed. 31.—My brother set out for Oxford. In the evening I called upon Ann Calcut. She had been speechless for some time; but almost as soon as we began to pray, God restored her speech: she then witnessed a good confession indeed. I expected to see her no more; but from that hour the fever left her, and in a few days she arose and walked, glorifying God.

APRIL 4, *Sun.*—About two in the afternoon, being the time my brother was preaching at Oxford, before the University,[2] I desired a few persons to meet with me, and join in prayer. We continued herein much longer than we at first designed, and believed we had the petition we asked of God.

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[1] For an interesting letter from the Countess of Huntingdon to Wesley on this date, see *W.M. Mag.* 1845, p. 1072.

[2] The sermon on 'Awake, thou that sleepest,' which was placed No. 3 in the 'Four Volumes of Sermons,' the first of which was published in 1746. See Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. i. p. 309; also Green's *Wes. Bibliog.* No. 33.

Fri. 9.—We had the first watch-night in London.[1] We commonly choose for this solemn service the Friday night nearest the full moon, either before or after, that those of the congregation who live at a distance may have light to their several homes. The service begins at half an hour past eight, and continues till a little after midnight. We have often found a peculiar blessing at these seasons. There is generally a deep awe upon the congregation, perhaps in some measure owing to the silence of the night, particularly in singing the hymn, with which we commonly conclude:

Hearken to the solemn voice,
  The awful midnight cry!
Waiting souls, rejoice, rejoice,
  And feel the Bridegroom nigh.

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[1] In his 'Plain Account of the People called Methodists' (*Works*, vol. viii. p. 248) Wesley says: 'Several persons at Kingswood frequently met together at the School, and, when they could spare time, spent the greater part of the night in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving.' This custom was begun amongst the colliers, who, before their conversion, used to spend every Saturday night at the ale-house; afterwards they spent that night in prayer (Myles's *Chron. Hist. of the Methodists*). The hymn 'Hearken to the solemn voice,' headed 'A Hymn for Midnight,' and the one following, which first appeared in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, published 1742, were evidently composed for these occasions, the second specially for the colliers at Kingswood:

Oft have we pass'd the guilty night
In revellings and frantic mirth.

An Irish clergyman brought abusive accusations against Wesley in connexion with these midnight services; in reply he wrote (*Works*, vol. ix. p. 81): 'Did you never see the word "vigil" in your Common Prayer-Book?'

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